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August 1774–August 1775

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## Foreword

Well before the signing on July 4, 1966, of Public Law 89-491, establishing a national American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, the Library of Congress began considering how it could contribute to the celebration of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution. In 1968 Congress approved the Library's general plan and subsequently authorized the addition to the Library's staff of several historians, all specialists in early American history. The Library took as the theme for its Bicentennial program "Liberty and Learning" from James Madison, who asked: "What spectacle can be more edifying or more seasonable, than that of Liberty & Learning, each leaning on the other for their mutual and surest support." Reflecting the Library's unparalleled resources for the study of the revolutionary era, its Bicentennial program ranges widely, from the presentation of symposia to the publication of facsimiles and the texts of rare or unique material to the recording of American folk music and the compilation of bibliographies and guides.

In preparing one of those guides, *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1975), the staff of the Bicentennial Office discovered large numbers of letters, written by members of the Continental Congresses, which had not been published in Edmund C. Burnett's magisterial 8-volume edition of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1921-36). Initially, it appeared that these letters might be published as a supplement to Burnett's work, but as additional unpublished letters of Congressmen turned up and as a cursory survey of other repositories suggested that even more unpublished letters were available, the Library decided that a new, expanded edition would be a valuable and appropriate Bicentennial project.

As the editors of the present work grew to appreciate the magnitude of the task they had undertaken, their admiration for Burnett increased. It is not enough to say that his edition provided the inspiration for their efforts. His research and annotations have stood the test of time and provide the foundation for much of the research which will appear in these volumes. Specialists will sense the editors' dependence on Burnett's pathfinding work, but perhaps few, other than the editors, can fully appreciate the dimensions of his achievement.

The present edition has benefited immensely from the generous cooperation of the editors of several other documentary publications

that have a common focus on the era of the American Revolution. From them the Library has borrowed heavily and to them it owes a debt that it can never adequately acknowledge. It is, therefore, a pleasure to give special thanks to the editors of *The Adams Papers*, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, *The Papers of James Madison*, and *The Papers of George Washington* for their assistance and counsel.

Thanks are also due to the Library's Advisory Committee on its American Revolution Bicentennial Program for support and encouragement, especially to the late Adrienne Koch, a member of the original advisory committee, whose enthusiasm for this project was unfailing and who had a central role in seeing that it was properly launched. To the Ford Foundation, which supplied a generous grant to help underwrite the project, we gratefully record our indebtedness. And, finally, we are beholden to the Congress of the United States, which appropriates funds for the publication of these volumes of the papers of its distinguished predecessors and which has unstintingly supported the Library's Bicentennial program.

Elizabeth Hamer Kegan  
Assistant Librarian of Congress



## General View of the Work

The purpose of these volumes is to make accessible to every student interested in the birth of this nation all the documents now available that were written by the delegates to Congress and that bear directly upon their work during their years of actual service in the Congress of the United States, 1774–89. The origin of the work can be traced to the year 1903 when the original Papers of the Continental Congress were transferred from the Department of State to the Library of Congress. Subsequently the activities of the Continental Congress became the focus of unprecedented historical interest as the Library formulated plans to publish the first complete edition of the journals of Congress and the Carnegie Institution of Washington conceived an edition of letters and reports of delegates in Congress to their states which would supplement and flesh out the bare bones of the journals. The first volume of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* was published in 1904, but the edition of the letters of delegates developed more slowly. Although the letters project was carried forward at first by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Waldo G. Leland in the institution's Department of Historical Research, it was not until 1906, when the department's new director J. Franklin Jameson added his former student Edmund C. Burnett to the staff, that the project began to gain momentum. Almost inevitably it also broadened in scope until it far exceeded McLaughlin's and Jameson's early plan. Jameson's 1907 appraisal, incorporated into his annual report to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Institution, fairly states the original purpose of what eventually became in Burnett's hands the eight volumes of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* published between 1921 and 1936:

The series of Letters from Delegates to the Old Congress is intended to supplement the "Journals of the Continental Congress" by printing those letters or parts of letters, and only those, in which members of the Congress convey contemporary or nearly contemporary information about the doings of that body, not to be found in its journals. Such information sometimes has the character of a record of the debates; more often it consists in less formal statements, addressed to the officials or political characters of the State represented by the writer, and recording the actions of Congress as seen from his personal point of view. When all brought together, in chronological order, this mass of correspondence should afford much fresh light on the course of Congressional transactions.

That original conception was a narrow one, to which Burnett ultimately found it impossible to conform, and which he gradually modified and significantly broadened over the years. Long before the first

volume was ready for publication, Jameson himself realized that the work would reflect the delegates' private correspondence more heavily than their official reports to state officials and would greatly exceed the three volumes originally projected. The search for relevant documents took his staff far beyond the state archives, where Jameson had expected to find the bulk of such manuscripts compactly preserved, to dozens of historical societies, libraries, and manuscript collectors. And letters written by delegates when they were not actually attending sessions of Congress but were traveling on official business or performing committee work on assignment—to the headquarters of various commanders, to the northern frontier, to state legislatures, to commissary and quartermaster officials, and to Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, Valley Forge, or Morristown—posed problems not originally anticipated. The staff of the Carnegie Institution had embarked upon a voyage that quickly took them to a terra incognita full of challenges that might have deterred less confident and skillful explorers. It was one of the most daring ever undertaken by a staff of American historians and, measured by any realistic standards, one of the most successful. They set out to rewrite the story of the founding of the republic from original sources and in the process created a work that became the indispensable tool of a generation of students of the American Revolution.

Its incompleteness, however, was recognized from the outset. Aware that many significant manuscripts had originally been overlooked or deliberately excluded or were not available to him, Burnett began planning a supplement soon after the appearance of the first volume of *Letters*, which had been conceived as a select rather than comprehensive edition. By the time the last volume of the series was nearing completion in 1935, he had accumulated references to approximately 200 items for a supplement, but a variety of considerations led him to abandon his earlier plans. The Carnegie Institution had all but completed phasing out its program of historical research, Burnett at age 71 was near retirement, and his final volume of *Letters* had already outgrown the largest of its predecessors by 200 pages. Thus from the materials he had accumulated he finally culled 31 items (which were inserted following the final regular entry for 1789), consigned the remainder of the notes to his files, and offered this explanation to his readers:

Since the publication of this series was begun letters of members have from time to time been obtained too late for inclusion in the volumes to which they appertained, and it was once the hope that these letters might be embodied in a supplement to the final volume. This volume has however been swollen to more than normal proportions by letters of its own period, with the result that only by severe excisions could any supplement at all be included. The letters that follow are all of the period of volume VII, and those of 1784 are especially essential to complete the record of that prime episode of the year, the experiment of a Committee of the States.

More than a decade later Burnett's files at the Carnegie Institution's Department of Historical Research were deposited at the Library of Congress, and there in 1969 the staff of the Library's American Revolution Bicentennial Office examined them with an eye to determining what supplementary letters might yet be published for the use of students of the American Revolution. Quickly perceiving the outline of Burnett's original plan for a supplement to the *Letters*, and already engaged in preparing a guide to American revolutionary manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the Bicentennial staff immediately established a file on unpublished letters of delegates to Congress to evaluate the potential scope of such a project should it be undertaken in conjunction with the Library's commemoration of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution. The quantity of unpublished letters of delegates in the Library's collections came as something of a surprise, and a sampling of the holdings of a few other leading institutions confirmed that a great opportunity lay at hand to promote and enrich the study of the Revolution. When these preliminary findings were laid before the Library's American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Committee of 10 of the nation's leading historians, they immediately recommended that a supplement to the Burnett edition be undertaken and that the support of a major foundation be sought.

In the meantime, additional information was gathered on the quantity of pertinent letters available for publication, and Burnett's editorial practices were more closely examined to ascertain the desirability of publishing in full many of the letters he had substantially abridged. Once a better appreciation of the difficulties he faced in the early years of the project was achieved—particularly of the physical conditions existing in an era when the copies of documents he acquired were available only in the form of handwritten transcripts—the Library became convinced that the study of the origins of the United States Congress merited an entirely new edition of *Letters*. The realization of this belief was finally made possible when the Ford Foundation announced in December 1970 that a grant of \$500,000 would be made available to the Library for this purpose, with the generous understanding that although the project originated as a plan to issue a supplement to the Burnett edition, an entirely new one would be undertaken if the Library found the larger undertaking feasible. Thus, long before the initial search for letters had been completed, it was decided that since the earlier edition contained only about one third of some 18,000 pertinent documents available a comprehensive new edition should be issued as part of the Library's observance of the Bicentennial.

The purpose of these volumes, then, is to provide students of the American revolutionary era reasonable access to a large body of significant documents focusing on the Congress of the United States,

1774–89, and in thus seeking to open wider the window to America's past, this edition shares a goal in common with several other documentary enterprises now in progress throughout the country. Of these, several involve comprehensive editions of the papers of Founding Fathers, particularly John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington; others treat the documentary history of subjects and events, such as the ratification of the Constitution, the first federal elections, the first federal Congress, and the navy in the Revolution; and two focus on the Papers of the Continental Congress—now at the National Archives—for which a microfilm edition has been issued and a new, comprehensive index is nearing completion. Together, these various projects stand as the tangible evidence that Americans enjoy unparalleled opportunities to study and understand their national origins and that the documentary record of the creation of this nation is unique in both its fullness and its accessibility. It is this tradition of those countless persons who have been devoted to the preservation and publication of these records of the nation during the past two centuries that this project seeks to continue.



## Editorial Method

Although specifically focused on the work of Congress during the Revolution, and sharing Jameson's and Burnett's primary goal of presenting documents that "supplement the journal" of Congress—"to expand the meagre record, so far as possible, by bringing together into one place whatever information touching the proceedings of Congress may have come down from those who took part in them"—this project has in addition the larger purpose of portraying the beliefs and multifarious activities of the individual delegates. Thus no effort has been made to restrict their writings to their official letters or to omit strictly personal material from their private communications. Generally only documents written while delegates were serving in Congress have been printed, but some have been included that were written between sessions of Congress, while committee members were traveling on official duty, when delegates had returned home to attend sessions of provincial conventions and assemblies or to arrange personal affairs, and occasionally even after a delegate's term had expired. The diversity of circumstances under which such documents were written underscores the difficulties inhering in attempts to follow rigidly prescribed definitions in determining selection policy, which on occasion must ultimately be based upon subjective judgments. A few items deemed trivial or repetitious in nature have been omitted on the ground that they ultimately would detract rather than add to the work, but such omissions have been appropriately noted. Finally, this edition includes not only the official and personal correspondence of the delegates but also entries from diaries, notes of debate, proposed motions, speeches, committee reports and minutes of proceedings, and draft addresses and petitions of Congress not found in the journals or the Papers of the Continental Congress. In short, in collecting materials for this edition the letters of the delegates have been considered in the older sense of letters defined as "writings, written records."

On the other hand, it is well to bear in mind that the substance of this work is the writings of the delegates and not of the various administrative or executive agents of Congress. Thus letters written by committees composed of delegates will be included but not those written by the essentially executive committees and boards of later creation, or by the superintendent of finance, and the secretaries of foreign affairs, war, and marine appointed after January 1781. Although it is difficult to adhere strictly to this line of distinction—particularly with bodies such as the Board of War, which evolved from a commit-

tee consisting entirely of delegates to a mixed board consisting of both delegates and nondelegates, and then was succeeded by one composed entirely of nondelegates—it is one that the editors have attempted to follow.

In its treatment of documents this edition strives to achieve a middle ground between facsimile reproduction and thorough modernization. The original spelling and grammar are allowed to stand except in cases where editorial changes or insertions are required to make the text intelligible. For example, when a badly misspelled word is misleading, the correct spelling is inserted in roman type in brackets after the word. Moreover, words omitted through oversight have been supplied at appropriate places in italic type in brackets. Obvious slips of the pen and inadvertent repetitions are usually silently corrected. Capitalization and punctuation have been standardized according to certain conventions. Each sentence begins with a capital letter, as do all proper and geographic names as well as days of the week and months of the year. Doubtful cases have been resolved in favor of modern usage; otherwise the usage of the original texts has been followed. Generally, abbreviations, contractions, and monetary signs are preserved as they appear in manuscript except when they are ambiguous or misleading. On the other hand, the thorn and the tilde are consistently expanded. “Ye” always appears as “The,” for instance, and “rēcvd” as “received.” Likewise, “pr.” and “ꝥ” are always expanded to “per,” “pre,” or “pro,” as the case demands. Finally, superscript letters are always lowered to the line.

Gaps in the text are indicated by ellipses in brackets for missing words and by blank spaces in brackets for missing numbers. Conjectural readings are supplied in roman type in brackets, and editorial insertions in italic type in brackets. Material canceled in manuscript but restored to the printed text is included in italic type in angle brackets (“square parentheses”). Marginalia in letters are treated as postscripts, and postscripts which appear without explicit designation are supplied with a *P.S.* in brackets. Documents are arranged chronologically, with more than one document of the same date being arranged alphabetically according to writer. Documents dated only by the month or by the year are placed at the end of the respective month or year. Place-and-date lines always appear on the same line with the salutation regardless of their position in the manuscript.

This work seeks to present the reader with texts that are not only accurate but also intelligible within the context in which they were written. To this end the editors have striven to identify the recipients of letters, to describe the provenance of documents when it has been thought necessary, and where possible to provide pertinent information about delegate references to contemporary writings, events, and letters received. On the other hand, the editors have not attempted to identify every person referred to in the documents or to elucidate the

meaning of every event mentioned. Neither have they searched systematically for all letters received by the delegates, although they have tried to provide references to all surviving official letters sent to them by their respective provinces and states. Normally the most useful materials, both primary and secondary, bearing upon the understanding of the documents are cited in the annotations, but no effort has been made to provide references to all collateral works that might be consulted; and when several sources contain the same or similar material and information, only the most readily accessible are cited. Such additional research and references, although undeniably useful, could not be pursued and provided within the space and time available to the editors without significantly infringing upon discharge of their main obligation to present accurate texts and requisite commentary with reasonable dispatch. For additional references to works on the multitude of topics covered in this work, the reader is referred to the Library's forthcoming reference work on the literature of the period, *Revolutionary America, 1763-1789: A Bibliography*.

In general, documents collected for this edition have been printed in their entirety, although many have been subordinated by relegating them to annotations to other letters and a few have been abstracted because of their routine, essentially repetitive character or availability in other accessible published versions. A descriptive note at the foot of each entry provides abbreviations indicating the nature and location of the document when it was copied for this project, except for privately owned manuscripts whose ownership is fully explained. The descriptive note also contains information on the document's authorship if explanation is necessary, and endorsements or addresses are quoted when they contain more than routine information. Other editorial practices employed in this work are explained in the "Guide to Editorial Apparatus" which follows.

# Guide to Editorial Apparatus

## TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices will be used in this work to clarify the text.

[...], [....]	One or two words missing and not conjecturable.
[...]¹, [....]¹	More than two words missing; subjoined footnote estimates amount of material missing.
[     ]	Number or part of a number missing or illegible.
[     ]¹	Blank space in manuscript; explanation in subjoined footnote.
[roman]	Conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter; question mark inserted if reading is doubtful.
[ <i>italic</i> ]	Editorial insertion in the text.
< <i>italic</i> >	Matter crossed out in manuscript but restored.

## DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in this work to describe the kinds of documents drawn upon. When more than one symbol is used in the descriptive note, the first to appear is that from which the main text is taken.

RC	recipient's copy
FC	file copy
LB	letterbook copy
MS	manuscript
Tr	transcript (used to designate not only contemporary and later handwritten copies of manuscripts, but also printed documents)

## LOCATION SYMBOLS

The following symbols, denoting institutions holding the manuscripts printed in the present volume, are taken from *Symbols of American Libraries*, 11th ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976). Each volume of this edition will contain a revised list.

CsmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
DLC	Library of Congress



DNA	National Archives
De-Ar	Delaware Public Archives Commission, Dover
DeHi	Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington
ICHi	Chicago Historical Society
InU	Indiana University, Bloomington
M-Ar	Massachusetts Archives, Boston
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
MdBJ-G	John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
N	New York State Library, Albany
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NHpr	Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.
NN	New York Public Library, New York
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N.C.
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
NcWsM	Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Nh-Ar	New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, Concord
NhD	Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
OCIWHi	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
OMC	Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio
PBMCA	Moravian Church Northern Province Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia
PPRF	Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia
PWbH	Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
R-Ar	Rhode Island State Archives, Providence
RHi	Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence
ScC	Charleston Library Society, Charleston, S.C.

ScHi	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
ViMtvL	Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Va.
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

Abbreviations and short titles frequently cited in the present volume are identified below.

Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield)

Adams, John. *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*. Edited by Lyman H. Butterfield et al. 4 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1961.

Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield)

Butterfield, Lyman H. et al., eds. *Adams Family Correspondence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1963–.

Adams, *Works* (Adams)

Adams, John. *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States*. . . . Edited by Charles Francis Adams. 10 vols. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850–56.

Adams, *Writings* (Cushing)

Adams, Samuel. *The Writings of Samuel Adams*. Edited by Harry A. Cushing. 4 vols. Boston: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904–8.

T.R. Adams, *American Independence*

Adams, Thomas R. *American Independence: The Growth of an Idea*. Providence: Brown University Press, 1965.

*Am. Archives*

Force, Peter, ed. *American Archives: Consisting of a Collection of Authentick Records, State Papers, Debates, and Letters and Other Notices of Publick Affairs*. 4th series. 6 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1837–53.

Austin, *Life of Gerry*

Austin, James T. *The Life of Elbridge Gerry, with Contemporary Letters to the Close of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1828–29.

*Bio. Dir. Cong.*

U.S. Congress. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1971*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

Burnett, *Letters*

Burnett, Edmund C., ed. *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. 8 vols. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921–36.

*CHS Bulletin*

*Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*.

**DAB**

*Dictionary of American Biography.* Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone.

**DNB**

*Dictionary of National Biography.* . . . Edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee.

**Franklin, Writings (Smyth)**

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin.* Edited by Albert H. Smyth. 10 vols. New York: Macmillan Co., 1905-7.

**Freeman, Washington**

Freeman, Douglas S. *George Washington, a Biography.* 7 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948-57.

**JCC**

U.S. Continental Congress. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789.* Edited by Worthington C. Ford et al. 34 vols. Washington: Library of Congress, 1904-37.

**Jefferson, Papers (Boyd)**

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by Julian P. Boyd et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-.

**Journals of N.Y. Prov. Cong.**

New York. *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York, 1775-1777.* 2 vols. Albany: T. Weed, 1842.

**Md. Hist. Magazine**

*Maryland Historical Magazine.*

**N.C. Colonial Records**

North Carolina. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.* Edited by William L. Saunders. 10 vols. Raleigh and Goldsboro, N.C.: P.M. Hale et al., 1886-90.

**N.C. State Records**

North Carolina. *The State Records of North Carolina.* Edited by Walter Clark. Vols. 11-26. Winston and Goldsboro, N.C.: M.I. and J.C. Stewart et al., 1895-1914.

**N.H. Provincial Papers**

New Hampshire. *Provincial and State Papers.* 40 vols. Concord, 1867-1943.

**N.J. Archives**

New Jersey Historical Society. *Documents Relating to the Colonial, Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey.* Archives of the State of New Jersey. 1st series. 42 vols. Newark and Paterson, N.J., 1880-1949.

**NYHS Collections**

*Collections of the New-York Historical Society.*

**OED**

*The Oxford English Dictionary.*

*Pa. Archives*

*Pennsylvania Archives*. 9 series, 119 vols. in 120. Philadelphia: J. Severns & Co., 1852-56; Harrisburg: state printer, 1874-1935.

## PCC

Papers of the Continental Congress. National Archives. Washington, D.C.

## PMHB

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

## PRO

Public Record Office. London.

Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden)

Rodney, Caesar. *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784*. Edited by George H. Ryden. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933.

Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*

Shipton, Clifford K. *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College*. Sibley's Harvard Graduates. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-.

Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg)

Ward, Samuel. *Correspondence of Governor Samuel Ward, May 1775-March 1776, with a Biographical Introduction Based Chiefly on the Ward Papers Covering the Period 1725-1776, and Genealogy of the Ward Family, Thomas Ward, Son of John, of Newport and Some of His Descendants*. Edited by Bernhard Knollenberg and compiled by Clifford P. Monahan. Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1952.

Warren-Adams *Letters*

*Warren-Adams Letters, Being Chiefly a Correspondence among John Adams, Samuel Adams, and James Warren*. 2 vols. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vols. 72-73. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1917-25.

Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick)

Washington, George. *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 4 vols. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925.

Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick)

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 39 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-44.

Webb, *Correspondence* (Ford)

Webb, Samuel B. *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. 3 vols. New York: Wickersham Press, 1893-94.

## WMQ

*William and Mary Quarterly*. 3d series.



## Acknowledgments

To the Library of Congress, the Congress of the United States, and the Ford Foundation this edition owes its existence. It is fitting, therefore, that we take this opportunity to acknowledge the foresight of the Library's administration in planning a timely and comprehensive observation of the American Revolution Bicentennial, of the Congress in funding a Bicentennial Office in the Library, and of the Ford Foundation in granting \$500,000 to support this project as a scholarly contribution to the celebration of the Bicentennial. It is with the most profound gratitude that the editors acknowledge their appreciation for this generous support. Our appreciation is also extended to the innumerable persons who have contributed to enriching the holdings of the Library of Congress to make it the premier institution for conducting research on the American Revolution.

The photocopies of the more than 20,000 documents that have been collected for this project have been assembled through the cooperation of several hundred institutions and private persons devoted to preserving the documentary record upon which the history and traditions of the American people rest, and it is to their work that a documentary publication of this nature should ultimately be dedicated. Unfortunately, the many individual contributors to this collecting effort cannot be adequately recognized, but the location of each document printed will be separately identified, and each volume of this edition will contain a list of institutions and persons represented in acknowledgment of the gratitude the editors owe to their contributions. For permission to print documents appearing in the present volume, we are grateful to the following institutions: the American Antiquarian Society, American Philosophical Society, Charleston Library Society, Chicago Historical Society, William L. Clements Library, Connecticut Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, Dartmouth College, Historical Society of Delaware, Delaware Public Archives Commission, Duke University, John Work Garrett Library, Goodspeed's Book Shop, Inc., Harvard University, Haverford College, Henry E. Huntington Library, Indiana University, Library Company of Philadelphia, Maine Historical Society, Marietta College, Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Archives Division, Massachusetts Historical Society, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C., Moravian Church Northern Province Archives, Bethlehem, Pa., Pierpont Morgan Library, Morristown National Historical Park, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, National Archives, New Hampshire Di-

vision of Archives and Records Management, New Jersey Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, New York Public Library, New York State Library, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, University of North Carolina, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, Public Record Office, London, Rhode Island Historical Society, Rhode Island State Archives, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Rosenbach Foundation, William Salt Library, Stafford, England, Sheffield City Libraries, England, South Carolina Historical Society, Virginia Historical Society, University of Virginia, Western Reserve Historical Society, College of William and Mary, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and Yale University. And in addition we express our thanks and appreciation to the following persons: Mr. Bentley Courtenay, the Earl of Dartmouth, Mr. Sol Feinstone, Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. James O. Keene, Mr. Herbert Klingelhofer, Mr. William S. Loeb, Mr. Paul Mellon, Mr. Armistead Peter III, Mr. J. Woodward Redmond, Mrs. Wharton Sinkler, Mr. Robert J. Sudderth, Jr., Mr. Paul Francis Webster, and Mrs. John G. Wood. Finally we owe thanks to the historians who have served on the Library of Congress' Advisory Committee on the American Revolution Bicentennial, and especially to Mr. Julian P. Boyd, Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield, and Mr. Merrill Jensen, who generously consented to serve as an advisory committee for this project.

## The Continental Congress, 1774–1775

The period covered by this volume of the *Letters of Delegates to Congress*—from the eve of the First Continental Congress of September 1774 through the August 1775 adjournment of the second—was one of profound importance to the people of the 13 colonies who sent delegates to Philadelphia. It was during these months that they began to acquire an identity that distinguished them from their fellow citizens in other parts of the empire, a unity of purpose that encouraged them to plan and act in unison, and shared experiences that eventually enabled them to chart their future as a separate and independent nation. Yet there is little in these pages to indicate that the delegates who had been sent to Philadelphia to devise policies against British encroachments upon their liberties were prepared to renounce their status as subjects of the crown and citizens of the empire. True, Benjamin Franklin, shortly before the August adjournment of the Second Congress, proposed a plan of confederation that implied a separate future for the 13 Continental colonies then represented in Philadelphia, but, significantly, the delegates refused to bring the subject to debate and even as late as January 16, 1776, rejected a motion to set a day for considering it, reluctant to take any formal step that appeared to slam the door to reconciliation. And although many individual delegates did indeed urge decisive steps to force redress of their grievances and an explicit concession that Parliament lacked authority to tax them or to legislate in matters involving their internal polity, throughout most of 1775 the delegates continued to hope that their king and his ministers would concede the justness of American claims and initiate conciliatory measures to restore the delicate and complex equilibrium of the empire.

But if the period covered by this volume was one marked by uncertainty among the delegates, the documents that came from their pens clearly suggest that their uncertainty was rooted in doubts over tactics to be adopted rather than in fundamental purpose, in the recognition that they faced a difficult task rather than in a lack of determination to take any reasonable steps necessary to retain the exercise of rights and liberties long enjoyed. Indeed, it requires no special insight to perceive that their writings are suffused with a sense of the high purpose that brought them together and an awareness of the practical and symbolic significance of their deliberations and decisions. They had come together to deliberate—to exchange views, articulate assumptions, propose measures, evaluate alternatives, gauge constituent expectations, predict British countermeasures—to educate one an-

other. They were, in short, participants in a great learning experience; and in this sense Congress itself was fundamentally an experiment.

Considering this circumstance, it comes as no surprise that agreement on many issues was reached but slowly and cautiously, after extended debate to ensure that congressional resolutions would command the widest possible support throughout the colonies. Indeed, the delegates aspired at the outset to secure passage of their resolutions "unanimously in the affirmative," to present them to the outside world "N.C.D." (*nemine contradicente*), without dissent. For as John Rutledge stated in the course of the second day's debate: "We have no coercive or legislative Authority. Our Constituents are bound only in Honour, to observe our Determinations." And Samuel Ward reported happily early in October "that the common Good of our Country seems to be the general Aim & upon a proper Discussion of a subject We are generally very unanimous." This did not mean, of course, that "unanimity" required the support of every delegate present and voting, but rather only the majority of the delegates of each colony, for the constituent parts of Congress were the colonies. The delegates did not cast individual votes—they voted as a unit, each colony casting a single vote unless represented by an evenly divided delegation. Although broad agreement became more difficult to achieve in 1775 as the delegates became increasingly immersed in day-to-day administrative details and less preoccupied with deliberating the general principles and broad policy decisions that dominated the First Congress, their desire to present a united front to the outside world must be kept in mind when attempting any assessment of the work of Congress during its early stages. And in view of the striking differences to be found among the colonies and the diversity of the American colonial experience, the great range of grievances suffered by different colonies at various times and the unevenness with which the colonies bore the burdens and experienced the advantages of the empire, the achievement of a working consensus among approximately 50 representatives from 12 and then 13 constituencies can be adjudged a remarkable triumph in practical politics.

Still, the work of the delegates must necessarily be judged in the context of their immediate aims. Sent to Philadelphia to deliberate how best to obtain a redress of grievances rather than to create a new and centralized sovereign nation, the delegates devoted themselves in 1774 and 1775 to limited ends that bore little relation to the nationalist imperatives many Americans felt in 1789 or 1865. Although they attempted to skirt issues that raised the problem of sovereignty, the delegates could not of course avoid considering the extent of the authority they should assume or the limits of their enforcement powers, since their recommendations would have to be submitted to the indi-



vidual colonies, which in turn would forge the economic weapons that were expected to bring Britain to her senses. Nor could tactics be separated from purpose, procedures from goals, and as a result they appointed a committee at the very outset whose threefold task was summed up in the resolution defining its purpose: "to State the rights of the Colonies in general, the several instances in which these rights are violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them." By separating their basic task into its constituent parts—to state rights, enumerate grievances, and adopt "means" necessary to obtain redress—they greatly simplified the job before them, reducing it to concrete terms and transforming general and theoretical considerations to specific, manageable matters.

To give coherence to their protests and greater weight and substance to their charges against Parliament, they decided, for example, that it was expedient to limit their discussions to post-1763 violations of American rights, although in considering their "rights" they did indeed speculate in the most general terms about the nature of the empire and ranged over the entire course of their history from the planting of the first English settlements in North America. And they devoted much time to debating the probable effectiveness of their methods, the breadth of the support they would command, and the tactics that would not only command assent but also involve costs that could be shared equitably. So too were they influenced by dispatches arriving periodically from Massachusetts with fresh reports on the plight of Boston and the efforts of Gov. Thomas Gage to suppress resistance to his authority. Consequently, their debates on American rights and grievances, the issues that had brought them to Philadelphia in the first instance, could not be disentangled from proposals arising out of appeals from Boston seeking endorsement of measures adopted by Massachusetts leaders to cope with Governor Gage. And simultaneously the delegates proceeded with plans to send appeals to the people of Great Britain and the colonies of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Geòrgia, and East and West Florida, in addition to the colonies represented at Philadelphia, while working out the language of a petition to the king and creating an "Association" to enforce economic sanctions against Britain. Having hammered out a statement on American grievances and rights and reached agreement upon language suitable for the various addresses, petitions, and appeals to be sent forth, the delegates rushed to a late October adjournment and hurried home to observe the reaction of Americans to their work and await the response of the king and Parliament to their petitions and appeals, determined to return to Philadelphia the following May should it become necessary to continue their efforts to obtain a satisfactory response from the crown.



Among the 216 entries printed here covering the First Continental Congress the reader will find many previously unpublished manuscripts, complete texts of many documents abridged in Burnett's *Letters*, and a considerable number of items that have previously been available but known only to specialists. Some of the most revealing of these include four documents in the hand of John Dickinson demonstrating the key role he played in the preparation of the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, the Address to the King, the Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, and the Letter to Quebec. And a great deal of significant information now brought together for the first time is contained in a number of entries from the diaries and notes of debates kept by Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and Silas Deane, as well as numerous letters, memoranda, and notes of Samuel Ward. Bits and pieces of new information too numerous to list are scattered throughout the delegates' correspondence, although it may be appropriate to note specifically that information contained in these documents now makes possible a clearer understanding of topics as diverse as the election of New York delegates John Haring and Henry Wisner, Joseph Galloway's activities in and out of Congress, and the manner in which Secretary Thomson occasionally made notes of debate for transfer into his rough journals.

In addition, 57 delegate letters written during the period between October 26, 1774, and May 10, 1775, have been included in order to provide information on the mood of the delegates upon their adjournment, their activities at home to promote a favorable reception for the recommendations of Congress, their efforts to remain in communication with one another during the winter between the First and Second Congresses, and their expectations as they made preparations to return to Philadelphia the following spring.

Upon reconvening, the delegates continued to seek a path to reconciliation through negotiations, but since the clash of troops at Lexington the preceding month had fundamentally altered the American resistance movement, their debates immediately became dominated by practical military matters. Proposals that they assume direction of the New England troops besieging Gage's forces in Boston and responsibility for coordinating military efforts in all the colonies quickly transformed Congress from a deliberative body to one wielding extensive administrative and executive functions. In a real sense, the issue now before Congress was the question not of *whether* the delegates would accept responsibility for directing substantial military operations but rather of *what* specific steps should be taken and *how far* they should be carried. Facing a fundamental dilemma, the delegates were immediately at odds among themselves over how vigorously to push military preparations and how completely they should place their trust in petitions and British good will. These were, of

course, inseparable issues, for to give weight to their petitions they had to demonstrate their military capacity, and to arouse broad support for the resort to arms they had to convince many Americans that reasonable efforts to find a peaceful solution had been made before they turned to force. To carry the olive branch and wield the sword simultaneously was a difficult challenge. In the words of John Adams, the delegates were indeed "between Hawk and Buzzard."

Thus, during the first session of the Second Congress the delegates continued to debate the virtue and practicability of pursuing conciliatory measures, but their proceedings inevitably came to be dominated by proposals involving problems pertaining to strategy and supply and other practical matters. How should they follow up the capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga? Should they invade Canada? Create Indian departments and treat with various tribes? Establish a postal system and military hospital department? Levy requisitions and impose state quotas? Encourage provincial leaders to assume governmental powers? Make recommendations on issues such as the treatment of pacifists and the settlement of interstate disputes? Exempt shippers from the Association if they would import vitally needed powder and saltpetre?

Because of the brevity of the journals, we shall of course never know all the problems that came before Congress or have adequate information on how the delegates resolved the multitude of issues discussed in the course of their proceedings. But despite the secrecy resolution under which they operated—"that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligation of honour, to keep the proceedings secret, untill the majority shall direct"—both the official and private communications of the delegates in this volume provide extensive insight into their work and attitudes. To make full use of the materials presented in this edition the reader must avail himself of the 34 volumes of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*. And for the proper study of much of the material presented, the microfilm edition of the "Papers of the Continental Congress," for which the National Archives has recently prepared a new and comprehensive index, should be consulted. For essential background information and a general narrative of the work of Congress he is advised to consult *The Continental Congress* by Edmund C. Burnett, who not only devoted 30 years to editing the pioneering *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, 1774-89*, but upon his subsequent retirement sat down to share the fruits of his life's work and composed this unsurpassed account of our legislative history during the American Revolution.

## Chronology of Congress

SEPTEMBER 1774 to AUGUST 1775

1774

- September 5 Congress convenes at Carpenters' Hall; elects Peyton Randolph president, Charles Thomson secretary.
- September 17 Endorses Suffolk Resolves from Massachusetts.
- September 27 Adopts nonimportation agreement, to begin December 1.
- September 28 Orders Joseph Galloway's plan of union to lie on the table.
- September 30 Resolves to halt exports to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies effective September 10, 1775.
- October 1 Resolves to prepare an address to the king.
- October 14 Adopts declaration of grievances and rights.
- October 18 Approves the Association.
- October 21 Approves an address to the people of Great Britain and one to the inhabitants of the colonies.
- October 22 Agrees to reconvene on May 10, 1775, "unless the redress of grievances, which we have desired, be obtained before that time." Elects Henry Middleton president.
- October 26 Approves an address to the king and a letter to Quebec. Congress dissolves itself.

1775

- May 10 Second Continental Congress convenes at Pennsylvania State House; reelects President Peyton Randolph and Secretary Charles Thomson.
- May 17 Resolves to ban exports to British colonies failing to join the Association.

- May 18     Receives news of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
- May 24     Elects John Hancock president.
- May 26     Resolves to send a second petition to the king and to put "these colonies . . . into a state of defence."
- June 1     Resolves against an "expedition or incursion" into Canada.
- June 2     Receives Massachusetts proposal to take up civil government.
- June 7     Resolves to observe July 20 as a Fast Day.
- June 9     Endorses assumption of civil authority in Massachusetts by the provincial convention.
- June 10    Resolves to organize a Continental Army.
- June 15    Appoints George Washington commander in chief of the army.
- June 22    Resolves to emit \$2 million in Continental currency.
- June 27    Approves invasion of Canada.
- July 5     Approves petition to the king.
- July 6     Approves "Declaration on Taking Arms."
- July 8     Approves address to inhabitants of Great Britain.
- July 12    Organizes three departments for Indian affairs.
- July 21    Ignores Benjamin Franklin's proposed Articles of Confederation.
- July 27    Resolves to establish a system of military hospitals.
- July 31    Adopts response to Lord North's Conciliatory Resolution.
- August 2   Adjourns to September 5.

## List of Delegates to Congress

This section lists both the dates on which delegates were elected to terms falling within the period covered by this volume and the inclusive dates of their attendance. The former are generally ascertainable from contemporary state records, but the latter are often elusive bits of information derived from the journals of Congress or extrapolated from references contained in the delegates' correspondence, and in such cases the "facts" are inevitably conjectural. It is not possible to determine interruptions in the attendance of many delegates, and no attempt has been made to record intermittent service caused by illness or brief trips home, especially of delegates from New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania living within easy access of Philadelphia. For occasional references to such periods of intermittent service as survive in the correspondence and notes of various delegates, see the index under individual delegates. Until fuller information is provided in a consolidated summary of delegate attendance in the final volume of this series, the reader is advised to consult Burnett, *Letters*, 1:xli-lxvi, for additional information on conjectural dates of attendance. Brief biographical sketches of all the delegates are available in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971*, and fuller sketches of more than half of the delegates can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

### CONNECTICUT

#### *Silas Deane*

Elected: July 13, November 3, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

#### *Eliphalet Dyer*

Elected: July 13, November 3, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

#### *Titus Hosmer*

Elected: November 3, 1774

Did not attend

#### *William Samuel Johnson*

Elected: July 13, 1774

Declined

#### *Richard Law*

Elected: July 13, 1774

Declined

#### *Roger Sherman*

Elected: August 2? 1774



Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Jonathan Sturges*

Elected: November 3, 1774

Did not attend

*Joseph Trumbull*

Elected: August 2? 1774

Did not attend

*Erastus Wolcott*

Elected: July 13, 1774

Declined

#### DELAWARE

*Thomas McKean*

Elected: August 2, 1774; March 16, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*George Read*

Elected: August 2, 1774; March 16, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2? 1775

*Caesar Rodney*

Elected: August 2, 1774; March 16, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

#### GEORGIA

*Lyman Hall*

Elected: (by the Parish of St. John's) March 21, 1775

Attended: May 13 to August 2, 1775

#### MARYLAND

*Samuel Chase*

Elected: June 22-25, December 8-12, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 23, 1775

*Robert Goldsborough*

Elected: June 22-25, December 8-12, 1774

Attended: September 5 to —, 1774; May 15 to June —, 1775

*John Hall*

Elected: December 8-12, 1774

Attended: May 10 to June —, 1775

*Thomas Johnson*

Elected: June 22-25, December 8-12, 1774

Attended: September 6 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 23, 1775

*William Paca*

Elected: June 22–25, December 8–12, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 23, 1775

*Thomas Stone*

Elected: December 8–12, 1774

Attended: May 13 to June —, 1775

*Matthew Tilghman*

Elected: June 22–25, December 8–12, 1774

Attended: September 12 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 23? 1775

## MASSACHUSETTS

*John Adams*

Elected: June 17, December 5, 1774; February 6, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Samuel Adams*

Elected: June 17, December 5, 1774; February 6, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*James Bowdoin*

Elected: June 17, 1774

Declined

*Thomas Cushing*

Elected: June 17, December 5, 1774; February 6, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*John Hancock*

Elected: December 5, 1774; February 6, 1775

Attended: May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Robert Treat Paine*

Elected: June 17, December 5, 1774; February 6, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

*Nathaniel Folsom*

Elected: July 21, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774

*John Langdon*

Elected: January 25, 1775

Attended: May 10 to August 2, 1775

*John Sullivan*

Elected: July 21, 1774; January 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to June 22, 1775

## NEW JERSEY

*Stephen Crane*

Elected: July 23, 1774; January 24, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to 14? 1775

*John DeHart*

Elected: July 23, 1774; January 24, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2? 1775

*James Kinsey*

Elected: July 23, 1774; January 24, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26? 1774; May 10 to 14? 1775

*William Livingston*

Elected: July 23, 1774; January 24, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2? 1775

*Richard Smith*

Elected: July 23, 1774; January 24, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to 14?; May 26? to August 2? 1775

## NEW YORK

*John Alsop*

Elected: July 28, 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: September 14 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 17? 1775

*Simon Boerum*

Elected: —, 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: October 1 to 26, 1774; May 10 to June —, 1775

*George Clinton*

Elected: April 22, 1775

Attended: May 15 to June —, July — to August 2, 1775

*James Duane*

Elected: July 28, 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*William Floyd*

Elected: August 11? 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 17? 1775

*John Haring*

Elected: August 16, 1774

Attended: September 26 to —, 1774

*John Jay*

Elected: July 28, 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 13 to August 2, 1775

*Francis Lewis*

Elected: April 22, 1775

Attended: May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Philip Livingston*

Elected: July 28, 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Robert R. Livingston, Jr.*

Elected: April 22, 1775

Attended: May 15 to July 8? 1775

*Isaac Low*

Elected: July 28, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774

*Lewis Morris*

Elected: April 22, 1775

Attended: May 15 to August 2, 1775

*Philip Schuyler*

Elected: April 22, 1775

Attended: May 15 to June 19? 1775

*Henry Wisner*

Elected: August 16, 1774; April 22, 1775

Attended: September 14 to October 26, 1774; May 15 to July 18? 1775

## NORTH CAROLINA

*Richard Caswell*

Elected: August 27, 1774; April 5, 1775

Attended: September 17 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to June 28? 1775

*Joseph Hewes*

Elected: August 27, 1774; April 5, 1775

Attended: September 14 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July —, 1775

*William Hooper*

Elected: August 27, 1774; April 5, 1775

Attended: September 14 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

## PENNSYLVANIA

*Edward Biddle*

Elected: July 22, December 15, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July —, 1775

*John Dickinson*

Elected: October 15, December 15, 1774

Attended: October 17 to 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Benjamin Franklin*

Elected: May 6, 1775

Attended: May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Joseph Galloway*

Elected: July 22, December 15, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; resignation accepted  
May 12, 1775*Charles Humphreys*

Elected: July 22, December 15, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2?  
1775*Thomas Mifflin*

Elected: July 22, December 15, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to June 20?  
1775*John Morton*

Elected: July 22, December 15, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to July 11,  
1775*Samuel Rhoads*

Elected: July 22, 1774

Attended: September 5 to —, 1774

*George Ross*

Elected: July 22, December 15, 1774

Attended: September 14 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2?  
1775*Thomas Willing*

Elected: May 6, 1775

Attended: May 10 to August 2? 1775

*James Wilson*

Elected: May 6, 1775

Attended: May 15 to August 2, 1775

## RHODE ISLAND

*Stephen Hopkins*

Elected: June 15, December 9, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 18 to August 2,  
1775*Samuel Ward*

Elected: June 15, December 9, 1774

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 15 to August 2,  
1775

## SOUTH CAROLINA

*Christopher Gadsden*

Elected: July 6–8, 1774; January 11–17, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2,  
1775



*Thomas Lynch*

Elected: July 6–8, 1774; January 11–17, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Henry Middleton*

Elected: July 6–8, 1774; January 11–17, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Edward Rutledge*

Elected: July 6–8, 1774; January 11–17, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*John Rutledge*

Elected: July 6–8, 1774; January 11–17, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

## VIRGINIA

*Richard Bland*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 24, 1774; May 10 to 23, 1775

*Benjamin Harrison*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 24, 1774; May 10 to July 29, 1775

*Patrick Henry*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 24, 1774; May 18 to July 29, 1775

*Thomas Jefferson*

Elected: March 27, 1775

Attended: June 21 to July 31, 1775

*Richard Henry Lee*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 6 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to August 2, 1775

*Edmund Pendleton*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 24, 1774; May 10 to July 22, 1775

*Peyton Randolph*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 24, 1774; May 10 to 23, 1775

*George Washington*

Elected: August 5, 1774; March 25, 1775

Attended: September 5 to October 26, 1774; May 10 to June 16, 1775

## Illustrations

### View of Philadelphia

endpapers

"An East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia; taken by George Heap from the Jersey Shore, under the Direction of Nicholas Scull Surveyor General of the Province of Pennsylvania." This detail is from an engraving by Thomas Jefferys based on an etching of the city published in Thomas Jefferys, *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies. Being a Collection of All the Maps, Charts, Plans, and Particular Surveys, That Have Been Published of That Part of the World, Either in Europe or America* (London: R. Sayer, 1768).

### Carpenters' Hall

Carpenters' Hall, where the First Continental Congress met on September 5, 1774.

Wood engraving in the *Pictorial National Library, a Monthly Miscellany of the Useful and Entertaining in Science, Art and Literature*, January 1849.

### Philadelphia Market

17

"High Street, From the Country Market-place Philadelphia." Engraving by William Birch & Son, in *The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, North America; as It Appeared in the Year 1800, Consisting of Twenty-eight Plates* (Springland Cot, near Neshaminy Bridge on the Bristol Road, Pennsylvania, 1800).

### Peyton Randolph

21

Randolph, distinguished speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, was elected president of the First Continental Congress on September 5, 1774, and of the Second Continental Congress on May 10, 1775. Although he presided only briefly over the Second Congress before leaving for Virginia to attend a session of the House of Burgesses, Randolph returned in the autumn of 1775 to a seat in Congress and served another brief term until his sudden death on October 22, 1775.

Painting by John Wollaston. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society.

### Charles Thomson

22

The first and only secretary of the Continental and Confederation Congresses, 1774–89, was Charles Thomson. His portrait was drawn at

Philadelphia by Pierre Eugène Du Simitière, probably in 1779. The authorized engravings of Du Simitière's set of 13 profiles were done by Benoit Louis Prévost, whose prints were pirated by the British.

Engraving by "B.B.E." in *Portraits of the Generals, Ministers, Magistrates, Members of Congress, and Others, Who Have Rendered Themselves Illustrious in the Revolution of the United States of North America* (London: R. Wilkinson, 1783).

## Samuel Adams

73

Samuel Adams was widely regarded as one of the chief architects of American resistance to British authority, a view reflected in General Gage's proclamation of June 12, 1775, exempting Adams from the offer of pardon extended to Americans in rebellion, and supported by the evidence of his extensive correspondence with Massachusetts officials while he was in Philadelphia.

Painting by John Singleton Copley, 1770–72. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

## Secretary Thomson's Journal of Congress

114–15

Charles Thomson's entry in the manuscript journal of Congress for Wednesday and Thursday, September 28–29, 1774, is one of the few contemporary documents bearing upon the treatment accorded Joseph Galloway's Plan of Union when it was introduced and debated on September 28. The deleted passage—reading "Wednesday. Here insert Mr. Galloway's motion & plan"—was clearly inserted sometime after September 30, probably as a copyist's instruction, and was never an integral part of the minutes of the proceedings. The belief that Congress subsequently took punitive action to delete an entry pertaining to Galloway's plan—"so that no vestige of it might appear there," as Galloway later claimed—proceeds from a misunderstanding about the nature of Thomson's original entry and the manner in which he maintained his manuscript journal. (See pp. 112–17.)

From the Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives and Records Service.

## John Dickinson's Draft Heads of Grievances and Rights

195

Page 5 from a draft of the document known as the Declaration of Rights and Grievances that was adopted on October 14, 1774. Once thought to be "the first draft of the sub-committee's report on violations of rights" and printed as John Sullivan's draft declaration in *JCC*, 1:63–71, this manuscript is in the hand of John Dickinson. The fact that Dickinson was not elected to Congress until October 15 only

deepens the mystery surrounding his role in the composition of this important state document. (See pp. 193–94.)

From the Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

John Dickinson's Draft Memorial to the Inhabitants  
of the Colonies 218–19

Pages 4 and 8 of a draft of the Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, in the hand of John Dickinson. Although Richard Henry Lee has traditionally been considered the author of this memorial, the extensive revisions, interlined passages, and marginalia contained in this manuscript leave no doubt as to Dickinson's authorship. (See pp. 217–21.)

From the R. R. Logan Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Samuel Ward 272

Ward, who had served three terms as governor of Rhode Island before being elected a delegate to the Congress, was esteemed by his colleagues as "an honourable, a conscientious, a benevolent and inflexible Patriot." He remains of special interest to the student of the early history of Congress because of his diary and extensive correspondence. These papers span the year and a half from the convening of the First Congress in September 1774 to his death from smallpox in Philadelphia in March 1776.

Photograph courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Thomas Johnson 274

Johnson, whose political friends represented a broad segment of leaders both inside and outside Maryland, worked actively to maintain communications among delegates during the period between the First and Second Congresses. When a Continental Army was created in June 1775, he placed the name of his friend Washington in nomination for the position of commander in chief. Johnson's election in February 1777 as the state of Maryland's first governor under the new constitution that replaced proprietary government subsequently demonstrated the strength of his influence and appeal.

Etching by Albert Rosenthal (Philadelphia, 1890). Probably based on a Charles Willson Peale painting (1772), now in a private collection, of Johnson with his family.

Lyman Hall 329

Dr. Lyman Hall appeared before Congress on May 13, 1775, and was admitted as a nonvoting delegate "from the parish of St. John's,

in the colony of Georgia," although Georgia was not officially represented until a full delegation arrived in Philadelphia that September.

Wood engraving in William Hunt, *American Biographical Panorama* (Albany: Printed by J. Munsell, 1849).

John Dickinson

389

Dickinson, the Pennsylvania Farmer, widely celebrated for his learning and the power of his pen, played a dominant role during the closing days of the First Continental Congress but gradually lost influence in 1775 as he became increasingly identified as an advocate of moderate measures and reconciliation with Britain.

Engraving by B. L. Prévost, 1781, based on a drawing by Pierre Eugène Du Simitière.

James Duane

393

New York delegate James Duane was a leading conservative spokesman for conciliatory measures. The notes he kept on several key debates have survived to provide important information, unavailable in other documents, on a number of significant developments in Congress.

Painting by John Trumbull, 1805. Courtesy of the Art Commission, City of New York.

John Sullivan

538

Four delegates—Thomas Mifflin, Philip Schuyler, John Sullivan, and George Washington—immediately accepted military commissions upon the creation of the Continental Army in June 1775. Sullivan left Philadelphia on June 27 for the American camp in Massachusetts, and John Langdon thus became New Hampshire's sole representative in Congress until the arrival of Josiah Bartlett in September. Sullivan later returned to Congress to serve another term in 1780–81.

Engraving in Christoph Heinrich Korn, *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (Nürnberg: G. N. Raspe, 1776–84), based on an engraving by C. Corbutt, London.

Joseph Hewes

577

A North Carolina merchant and political moderate, Hewes long hoped for a reconciliation between Britain and the colonies. He frequently used his position in Philadelphia to promote internal unity among North Carolinians, who because of their comparative remoteness from the chief scenes of the war were thought to be poorly in-



formed and less than vigilant in making preparations to resist the encroachments of the mother country.

Engraving by F. Kearny after a drawing by J. B. Longacre based on a painting by Charles Willson Peale executed in 1776. In John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, vol. 7 (Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1827).



LETTERS OF DELEGATES  
1  
August 1774–August 1775  
TO CONGRESS



## John Adams' Diary

[August 29–September 5, 1774]

1774 Aug. 29. Monday rode to Trenton upon Delaware River, to break fast. At Williams's the Tavern at Trenton Ferry, We saw four very large black Walnut Trees standing in a Row behind the House.<sup>1</sup> It seems that these Trees are plenty in these Southern Provinces—all the black Walnut Timber which is used by our Cabinet Makers in Boston is brought from the Southern Provinces.

This Town of Trenton is a pretty Village—it appears to be the largest Town that we have seen in the Jerseys, larger than Elizabeth Town, Brunswick or Prince town.

We then crossed the Ferry over Delaware River to the Province of Pennsylvania. We then rode across an Elbow, and came to the Delaware again—a beautifull River navigable up as far as Trenton. The Country on each Side is very level.

We arrived at Bristol about Eleven O Clock, a Village on the Delaware, opposite to which is Burlington. The Scenes of Nature are delightfull here. This is 20 Miles from Philadelphia. Here We saw two or 3 Passage Waggon—a Vehicle with four Wheels contrived to carry many Passengers and much Baggage.

We then rode to the red Lion and dined. After Dinner We stopped at Frankfort [Frankford] about five Miles out of Town. A Number of Carriages and Gentlemen came out of Phyladelphia to meet us. Mr. Thomas Mifflin, Mr. McKean of the Lower Counties, one of their Delegates, Mr. Rutledge of Carolina, and a Number of Gentlemen from Philadelphia. Mr. Folsom and Mr. Sullivan, the N. Hampshire Delegates. We were introduced to all these Gentlemen and most cordially wellcomed to Philadelphia. We then rode into Town, and dirty, dusty, and fatigued as we were, we could not resist the Importunity, to go to the Tavern, the most genteel one in America. There we were introduced to a Number of other Gentlemen of the City—Dr. Shippen, Dr. Knox, Mr. Smith, and a Multitude of others, and to Mr. Linch and Mr. Gadsden of S. Carolina. Here we had a fresh Welcome to the City of Philadelphia, and after some Time spent in Conversation a curtain was drawn, and in the other Half of the Chamber a Supper appeared as elegant as ever was laid upon a Table. About Eleven o Clock we retired.

By a Computation made this Evening by Mr. McKean, there will be at the Congress about 56 Members, twenty two of them Lawyers. Mr. McKean gave me an Account this Evening of the Behaviour of Ruggles at the former Congress 1765. He was treated pretty cavalierly, his Behaviour was very dishonourable.

A Gentleman<sup>2</sup> who returned into Town with Mr. Paine and me in our Coach, undertook to caution us against two Gentlemen particu-



larly. One was Dr. Smith the Provost of the Colledge, who is looking up to Government for an American Episcopate and a Pair of lawn Sleeves. Soft, polite, insinuating, adulating, sensible, learned, industrious, indefatigable, he has had Art enough and Refinement upon Art to make Impressions even on Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Reed.

1774. Aug. 30. Tuesday. Walked a little about Town. Visited the Markett, the State house, the Carpenters Hall where the Congress is to Sit,<sup>3</sup> &c.—then call'd at Mr. Mifflins—a grand, spacious, and elegant House. Here We had much Conversation with Mr. Charles Thompson [Thomson], who is it seems about marrying a Lady a Relation of Mr. Dickensons with 5000*£*. st[erling]. This Charles Thompson is the Sam. Adams of Phyladelphia—the Life of the Cause of Liberty, they say.

A Friend Collins came to see us and invited us to dine on Thursday.

We returned to our Lodgings and Mr. Lynch, Mr. Gadsden, Mr. Middleton, and young Mr. Rutledge came to visit us. Mr. Lynch introduced Mr. Middleton to us. Mr. Middleton was silent and reserved, young Rutledge was high enough. A Promise of the King was mentioned. He started, "I should have no Regard to his Word. His Promises are not worth any Thing," &c. This is a young, smart, spirited Body.

Mr. Blair came to visit us, with another Gentleman. Mr. Smith, an old Gentleman, was introduced to us, by his Son. Another Mr. Smith came in with our Mr. Paine.

The Regularity and Elegance of this City are very striking. It is situated upon a Neck of Land, about two Miles wide between the River De la ware and the River Schuilkill. The Streets are all exactly straight and parrallell to the River. Front Street is near the River, then 2 street, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th. The cross Streets which intersect these are all equally wide, straight and parallell to each other, and are named from forrest and fruit Trees, Pear Street, Apple Street, Walnut street, Chestnut Street, &c.

Towards the Evening, Mr. Thomas Smith, son of the old Gentleman who made us a Visit who is a Brother of Mr. Smith the Minister of Casco Bay, and Dr. Shippen and his Brother and Mr. Reed, went with Us to the Hospital. We saw, in the lower Rooms under Ground, the Cells of the Lunaticks, a Number of them, some furious, some merry, some Melancholly, and among the rest John Ingham, whom I once saved at Taunton Court from being whipped and sold for Horse stealing. We then went into the Sick Rooms which are very long, large Walks with rows of Beds on each side, and the lame and sick upon them—a dreadfull Scene of human Wretchedness. The Weakness and Languor, the Distress and Misery, of these Objects is truely a Woefull Sight.

Dr. Shippen then carried Us into his Chamber where he shewed Us a Series of Anatomical Paintings of exquisite Art. Here was a great Variety of Views of the human Body, whole, and in Parts. The Dr. entertained us with a very clear, concise and comprehensive Lecture upon all the Parts of the human Frame. This Entertainment charmed me. He first shewed us a Set of Paintings of Bodies entire and alive—then of others with the Skin taken off, then with the first Coat of Muscles taken off, then with the second, then with all—the bare bones. Then he shewed Us paintings of the Insides of a Man, seen before, all the Muscles of the Belly being taken off. The Heart, Lungs, Stomach, Gutts.

1774 Aug. 31. Wednesday. Breakfasted at Mr. Bayards of Philadelphia, with Mr. Sprout a presbyterian Minister.

Made a Visit to Governor Ward of Rhode Island at his Lodgings. There We were introduced to several Gentlemen.

Mr. Dickenson, the Farmer of Pensylvania, came to Mr. Wards Lodgings to see us, in his Coach and four beautifull Horses. He was introduced to Us, and very politely said he was exceedingly glad to have the Pleasure of seeing these Gentlemen, made some Enquiry after the Health of his Brother and Sister, who are now in Boston. Gave us some Account of his late ill Health and his present Gout. This was the first Time of his getting out.

Mr. Dickenson has been Subject to Hectic Complaints. He is a Shadow—tall, but slender as a Reed—pale as ashes. One would think at first Sight that he could not live a Month. Yet upon a more attentive Inspection, he looks as if the Springs of Life were strong enough to last many Years.

We dined with Mr. Lynch, his Lady and Daughter at their Lodgings, Mrs. McKenzies. And a very agreeable Dinner and Afternoon we had notwithstanding the violent Heat. We were all vastly pleased with Mr. Lynch. He is a solid, firm, judicious Man.

He told us that Coll. Washington made the most eloquent Speech at the Virginia Convention that ever was made. Says he, "I will raise 1000 Men, subsist them at my own Expence and march my self at their Head for the Relief of Boston."<sup>4</sup>

He entertained us with the Scandalous History of Sir Egerton Leigh—the Story of his Wifes Sister, and of his Dodging his Uncle, the Story the Girl swore to before the Lord Mayor, and all that.

There is not says Lynch a greater Rascall among all the Kings Friends. He has great Merit, in this Reign.

Mr. Lynch says they shall export this Year 12,000 Wt. of Indigo and 150,000 Tierces of Rice from S. Carolina. About 300 Ships are employed.

Mrs. Lynch enquired kindly after Mrs. Adams's Health, and Mrs. Smith and family and Mr. Boylstone And Mrs. and Mr. Gill &c.

1774 Sept. 1. Thursday. This Day, We breakfasted at Mr. Mifflins, Mr. C. Thompson came in, and soon after Dr. Smith. The famous Dr. Smith, the Provost of the Colledge. He appears a plain Man—tall, and rather Aukward—there is an Appearance of Art.

We then went to return Visits to the Gentlemen who had visited us. We visited a Mr. Cadwallader a Gentleman of large Fortune, a grand and elegant House And Furniture. We then visited Mr. Powell, another splendid Seat. We then visited the Gentlemen from S. Carolina and about twelve were introduced to Mr. Galloway, the Speaker of the House in Pensylvania. He looks like Ben. Davis the Sandimanian.

We dined at Friend Collins's—Stephen Collins's—with Govr. Hopkins, Govr. Ward, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Rhoades, &c.

In the Evening all the Gentlemen of the Congress who were arrived in Town, met at Smiths the new City Tavern and spent the Evening together. 25 Members were come. Virginia, N. Carolina, Maryland, and the City of N. York were not arrived.

Mr. William Livingston from the Jerseys, lately of New York, was there. He is a plain Man, tall, black, wears his Hair—nothing elegant or genteel about him. They say he is no public Speaker, but very sensible, and learned, and a ready Writer.

Mr. Rutledge the Elder, was there, but his Appearance is not very promising. There is no Keeness in his Eye. No Depth in his Countenance. Nothing of the profound, sagacious, brilliant, or sparkling in his first Appearance.

Yesterday We removed our Lodgings to the House of Miss Jane Port, in Arch Street, about half Way between Front Street and Second Street.

I find that there is a Tribe of People here, exactly like the Tribe in the Massachusetts, of Hutchinsonian Addressers. There is indeed a Sett in every Colony. We have seen the Revolutions of their Sentiments. Their Opinions have undergone as many Changes as the Moon. At the Time of the Stamp Act, and just before it, they professed to be against the Parliamentary Claim of Right to tax Americans, to be Friends to our Constitutions, our Charter &c. Bernard was privately, secretly endeavouring to procure an Alteration of our Charter. But he concealed his Designs untill his Letters were detected. Hutchinson professed to be a stanch Friend to Liberty, and to our Charter, untill his Letters were detected—a great Number of good People thought him a good Man, and a Sincere Friend to the Congregational Interest in Religion and to our Charter Priviledges. They went on with this machiavilian Dissimulation, untill those Letters were detected—after that they waited untill the Boston Port Bill was passed, and then, thinking the People must submit immediately and that Lord North would carry his whole System triumphantly,

they threw off the Mask. Dr. Smith, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Vaughan and others in this Town, are now just where the Hutchinsonian Faction were in the Year 1764 [1765], when We were endeavouring to obtain a Repeal of the Stamp Act.

1774. Fryday. Septr. 2. Dined at Mr. Thom. Mifflins with Mr. Lynch, Mr. Middleton, and the two Rutledges with their Ladies. The two Rutledges are good Lawyers. Govr. Hopkins and Govr. Ward were in Company. Mr. Lynch gave us a Sentiment "The brave Dantzickers, who declare they will be free in the face of the greatest Monarch in Europe." We were very sociable, and happy.

After Coffee We went to the Tavern, where we were introduced to Peyton Randolph Esqr., Speaker of Virginia, Coll. Harrison, Richard Henry Lee Esq., and Coll. Bland. Randolph is a large, well looking Man. Lee is a tall, spare Man. Bland is a learned, bookish Man.

These Gentlemen from Virginia appear to be the most spirited and consistent, of any. Harrison said he would have come on foot rather than not come. Bland said he would have gone, upon this Occasion, if it had been to Jericho.

1774. Saturday. Septr. 3. Breakfasted at Dr. Shippens. Dr. Witherspoon was there. Coll. R. H. Lee lodges there. He is a masterly Man.

This Mr. Lee is a Brother of the Sherriff of London,<sup>5</sup> and of Dr. Arthur Lee, and of Mrs. Shippen. They are all sensible, and deep thinkers.

Lee is for making the Repeal of every Revenue Law, the Boston Port Bill, the Bill for altering the Massachusetts Constitution, and the Quebec Bill, and the Removal of all the Troops, the End of the Congress, and an Abstinence from all Dutied Articles the Means—Rum, Mollosses, Sugar, Tea, Wine, Fruits, &c.

He is absolutely certain, that the same Ship which carries home the Resolution will bring back the Redress. If we were to suppose that any Time would intervene, he should be for Exceptions.

He thinks We should inform his Majesty, that We never can be happy, while the Lords Bute, Mansfield and North are his Confidants and Councillors.

He took his Pen and attempted a Calculation of the Numbers of People represented by the Congress which he made about 2200000, and of the Revenue now actually raised which he made 80,000£ st.

He would not allow Ld. North to have great Abilities. He had seen no symptoms of them. His whole Administration had been blunder.

He said the Opposition had been so feeble and incompetent hitherto that it was Time to make vigorous Exertions.

Mrs. Shippen is a religious and a reasoning Lady. She said she had often thought, that the People of Boston could not have behaved through their Tryals, with so much Prudence and firmness at the



same Time, if they had not been influenced by a Superiour Power.

Mr. Lee think's that to strike at the Navigation Acts would unite every Man in Britain against us, because the Kingdom could not exist without them, and the Advantages they derive from these Regulations and Restrictions of our Trade, are an ample Compensation for all the Protection they have afforded us, or will afford us.

Dr. Witherspoon enters with great Spirit into the American Cause. He seems as hearty a Friend as any of the Natives—an animated Son of Liberty.

This Forenoon, Mr. Cæsar Rodney, of the lower Counties on Delaware River, two Mr. Tilghmans from Maryland, were introduced to us.

We went with Mr. Wm. Barrell to his Store and drank Punch and eat dried smoaked Sprats with him, read the Papers and our Letters from Boston.

Dined with Mr. Joseph Reed the Lawyer, with Mrs. Deberdt and Mrs. Reed, Mr. Willing, Mr. Thom. Smith, Mr. De hart, and &c.

Spent the Evening at Mr. Mifflins with Lee and Harrison from Virginia, the two Rutledges, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Shippen, Dr. Steptoe, and another Gentleman. An elegant Supper, and We drank Sentiments till 11 O Clock. Lee and Harrison were very high. Lee had dined with Mr. Dickenson, and drank Burgundy the whole Afternoon.

Harrison gave us for a Sentiment "a constitutional Death to the Lords Bute, Mansfield and North." Paine gave us "May the Collision of british Flint and American Steel, produce that Spark of Liberty which shall illumine the latest Posterity." Wisdom to Britain and Firmness to the Colonies, may Britain be wise and America free. The Friends of America throughout the World. Union of the Colonies. Unanimity to the Congress. May the Result of the Congress, answer the Expectations of the People. Union of Britain and the Colonies, on a Constitutional Foundation—and many other such Toasts.

Young Rutledge told me, he studied 3 Years at the Temple. He thinks this a great Distinction. Says he took a Volume of Notes, which J. Quincy transcribed. Says that young Gentlemen ought to travel early, because that freedom and Ease of Behaviour, which is so necessary, cannot be acquired but in early Life. This Rutledge is young—sprightly but not deep. He has the most indistinct, inarticulate Way of Speaking. Speaks through his nose—a wretched Speaker in Conversation. How he will shine in public I dont yet know. He seems good natured, tho conceited. His Lady is with him in bad Health.

His Brother still maintains the Air of Reserve, Design and Cunning—like Duane, and Galloway, and Bob Auchmuty.

Cæsar Rodney is the oddest looking Man in the World. He is tall



—thin and slender as a Reed—pale—his Face is not bigger than a large Apple. Yet there is Sense and Fire, Spirit, Wit and Humour in his Countenance.

He made himself very merry with Ruggles and his pretended Scruples and Timidities, at the last Congress.

Mr. Reed told us, at dinner, that he never saw greater Joy, than he saw in London when the News arrived that the Nonimportation agreement was broke. They were universally shaking Hands and Congratulating each other.

He says that George Haley is the worst Enemy to America that he knew there—swore to him that he would stand by Government in all its Measures, and was allways censuring and cursing America.

1774. Sept. 4. Sunday. Went to the Presbyterian Meeting and heard Mr. Sprout in the forenoon. He uses no Notes—dont appear to have any. Opens his Bible and talks away. Not a very numerous, nor very polite Assembly.

Dined at our Lodgings at Mrs. Yards, with Major De boor a French Gentleman, a Soldier, Mr. Webb, and another.

Went in the Afternoon to Christ Church, and heard Mr. Coombs. This is a more noble Building, and a genteeler Congregation. The Organ and a new Choir of Singers, were very musical. Mr. Coombs is celebrated here as a fine Speaker. He is sprightly, has a great deal of Action, speaks distinctly. But I confess, I am not charmed with his oratory. His Style was indifferent, his Method, confused. In one Word, his Composition was vastly inferiour to the ordinary Sermons of our How, Hunt, Chauncy, Cooper, Elliot, and even Stillman. Mr. Mifflin spent the Sunday Evening with Us, at our Lodgings.

1774. Sept. 5. Monday. At Ten, The Delegates all met at the City Tavern,<sup>6</sup> and walked to the Carpenters Hall, where they took a View of the Room, and of the Chamber where is an excellent Library. There is also a long Entry, where Gentlemen may walk, and a convenient Chamber opposite to the Library. The General Cry was, that this was a good Room, and the Question was put, whether We were satisfied with this Room, and it passed in the Affirmative. A very few were for the Negative and they were chiefly from Pensylvania and New York.<sup>7</sup>

Then Mr. Lynch arose, and said there was a Gentleman present who had presided with great Dignity over a very respectable Society, greatly to the Advantage of America, and he therefore proposed that the Hon. Peyton Randolph Esqr., one of the Delegates from Virginia, and the late Speaker of their House of Burgesses, should be appointed Chairman and he doubted not it would be unanimous. The Question was put and he was unanimously chosen.

Mr. Randolph then took the Chair, and the Commissions of the Delegates were all produced and read.

Then Mr. Lynch proposed that Mr. Charles Thompson a Gentleman of Family, Fortune, and Character in this City should be appointed Secretary, which was accordingly done without opposition, tho Mr. Duane and Mr. Jay discovered at first an Inclination to seek further.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Duane then moved that a Committee should be appointed, to prepare Regulations for this Congress. Several Gentlemen objected. I then arose and asked Leave of the President to request of the Gentleman from New York, an Explanation, and that he would point out some particular Regulations which he had in his Mind. He mentioned particularly the Method of voting—whether it should be by Colonies, or by the Poll, or by Interests.

Mr. Henry then arose, and said this was the first general Congress which had ever happened—that no former Congress could be a Precedent—that We should have occasion for more general Congresses, and therefore that a precedent ought to be established now. That it would be great Injustice, if a little Colony should have the same Weight in the Councils of America, as a great one, and therefore he was for a Committee.

Major Sullivan observed that a little Colony had its All at Stake as well as a great one.

This is a Question of great Importance. If We vote by Colonies, this Method will be liable to great Inequality and Injustice, for 5 small Colonies, with 100,000 People in each may outvote 4 large ones, each of which has 500,000 Inhabitants. If We vote by the Poll, some Colonies have more than their Proportion of Members, and others have less. If We vote by Interests, it will be attended with insuperable Difficulties, to ascertain the true Importance of each Colony. Is the Weight of a Colony to be ascertained by the Number of Inhabitants merely—or by the Amount of their Trade, the Quantity of their Exports and Imports, or by any compound Ratio of both. This will lead us into such a Field of Controversy as will greatly perplex us. Besides I question whether it is possible to ascertain, at this Time, the Numbers of our People or the Value of our Trade. It will not do in such a Case, to take each other's Words. It ought to be ascertained by authentic Evidence, from Records.<sup>9</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:114–24.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine were traveling with Adams. James Bowdoin, the other Massachusetts delegate, chose not to go to Philadelphia because of his wife's illness. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, August 15, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Rush, whose meeting with Adams at this time inaugurated a lifelong friendship. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:115n.

<sup>3</sup> Adams apparently thought that a decision on the site for Congress' meeting had already been reached, although according to Silas Deane the issue continued to be debated among delegates meeting informally during the early days of Septem-



Carpenters' Hall

ber. Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane, August 31–September 5, 1774.

<sup>4</sup> This apocryphal story acquired greater currency with the passage of time, and years later Adams elaborated on the incident in his autobiography. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:307–8. See also Thomas Lynch to Ralph Izard, October 26, 1774; and Freeman, *Washington*, 3:377.

<sup>5</sup> William Lee (1739–95), who was elected sheriff in 1773. *DAB*.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Ward calls this the “New Tavern” and James Duane refers to it as “Smith’s Tavern.” It stood on the west side of Second Street between Walnut and Chestnut Streets. Robert E. Graham, “The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 43 (1953): 322.

<sup>7</sup> For comments on the selection of Carpenters’ Hall as the site for Congress rather than the Pennsylvania State House, which was offered by Speaker Joseph Galloway, see Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane, August 30–September 5; James Duane’s Notes of Debates, September 5; and Joseph Galloway to William Franklin, September 5, 1774. More information on Carpenters’ Hall can be found in Charles E. Peterson, “Carpenters’ Hall,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 43 (1953): 96–128.

<sup>8</sup> James Duane recorded that a “member of the Congress was willing to accept the office,” and Silas Deane apparently thought that the choice might have fallen on him. See Duane’s Notes of Debates, September 5, 1774, and Deane’s letter to Mrs. Deane of the same date. An anonymous account published after Thomson’s death but purporting to be Thomson’s version of the circumstances surrounding his appointment contends that Thomson was surprised when he was called to Carpenters’ Hall. It seems unlikely, however, that a subject of such importance would not have been discussed during the many preliminary meetings held among delegates before September 5 or that Thomson would have been unaware of the topic. The frequently quoted account is reported as though in Thomson’s own words: “I was married to my second wife, on a Thursday; on the next Monday, I came to town to pay my respects to my wife’s aunt, and the family; just as I alighted in Chestnut street, the doorkeeper of congress (then first met,) accosted me with a message from them, requesting my presence. Surprised at this, and not able to divine why I was wanted, I however bade my servant put up the horses, and followed the messenger myself, to the Carpenter’s Hall, and entered congress, —here was indeed an august assembly! and deep thought and solemn anxiety were observable on their countenances! I walked up the aisle, and standing opposite the President, I bowed, and told him I awaited his pleasure. He replied, ‘Congress desire the favour of you, Sir, to take their Minutes.’ I bowed in acquiescence, and took my seat at the desk. . . . With respect to the taking the Minutes: what congress adopted, I committed to writing; with what they rejected, I had nothing farther to do; and even this method led to some squabbles with the members, who were desirous of having their speeches and resolutions, however put to rest by the majority, still preserved upon the Minutes.” *American Quarterly Review* I (March 1827): 30–31.

<sup>9</sup> This last paragraph represents Adams’ own thoughts on the subject of voting in Congress.

## Robert Treat Paine’s Diary

[August 29–September 5, 1774]

[August] 29. Set out early & rode thro Trenton to the Ferry. 12 a.m. Breakfasted at Williams Tavern. Cross’d the Ferry over Delaware & rode to Bristol 8 miles, thence to Red Lyon Tavern 7 miles &



din'd. Exceeding Sultry, Ther[mometer] 90°. Thence to Frankfort, there met by a No. of Friends from Philadelphia, & rode into the City by Dusk. Conducted by our Friends to City Tavern in 2d Street, kept by Smith. An elegant Supper, thence we went to Mr[s]. [Sarah] Yeards, & lodged.

[August] 30. Foggy morning, broke out Scalding hot. A.M. Walked with Mr. Mifflin & al to see *State house* &c. P.M. Conducted by Dr. [William] Shippen to the Hospital. Among the Lunatics in their Cells I saw John Ingham.

[August] 31. Very hot. Breakfasted with Mr. J[ohn] Bayard. Visited Mr. Stephen Collins. Dind with [Thomas] Lynch, one of the Delegates for So. Carolina. Removed our lodging to Mrs. Jane Port in Arch Street.

This Month has been very hot.

[September] 1. Exceeding hot, Sultry. Breakfasted with Mr. Thos. Mifflin. Spent A.M. in returning many Visits of Ceremony to gentlemen who had visited us. Dind at Mr. Stephen Collins. P.M. Walk'd & visited. 6 oClock the Members of the Congress that were in Town met at City Tavern & adjourned to Monday next. Evening a Sunset Thunderstorm. Rained hard all Evening & in the Night.

[September] 2. Fine fair day. Dined Mr. Thos. Mifflin.

[September] 3. Raind hard last night wch coold the Air. Dined at Mr. Joseph Reed's. P.M. moved our Lodgings back to Mrs [Sarah] Yard in Fore Street. Supd at Mr. Mifflin's.

[September] 4. Cloudy. A.M. heard Mr. Sprout & his meeting (the Presbyterian). P.M. heard Mr. Combs at Christ Church. Dind at lodgings.

[September] 5. Raind hard last night. Cool this morning. The Delegates for all the Colonies except No Carolina being arrived in Town we met at City Tavern at 10 Clock, thence went to view the Room Call'd Carpenters Hall wch was offered to the Congress to sit in, & the members approving of the Same, it was agreed to meet there. Then chose honorable Peyton Randolph Esqr. President, & Mr. Charles Thompson Secretary, & read the Returns & Qualifications of Members & adjourned to morrow 10 oClock. P.M. wrote to Dr. Cobb, but did not send it.

MS (MHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[August 30–September 5, 1774]

Arrived in Philadelphia 30th. Augst. 1774 in the Evening.

Augst. 31st. In the Forenoon the Delegates from So. Carolina &



some Gentlen. of the City came to see me, soon after the Delegates from Boston Newhampshire & of the City save those out of Town & the Farmer [*John Dickinson*].<sup>1</sup> In the afternoon several Gents. of the City, Mr. Hopkins & Lady & the Delegates from Connecticut arrived.

Sepr. 1st. The Delegates from N. Jersies & two from Province of N York arrived, conversed with many Delegates & at Evening had a Meeting at the New. Tavern & took a List of those present, in all twenty five.

[September] 2nd. Four of the Delegates from Virginia & one from the lower Counties arrived. Met in the Evening. Bells rang.

[September] 3rd. The Delegates from Maryland arrived (frequent Conversations).

[September] 4th. More Delegates from Virginia.<sup>2</sup>

[September] 5th. Met at the New. Tavern, went to Carp. Hall & liking the Place agreed to hold the Congress there, took a List of the Delegates, chose the honble Payton Randolph Esqr. President & Mr. Charles Thompson Secry., read the Appointments of the Delegates; considered of the manner of each Colony's voting & rules for regulating the Business but adjourned until 10 o'Clock to Morrow.

MS (RHi). Ward's diary is contained in one notebook, which was apparently bound together after it was written; the entries for 1774 follow those for several months in 1775.

<sup>1</sup> Ward wrote a similar account of his initial meetings with these delegates in a letter to his family this day. Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr., August 31, 1774. RHi.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's diary records his arrival September 4: "Breakfasted at Christeen Ferry. Dined at Chester and lodged at Doctr. Shippen's in Phila., after supping at the New Tavern." His travel companions were Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton. Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:162.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

[August 31–September 5, 1774]

[August 31] I got up wash'd my Feet in hot Water, & without eating a Mouthful set out my Journey. This [*Trenton*] is the prettiest Town I have seen in the Jersies, is on the Banks of the Delaware River, which is here shaal, & rapid over Rocks & Falls so that it has no benefit from Navigation, but I think it is nearly as large a Town as Wethersfield. I have now got through the Jersies, & through This Sheet of paper. Adieu.

I have omitted one Ferry which was the first we pass'd but it was a meer Trifle, as was the Next, beyond Delaware, called *Shammenoy*, over a River discharging into The Delaware. The Weather extreme hot, The Roads sandy, and my illness together allmost sunk Me. The Country has nothing lively, or agreeable, one plain, Mudd Houses covered with Straw, save here, & there an elegant building but the

latter are Scarce. We rode Ten Miles To Bristol, a Village on the banks of the Delaware most delightfully situated, having the River close by it, which is thus farr Navigable for large Vessels, Though none were here, and Burlington the capital of the Jersies, on the opposite Shore, to the South of it, which appeared at the distance of about Three Miles down the River, very pretty, but as To Bristol, there are not so many buildings as in Rockyhill nor of so good appearance though this is within Seventeen Miles of Philadelphia. Here We baited, and then push'd forward in extreme heat, To a Tavern within Six Miles of Philadelphia, yet in the whole of this Stage there was neither Village, or Country Seat, nor any thing by which a Stranger would conclude himself near a Capital Trading City. The Tavern appeared tolerable, had it been less so We must have put up, but To our surprize here was no Fruit, bad Rum, and nothing of the Meat kind but Salt pork. I had now been destitute of Food &c Twenty four Hours & consequently kept a severe though involuntary Fast on the Day you Fasted & prayed for Us in Connecticut. I called for Bread Cheese, & Porter. The latter they had none of, but of the Former, tho. their Cheese was both New, & bad I swallowed a few Mouthfuls, & having excellent bottle Cyder, I mix'd it with water and it prov'd a Cordial to me. Saml Webb knock'd over Three or Four Chickens, & roasted them, but I could not Taste them. We set out from thence for this City at Five oClock & arrived at Six. Mr. Dickinson, the Pennsylvania Farmer has a pretty Seat about Two Miles out of Town on the Road, which to my surprize, was the only one I saw deserving the Name. Not a Garden, nor the appearance of one, in the Neighborhood of this City, equall to Ours. This gave Me a poor Opinion of their Vegetable Market. Wheat Fields croud into The very Squares of the City, but as to Grass, & verdant Meadows there is more between Wethersfield, & Hartford than in Sixty Miles on the Road We came. The City standing on a plain, and but few Steeples You see Nothing of it untill You are in the Midst of it. We drove up to a Noted Tavern one Mr. Biddles, & alighted. I called for Coffee, & meeting with some former acquaintance my Spirits recruited. Mr. Galloway very politely calld on Us, as did Dr. Smith. Fortunately Lodgings had been reserved for Col. Dyer, & Docr. Johnson.<sup>1</sup> I took the Bed reserved for the latter and am well provided for at a Widow Lady's one Mrs. House. Mr. Gadsden, & Son from Charlestown S. Carolina, S. Webb, young Mr. Dyer, Mr. Arnold & self are the Lodgers, thus I have given You my Journal down to Wednesday Evening. Leml. Deming is here as is Thos. Willson.

[September 1] Thursday. Col. Floyd, & my Brother arrived. The City is full of People from abroad, & all the Lodgings in Town full, or engaged. This Day is so excessive that I set in my Gown and Write for I dare not venture out much thro' Fear of a Return of my

disorder from which Thank God I am now perfectly well. The Delegates from Virginia, Maryland, the Lower Counties, & New York, are not arrived. We spent this Day in visiting Those that are in Town, & find them in high Spirits particularly the Gentlemen from the Jersies, and South Carolina. In the Evening We met to the Number of about Thirty drank a Dish of Coffee together talked over a few preliminaries, & agreed to wait for the Gentlemen not arrived untill Monday Next, before We proceeded to Business.

[September 2] This Day Therefore, Friday I mean to ramble over the City, & make my Observations. Tomorrow am invited by Doctr. Smith who is vastly sociable, (or rather aims at it) to see the College & Curiosities of the City & in the After Noon I design for German Town which They tell Me is about Six Miles off where I shall remember my Stockings. I find but Two Things disagreeable as yet—the extreme heat in this City, and a Scarcity of a Fruit, vegetable, & Fish Market. The aspect of the Inhabitants, bespeak them, affable & Clever, and the Freind or Quaker habit was always agreeable To Me. They have a strong partiality in favor of this City, & think nothing is equall to it in America, but I am not yet prepared to subscribe to their Opinion. I traversed their Market this Morning. Their Mutton looks the best I ever saw. Their Soil is fit for this, being dry & sandy—but though their Meat is Neatly dress'd I saw no Connecticut Beef, and could honestly prefer Hookers Cart for that Article to any thing I saw here. There was not a Fowl, nor a Fish in the Whole market. Water Melons look'd tolerable, & was the only Fruit worth buying. There were a few Miserable Pears, & peaches, & plumbs—and as to Vegetables, & Roots, Potatoes, Green Corn and Cabbage comprized the Whole in a Manner, and these brought, in a very indifferent Order. You will begin to think Me, as guilty of partiality as the Philadelphians are said to be. They who think nothing is right but what is in this City, & province think so too. Nay, they look on Me mad when I tell them, that I have seen more good pasture, Clover, Meadow, Oxen, & Cows, in a Circle of Three Miles in Connecticut, than is here to be met with in Thirty, but it is True, & every New England Man in the Company tells them the same. But Tomorrow is their Market Day when We are to see great Things, indeed I begin to suspect we have travelled over the poorest part of their Country. The People are really extreme civil, & vastly industrious, in both these I think they must take rank.

[September 3] I find I must page my Lettr. or you will never be able to take the Course of it. It is Now Saturday Morning. Yesterday arrived Capt. Jera. Wadsworth in good Health. In the After Noon came in the Virginia, & Maryland Delegates, & part of those from New York so that We are almost compleat. The Virginia, & indeed all the Southern Delegates, appear like men of importance. We wait-



Philadelphia Market



ed on, and were introduced to them, in the Evening. They are sociable, sensible, & spirited Men, & the short Oppy. I had of attending to their Conversation, gives Me, the highest Idea, of their principles, & Character. I attended the Market, this Morning, & have no reason to alter my Opinion in favor of the Supplies of this City to those at New York. As I said before their Meat is brought in the Neatest order, & appearance, & their Mutton exceeds, but in the Whole market, was Nothing of the Fish kind, and I scarcely saw any Fowls of any kind worth Naming. Fruit of but few kinds & those very inferior, Water-melons excepted, which you will think ought to be good, when I tell you, I saw them sold for Two shillings each—and among their Roots & Vegetables I saw none of the first Quality, and none at all, of several that We value. I saw no Celery, not a Root, no kind of Sallads, one Basket of Endive excepted, No Beans but what were fit to Shell, & the Cucumbers offered for Sale, older than ever We eat them. The only Vegetables, or Roots worth Noticing, are Cabbages & Potatoes good, Turnips, Carrots, & radishes, as Tough as a dry sandy soil will make them, but the Red Bates are good. The whole of their Market is in one Street, and is Near Twelve Hundred Feet in Length, the Street is as Wide As the Broad Street or Way in New York, & is as full as you can conceive of People for about Four Hours. They expose Horses, Cattle, & Sheep, Earthen Ware, Stockings, &c, &c, in the Market with other Things so that they really have an Assortment, but every thing without exception is dearer than at New York, Common price of Butter, 16d. per lb. Their Dry Goods, near as I can judge of them, are sold at the same in Philadelphia, as at New York only with the Addition of the odds of the Currency. They have the finest Team Horses I ever saw, there are Teams here which could not be bought for Two Hundred pounds, but I was deceived, as to the neatness, or cheapness of their Carriages. I went this Day to a Noted Coachmaker, & view'd his Work and Asked his prices. A Sulky Thirty four pounds without a Top—a fall back Carriage like mine, fitted for but one Horse, Sixty pounds—and he asked Me Five pounds to New paint & gild mine, for which Reason I shall bring it back in *Statu Quo*, as my Money will hardly hold out at such a Rate. I have just returned from viewing the College, & Schools & their Furniture. They are clever, & Docr. Smith was very polite in waiting on Us, from Connecticut.

On my Return, met with Your Father, Mr. J. Webb, & Sally's Letters, for which I thank them jointly, & severally and as this may be a kind of Family Letter as I shall keep writing occasionally Untill Next Monday it must Answer instead of writing to them individually. I advise J. Webb To make the insurance on the Briga., at least, and Cover his as well as my Interest. I rejoice at Your better Health may it still be mended, & fully restored by the Time of my Return, of which



I dare not as yet say one Word, or even think. Inform my Freinds that We are in high Spirits, if it is possible to be really so, where the Eyes of Millions are upon Us, and who consider themselves & their posterity interested in Our Conduct—but the prospect of Unanimity among Ourselves, & of support from Our Countrymen, greatly serve to animate Us, in the arduous task before Us, which is as arduous, & of as great Consequence, as ever Men undertook, & engaged in. This City, & province I have hopes will be firm & resolute though there are not wanting Enemies to the general Cause, & who aided by party are restless in their Endeavors to defeat, or retard Our proceedings. The City have offered Us the Carpenters Hall, so called, to Meet in, & Mr. Galloway offers the State House, & insists on Our meeting there, which he says, he has a right To offer, as Speaker of that House. The last is evidently the best place, but as he offers, the other party oppose. This will be determined on Monday when I shall add the intermediate Occurrences & forward my Letter. I spend the remainder of the Day out of Town.

[September 4] Sunday Morning. We had a pleasant ride about Six Miles N. West from the City to the Falls of the Schuylkill River, which is a pretty romantic place, and there are Seven or Eight pretty Seats on the Road some of them but just begun, and none so compleated as to be brought into Comparison, with Those near New York. Here We met with Docr. Smith again who You will begin by this Time to think is every where, and indeed I think him a most extraordinary compound. Wm. Hubbard, Docr. Turner, Jera. Wadsworth, B. Deane, Col. Dyer & myself from Connecticut, Wm. Livingston, Mr. Jay, Mr. Crane, & Col. Floyd from N York and The Jerseys, with Mr. Patterson the Collector were present. In Conversation last Evening at the Coffee House with Gentlemen of the first Character in this province, & of Mr Ingersolls acquaintance I find his Conduct very much condemned in this City even by Prerogative Men themselves, or those who might be stiled such.<sup>2</sup> Waiting for my Barber I have wrote Thus farr—will only add that Jas. Rivington's paper was Yesterday, agreed to be stopp'd by a great Number of the Gentlemen of this City, & a Subscription come into which will doubtless be Universal. Tell Jos. Webb to promote the same, throughout Connecticut, and to put it forward. I have wrote to the Committee of Correspondence at Hartford the inclosed Letter which I desire him to read, then Copy, & deliver and I wish him to write to Isaac Beers & others at N Haven on The same subject, as I think We ought to unite, in punishing so great a Scoundrel as he appears to be.

We set out this morning for Meeting, but Col. Dyer who is one of the worst Men in the World at recollecting Streets, distances, or Stages instead of leading towards Mr. Sprouts Meeting (where, more out of Complaisance to Our Countryman, than from a belief that We

should meet with the best Sermon, We determined to pay Our first Devotions) he led the right Contrary way. Passing Two or three Streets he began to suspect his Error, but on inquiring for Mr. Sprouts, the honest Man asked, if it were The Presbyterian, & then told Us we were right. On This, on We went, Two or three Streets more untill inquiry was in vain, for We had got beyond the Knowledge either of Mr. Sprout, or his Meeting. The Col. fretted, & I laugh'd at him though vexed enough I confess, to find Ourselves thus foolishly swamp'd, when had we accompanied Our Fellow Lodgers, We might have gone to hear either Mr. DeJay [Duché], or Mr. Coombs, both eminent Men. At length coming to the South West Extremity of the City I proposed to the Col. that We would get a Cryer to look Out Our Meeting for Us, or else go forward to The Bettering House, then in View, or fall into the Church before Us, which from the appearance of the People entering I judged to be high Dutch, & of course could expect Nothing but to be diverted with something New in a strange Language. In We went, The House was unfinished and the People appeared poor, but they civilly shewed Us to a Seat, when to Our agreeable disappointment We were entertained by as agreeable, instructive, & elegantly pathetic a preacher as I have almost ever heard in my Life. He gave Us a discourse of about 50 Minutes without Notes, yet extremely correct, & in a fine Stile. Perhaps the accidental falling upon him, & his being a Warm Son of Liberty both in prayer, & Sermon prejudiced Us in his favor, but I do not expect to hear a better Sermon Soon. It seems they are a set of honest plain Dissenters, who to the Shame of the other dissenting Congregations, & their Clergy have rather been despised and persecuted because they insisted on the right of choosing their own Minister, & chose this Gentleman from a distance. Neither of which Circumstances, prejudiced Me against Them, & I design to hear him again, before I leave the City. This Afternoon We found Mr. Sprouts Meeting, and heard old President *Witherspoon*. The Evening spent at Mr. Thos. Wharton's who was extremely civil, & complaisant and insisted on Our using his Horses & Carriage while in Town, or rather his Convenience, which is the Name of a Friends or Quaker's Coach. This he was the more urgent in as he was he said Determined to convince Me before I left the City that they had Lands superior to Ours.

Monday Septemr. 5th. The Congress formed, by choosing The Honl. P. Randolph Esqr. of Virginia President, & Charles Thompson, Esqr of this City Secretary, & fix'd on Carpenters Hall for the place To meet in. This proceeding, is highly agreeable to the Mechanics, & Citizens in general, but mortifying to the last Degree To Mr. Galloway and his Party, Thompson being his Sworn opposite as You may say, & by his means, prevented being one of the Congress, for this province. It was a matter of dispute whither We should



Peyton Randolph





Charles Thomson

choose a Secretary out of the Members, & I doubted in my own mind the propriety, but did not oppose it, as by opposing I most probably should have had the Task myself which is Too Burthensome to one who wants all spare hours for relaxation. The Day untill Three, was spent in reading Our Certificates, and adjusting some formalities, after which Adjourned untill Ten Next Morning. I dined in Company, with a Number of New England Gentlemen, at one Mr Marshall's. I will not call him a Quaker, but a Freind, which is the true and proper Characteristic of the Man. In short by seeing, and dealing much in the World, & among the polite, with a Native stock of good Sense, & freed by profession, from the incumbrances of Formality, & compliment, he appears the easiest, & truly politest of Men without, a single Bow or congee. I really enjoyed myself at a plentiful, & elegant Table, but the best part of the Entertainment was the pleasure I received from the openness & simplicity of behavior in the Man, and his Wife. When James the second try'd to convert *Col. Kirk* to the Roman Catholic Faith, this rough, & bloody Soldier told him, he would do anything for him but change his Religion, and that he determined against, but should he resolve otherways he was preingaged, having promised the Emperor of Morocco when in his service, that if ever he altered, he would Turn *Turk*. I think of this, & have almost resolved if I alter To Turn Quaker. I designed this Afternoon to have rode out, but was prevented by Company and spent the Evening with the Members of the Congress from different Colonies. Our President, seems designed by Nature, for the Business; of an affable, open, & majestic deportment, large in size, though not out of Proportion, he commands respect, & Esteem, by his very aspect, independent of the high Character he sustains. I must begin another Sheet Tomorrow. Adieu.<sup>3</sup>

RC (CtHi). This is part of a long letter begun August 29, when Deane's party (including Roger Sherman, Eliphalet Dyer, and Deane's stepson Samuel B. Webb) left New York, and continued in journal form through September 9.

<sup>1</sup> William Samuel Johnson (1727–1819), who had also been elected as a Connecticut delegate but had declined the appointment. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Jared Ingersoll (1722–81), Connecticut conservative and judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Philadelphia, spent the summer in New York and Connecticut trying to discourage the sending of delegates to Congress. See Lawrence H. Gipson, *Jared Ingersoll: a Study of American Loyalism in Relation to British Colonial Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 328–34.

<sup>3</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 6, 1774.

## Joseph Galloway to William Franklin

Saturday Septr. 3d. 1774

I am just returned from Philadelphia, where I have been to wait



on, and endeavour to find out the Temper of the Delegates. Near two Thirds of them are arrived, and I conclude all will be ready to proceed on Business on *Monday*. I have not had any great Opportunity of sounding them. But so far as I have, I think they will behave with Temper and Moderation. The Boston Commissioners are warm, and I believe wish for a Non-importation Agreement, and hope that the Colonies will advise and justify them in a Refusal to pay for the Tea until their Aggrievances are redressed. They are in their Behaviour and Conversation very modest, and yet they are not so much so as not to throw out Hints, which, like Straws and Feathers, tell us from which Point of the Compass the Wind comes. I dined with them on Thursday.

I have had two Opportunities, one with the elder Rutledge of Carolina, whose Sentiments and mine differ in no one Particular so far as I explained myself—and I was reserved in no Point save that of a *Representation in Parliament*. He is a Gentleman of an amiable Character—has look'd into the Arguments on both Sides more fully than any I have met with, and seems to be aware of all the Consequences which may attend rash and imprudent Measures. His younger Brother is rather warm. My other Opportunity was with the two New Hampshire Gentlemen. I found Col. Folsom very cool & moderate—Major Sullivan rather more warm, but very candid and has thought solidly on the Subject. I think neither of them intends to attach himself more to the particular Cause of Boston than will be for the general Good. They requested Opportunities of exchanging Sentiments with me often on the Occasion—and all my Observations seemed to have full Weight with them. The Marylanders are not arrived, and but Three of the Virginians, Peyton [Randolph], Bland, and Lee are arrived.<sup>1</sup>

I have intimated to several of the Delegates the Necessity of sending Commissioners over, fully authorized, to the British Court, as a Mode pursued by the Roman, Grecian & Macedonian Colonies on every Occasion of the like Nature—that thro' them we may be enabled, in case our first Plan for accommodating our unhappy Differences should not be acceptable, to know the better what to propose next—that having these Gentlemen at the Scene of Action we shall be no longer misled by News-paper Accounts and private Letters, but shall proceed on solid Information and Principles of Safety—That without this, any Petitions or Plans, not having any Persons to explain and support them, will have very little Effect—That in all Probability the Measures of the present Congress will be deemed illegal & unconstitutional, and that upon this Point only the Necessity of sending Persons Home to insist upon the Right in the Colonies of being heard, and to prove that the Illegality of the Congress arises from the Measures of Power in not suffering the Assemblies to meet;

and if, after all, those Reasons should not procure due Attention to the Propositions of the Congress, to pray that the Governors may have Orders to permit such Meetings, and to give Assurances that their Conduct will be decent, respectful & dutiful to the Mother State —That a conduct of this kind cannot fail to give Strength to our Cause, and, if not immediately, in the End bring the Government to attend to Reason and redress our Aggrievances. These Intimations seemed to have their Weight, and, as far as I could observe, met with Approbation. You may depend on my communicating to you from Time to Time the Transactions, &c of the Congress.

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 992). Enclosed in William Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, September 6, 1774. Endorsed: "Extract of a Letter from one of the Delegates for the Congress at Philadelphia. Dated *Saturday* Sepr. 3d. 1774."

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Harrison had also arrived in Philadelphia. See both John Adams' Diary and Samuel Ward's Diary, September 2, 1774.

## James Duane's Notes of Debates

Philadelphia Monday 5 September 1774

The Members of the Congress met at Smith's Tavern. The Speaker of the Pensylvania Assembly having offerd the Congress the use of the State house; & the Carpenters the use of their Hall, It was agreed to take a View of each.

We proceeded to the Carpenter's hall. Mr Lynch proposed the Question whether as that was in all respects Suitable it ought not to be fixed upon without further Enquiry.

I observed that if the State house was equally convenient it ought to be preferred being a provincial & the Carpenter's Hall a private House. And besides as it was tenderd by the Speaker it seemed to be a piece of respect which was due to him, at least to enquire whether the State House was not equally convenient. The Question was however called for; & a great Majority fixed upon the Carpenters hall.

The Names of the Members were then called over; After which Mr Lynch proposed that we shoud elect a President or Chairman and named Mr Payton Randolph Speaker of the Assembly of Virginia, who was unanimously approvd & placed in the Chair. A Question was then put what Title the Convention should assume & it was agreed that it should be called *the Congress*. Another Question was put what shoud be the Stile of Mr Randolph & it was agreed that he should be called the *President*.

The next point was to fix on a Clerk or Secretary. Mr [ ]<sup>1</sup> Thompson was proposd by Mr Lynch.

Mr Jay observed that he had Authority to say that one of the

members of the Congress was willing to accept the Office & he conceivd the preference was due to him.<sup>2</sup> To which it was answerd that such an appointment woud deprive the Congress of a Member as he woud be too much incumberd by the Duties of a Clerk to attend to the Trust for which he was chosen. The Objection being thought Reasonable Mr Thompson was appointed by the Stile of Secretary of the Congress.

The Credentials of the several Members were then read, and after those of New York were produc'd I observd that we did not assume the Character of provincial Delegates being only appointed for particular Counties,<sup>3</sup> That we were ourselves in doubt how far we were entitled to a Seat at a Congress of *provincial* Delegates & therefore movd that this point might be determined by the Congress (*whether we should be received*), Upon which it was unanimously resolved in the affirmative; and that such other Members as shoud come from the different Counties of New York shoud also be admitted to their Seats.

I then movd that a Committee shoud be appointed to consider of Rules for the Conduct of the Congress & report them.

This was opposd by Mr Letedge [Rutledge] the Elder who observd that doubtless the usage of the House of Commons woud be adopted in our Debates & that as every Gent. was acquainted with that usage It woud be a waste of Time to appoint a Committee on this Subject.

It was answerd that the Assemblies on the Continent had different Usages & Rules. That it was the Practice of Parliament that no member shoud speak more than once on the same point which woud be very inconvenient on the present Occasion. That there was the highest necessity for fixing a Rule on the present Occasion with respect to the Mode of Voting (to witt) whether the Sense of the Congress shoud be taken by the Majority of Voices of the Members; or Whether each Colony shoud have a Vote & the Majority be determined in that way?

Upon motion these points were deferred for further consideration & the Congress adjourn'd until 10 oClo to Morrow morning.<sup>4</sup>

MS (NH). .

<sup>1</sup> MS blank. Duane obviously intended to insert the name "Charles" here.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a reference to Silas Deane, whose letter to his wife this date indicates that Deane thought he might have had the appointment. Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane, August 31–September 5, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> For further comment on credentials of the New York delegates, see Duane's Notes of Debates, September 7, 1774.

<sup>4</sup> For additional information on the convening and organization of Congress, see Richard Tyler, *"The Common Cause of America": A Study of the First Continental Congress* (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1974), pp. 123–48.

## Joseph Galloway to William Franklin

Philadelphia, Monday Sept 5, 1774

The Congress this Day met at *Carpenter's Hall*, notwithstanding the Offer of the *Assembly-Room* a much more proper Place. They next proceeded to chuse a Secretary, and, to my Surprize *Charles Thomson*<sup>1</sup> was unanimously elected. The New Yorkers and myself and a few others, finding a great Majority, did not think it prudent to oppose it. Both of these Measures, it seems, were privately settled by an Interest made out of Doors.

I cannot say but from this Day's Appearance & Proceedings, I have altered very much my last Sentiments. The Virginians and Carolinians, Rutledge excepted, seem much among the Bostonians, and have at their Instance adopted the two above Measures. The Gentlemen from New York have as little Expectations of much Satisfaction from the Event of Things as myself.

To-morrow we are to determine whether we are to vote by Colonies, each having a single Vote, or otherwise.

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 992). Enclosed in William Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, September 6, 1774. Endorsed: "Extract of another Letter from the same Gentleman [see *Galloway to Franklin, September 3, 1774*] dated Philadelphia, Monday Sept 5, 1774."

<sup>1</sup> Galloway added the following note at this point: "One of the most violent *Sons of Liberty* (so called) in America."

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sept. 6. Tuesday.

Went to congress again. Received by an express an Intimation of the Bombardment of Boston—a confused account, but an alarming one indeed.<sup>1</sup> God grant it may not be found true.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:124.

<sup>1</sup> Sensational though exaggerated accounts of fighting and bloodshed followed General Gage's seizure of munitions stored at Quarry Hill, Charlestown (Somerville), on September 1. For the reaction in Philadelphia to this news, see Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 6; and Robert Treat Paine's *Diary*, September 6, 1774.

## John Adams' Notes of Debates

[September 6, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Henry. Government is dissolved. Fleets and Armies and the



present State of Things shew that Government is dissolved. Where are your Land Marks? your Boundaries of Colonies.

We are in a State of Nature, Sir. I did propose that a Scale should be laid down. That Part of N. America which was once Mass. Bay, and that Part which was once Virginia, ought to be considered as having a Weight. Will not People complain, 10,000 *(People)* Virginians have not outweighed 1000 others.

I will submit however. I am determined to submit if I am overruled.

A worthy Gentleman (Ego) near me, seemed to admit the Necessity of obtaining a more Adequate Representation.

I hope future Ages will quote our Proceedings with Applause. It is one of the great Duties of the democratical Part of the Constitution to keep itself pure. It is known in my Province, that some other Colonies are not so numerous or rich as they are. I am for giving all the Satisfaction in my Power.

The Distinctions between Virginians, Pensylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders, are no more.

I am not a Virginian, but an American.

Slaves are to be thrown out of the Question, and if the freemen can be represented according to their Numbers I am satisfied.

Mr. Lynch. I differ in one Point from the Gentleman from Virginia, that is in thinking that Numbers only ought to determine the Weight of Colonies. I think that Property ought to be considered, and that it ought to be a compound of Numbers and Property, that should determine the Weight of the Colonies.

I think it cannot be now settled.

Mr. Rutledge. We have no legal Authority and Obedience to our Determinations will only follow the reasonableness, the apparent Utility, and Necessity of the Measures We adopt. We have no coercive or legislative Authority. Our Constitutents are bound only in Honour, to observe our Determinations.

Govr. Ward. There are a great Number of Counties in Virginia, very unequal in Point of Wealth and Numbers, yet each has a Right to send 2 Members.

Mr. Lee. But one Reason, which prevails with me, and that is that we are not at this Time provided with proper Materials. I am afraid We are not.

Mr. Gadsden. I cant see any Way of voting but by Colonies.

Coll. Bland. I agree with the Gentleman (Ego) who spoke near me, that We are not at present provided with Materials to ascertain the Importance of each Colony. The Question is whether the Rights and Liberties of America shall be contended for, or given up to arbitrary Power.

Mr. Pendleton. If the Committee should find themselves unable to



ascertain the Weight of the Colonies, by their Numbers and Property, they will report this, and this will lay the Foundation for the Congress to take some other Steps to procure Evidence of Numbers and Property at some future Time.

Mr. Henry. I agree that authentic Accounts cannot be had—if by Authenticity is meant, attestations of officers of the Crown.

I go upon the Supposition, that Government is at an End. All Distinctions are thrown down. All America is all thrown into one Mass. We must aim at the Minutiæ of Rectitude.

Mr. Jay. Could I suppose, that We came to frame an American Constitution, instead of endeavouring to correct the faults in an old one—I cant yet think that all Government is at an End. The Measure of arbitrary Power is not full, and I think it must run over, before We undertake to frame a new Constitution.

To the Virtue, Spirit, and Abilities of Virginia We owe much—I should always therefore from Inclination as well as Justice, be for giving Virginia its full Weight.

I am not clear that We ought not to be bound by a Majority tho ever so small, but I only mentioned it, as a Matter of Danger, worthy of Consideration.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:124–26.

<sup>1</sup> These notes were made by John Adams on loose sheets of paper and left undated. The date for this entry was determined by comparing the content with James Duane's Notes of Debates, September 6, 1774.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

[September 6, 1774]

I told You I should begin another Sheet but had no conception of doing it on so disagreeable an Occasion as that of the Intelligence recd., of the Situation of Boston. Of this I can say nothing more than that this City is in the utmost Confusion, all The Bells toll muffled, & the most unfeigned marks of sorrow appear in every Countenance. The Congress sat untill after Three, & then Adj'd. but untill Five, but Our proceedings, for Various Reasons, will be kept Secret, so on that head shall say Nothing, until We break up, for though We may publish to the World the whole, it is improper to do it prematurely. You may tell Our Freinds that I never met, nor scarcely had an Idea of Meeting With Men of such firmness, sensibility, Spirit, and Thorough Knowledge of the Interests of America, as the Gentlemen from the Southern provinces appear to be. In this I do not speak from prejudice, but from the knowledge I have of them in their public as well as their private Conversation, both of which I attend to with a pleasure, that ballances many, if not more than all the anxieties, & Troubles of

such a Journey. May New England go hand in hand with them & We need not fear a want of Spirit. I intended to have entertained You with a breif Sketch of their Character & Appearance but this is the 19th page of my Letter, must therefore conclude, & reserve the rest for a future Opportunity, but of the Transactions of the Congress you will have no Intelligence, to be relied on, Untill We publish.

Jos. Webb told me he sent the Massachusetts Spy which I did not receive. Tell or write Your Hond. Father that the Report in his Case will be the same, as before, of which I give him joy. I will not begin a 20th page. Read or shew this at Discretion, remember Me to all. Capt. Hubbard sets out in the Morning. Hope for the best, all is here Unanimous. I am wishing You Health, The Sweetner of every Enjoyment. Yours  
Silas Deane

N.B. The Congress are not here after to disclose their proceedings but by Agreement. There is good Reason for it. I make no excuse to Jos. Webb, for not writing him particularly, as this is designed for his perusal and as I before said is a Family Letter & a Summary of proceedings, & Sentiment to this Tuesday 6th of Sepr. 1774. Nine at Night.<sup>1</sup>

RC (CtHi). A continuation of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, August 31–September 5, 1774.

<sup>1</sup>For the continuation of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 7, 1774.

## James Duane's Notes of Debates

Tuesday the 6t September [1774]

The Congress met And the first Question debated was whether the Congress shoud Vote by Colonies & what weight each Colony shoud have in the determination?

Mr. Henry from Virginia insisted that by the oppression of Parliament all Government was dissolv'd & that we were reduced to a State of Nature. That there were no longer any such distinctions as Colonies. That he conceiv'd himself not a Virginian but an American. That one of the greatest Mischiefs to Society was an Unequal Representation. That there might & probably woud be further Occasions for a Congress & that it was time to form such a System as woud give each Colony a Just weight in our deliberations in proportion to its opulence & number of Inhabitants its Exports & Imports.

He was answerd by Mr [ ]<sup>1</sup> of Rhode Island who insisted that every Colony shoud have an equal Vote. That we came if necessary to make a Sacrifice of our All & that the weakest Colony by such a Sacrifice woud suffer as much as the greatest.

Col. Harrison from Virginia insisted Strongly on the Injustice that Virginia should have no greater Weight in the determination than one of the smallest Colonies. That he should be censurd by his Constituents & unable to excuse his want of attention to their Interest. And that he was very Apprehensive that if such a disrespect should be put upon his Countrymen we should never see them at another Convention.

The debate then took a different Turn. It was observd that if an equal Representation was ever so Just the Delegates from the several Colonies were unprepard with Materials to settle that Equality. That was an Objection that could not be answered.

The Question was then put and

1. Resolved that the Sense of the Congress shall be taken by Voting in Colonies each to have one Vote.

2. Resolved that no person be permitted to speak twice on the same point unless with the Leave of the Congress.

3. Resolved that no Question be determined the same day it is debated if any one of the Colonies desires that the determination be deferred to another day.

4. Resolved that the doors of the Congress be kept shut during the debates And that every Member be obligd under the strongest obligation of Honor to keep secret the proceedings of the Congress until they shall be ordered to be publishd by the Congress.

5. Resolved that a Committee be appointed to state the Rights of the Colonies, the several Instances in which they have been violated & infringed and the means most proper to obtain Redress.

6. Resolved that a Committee be appoint'd to State & Report the several Statutes respecting the Trade & Manufactures of the Colonies.

7. A Question was put whether this Congress should be open to morrow Morning with prayers.

Mr Samuel Adams proposd the revnd Mr Duche<sup>2</sup> for this Service.

Debates arose on this Subject. Those who were for the motion insisting on the propriety of a Reverence & Submission to the Supreme Being & supplicating his Blessing on every Undertaking on the practice of the Romans the British Parliament & some of the Assemblies on the Continent.

The difference of the religious Tenets of the Members. That it would be considerd as Enthusiasm & Cant, & the Efficacy of private Devotion. The want of a Suitable form in the book of Common prayers: And the Hazard of submitting such a Task to the Judgement of any Clergy were the Topics urg'd by those who were of opinion against the Motion.

It was however

Resolved that the Congress shall be open tomorrow morning with

the Service of the Church of England & a suitable prayer & that Mr Duche be requested by the president to perform this office.

The Congress then adjourned till 9 oClock tomorrow morning.

N B. During the meeting of the Congress an Express arriv'd to the Jersey Members giving Intelligence that the soldiers had seized the powder in one of the Towns near Boston. That a party was sent to take this; & that six of the Inhabitants had been killd in the Skirmish. That all the Country was in arms down to [ ]<sup>3</sup> in Conneticut. That the Cannon fired upon the Town the whole Night.

N B. Mr Henry affirmed that at a former Congress one of the Members had dispatched Inteligence of an important matter to a great person in America while it was under Debate; which was one of his Reasons for Secrecy in our proceedings.

MS (NH*i*) .

<sup>1</sup> MS blank. Samuel Ward. See John Adams' Notes of Debates for this date.

<sup>2</sup> Jacob Duché (1738–98), Anglican clergyman, popular orator, and assistant rector of the united parishes of Christ's Church and St. Peters' in Philadelphia. Duché defended American rights against British encroachments from 1774 through the summer of 1776 but opposed the severance of all ties between the colonies and the mother country. He incurred the hostility of the revolutionary party in 1777 by his blundering effort to induce Washington to persuade Congress to withdraw the Declaration of Independence, and in the following year he went to England. *DAB*.

<sup>3</sup> MS blank. Duane apparently planned to insert the name of the southernmost Connecticut town affected by the rumored British bombardment of Boston.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 6, 1774]

Fair moderate. Abt. 2 o Clock a Letter came from Israel Putnam into Town forwarded by Expresses in abt. 70 hours from Boston, by wch. we were informed that the Soldiers had fired on the People & Town at Boston. This news occasioned the Congress to adjourn to 8 o Clock P.M. The City of Phila. in great concern. Bells muffled rung all P.M.

MS (MH*i*) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 6, 1774]

6th. Met at 10 o'Clock, each Colony to have one Vote. No Person to speak twice without Leave of the Congress. No Question of Importance to be determined same Day as proposed unless by Consent. To keep Proceedings secret until it shall be determined to make them



public. A Comee. to state Rights of the Colonies, the Violations & the Means of Redress &c. A Comee. to report the Statutes affecting Trade. Mr. Duchee desired to open by Prayer to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

Use of the Library offered.<sup>1</sup> Thanks returned.

(About 2 o'Clock an Acct. arrived of the Troops & Fleets cannon-ading the Town of Boston &c which occasioned an Adjournment to 5 o'Clock P.M.)

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Library Company of Philadelphia. *JCC*, 1:27.

## George Washington's Diary

[September 6, 1774]

Dined at the New Tavern, after being in Congress all day.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC) .

<sup>1</sup> Washington's diary, which contains entries for nearly every day he was in Philadelphia during September and October 1774, sheds meager light on his activities as a delegate to Congress. Although the diary should not be ignored for an understanding of many of the delegates' social activities in Philadelphia, it has been used sparingly in this volume. Washington maintained the diary in two parts: his daily "Acct. of the Weather," only fragments of which have been published, and the portion he labeled "Where, how, or with whom my time is spent," which was edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*, 4 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Sept. 7. Wednesday.

Went to congress again. Heard Mr. Duchè read Prayers. The Collect for the day, the 7th of the Month, was most admirably adapted, tho this was accidental, or rather Providential. A Prayer, which he gave us of his own Composition, was as pertinent, as affectionate, as sublime, as devout, as I ever heard offered up to Heaven. He filled every Bosom present.<sup>1</sup>

Dined with Mr. Miers Fisher, a young Quaker and a Lawyer. We saw his Library, which is clever.

But this plain Friend, and his plain, tho pretty Wife, with her Thee's and Thou's, had provided us the most Costly Entertainment—Ducks, Hams, Chickens, Beef, Pigg, Tarts, Creams, Custards, Gellies, fools, Trifles, floating Islands, Beer, Porter, Punch, Wine and a long &c.

We had a large Collection of Lawyers, at Table. Mr. Andrew Al-



len, the Attorney General, a Mr. Morris, the Prothonotary, Mr. Fisher, Mr. McKean, Mr. Rodney—besides these We had Mr. Reed, Govr. Hopkins and Governor Ward.

We had much Conversation upon the Practice of Law, in our different Provinces, but at last We got swallowed up, in Politicks, and the great Question of Parliamentary Jurisdiction. Mr. Allen asks me, from whence do you derive your Laws? How do you intitle yourselves to English Priviledges? Is not Lord Mansfield on the Side of Power?

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:126–27.

<sup>1</sup> Adams' more detailed description of this event and the reaction in Congress is contained in his letter to Abigail Adams, September 16, 1774.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

[September 7, 1774]

Wednesday Morning. An express arrived from N York confirming the Acct. of a rupture at Boston. All is in Confussion. I can not say, that all Faces, gather paleness, but they all gather indignation, & every Tongue pronounces Revenge. The Bells Toll muffled & the people run as in a Case of extremity they know not where, nor why. The Congress met and opened with a Prayer, made by the Revd. Mr. Deshay which it was worth riding One Hundred Mile to hear. He read the Lessons of the Day which were accidentally extremely Applicable, & then prayed without Book about Ten Minutes so pertinently, with such Fervency, purity, & sublimity of Stile, & sentiment, and with such an apparent Sensibility of the Scenes, & Business before Us, that even Quakers shed Tears. The Thanks of the Congress were most Unanimously returned him, by a Select honorable Committee. We are just now formed, into Committees, and Our Business, is laid out, which, as We mean to go to the Bottom, nothing but Genl. Gage & a greater Force than he has at Boston, will prevent Our sitting some time.

I will now give You the Character of the Delegates beginning at South Carolina, as they are the Souther most. Mr. Lynch is a Gentleman about Sixty, and could You see him, I need say nothing more. He has much the appearance of Mr. Jas. Mumford deceased, dresses as plain, or plainer, is of immense fortune & has his Family with him. He wears the Manufacture of this Country, is plain, Sensible, above Ceremony, and carries with him more Force in his very appearance, than most powdered Folks, in their Conversation. He wears his hair strait, his Cloaths in the plainest order, and is highly esteemed. With him Are Two Brothers Mr. Rutledge senr., & junr. of inde-

pendent Fortune, ingenious, but impetuous in the Cause they are engaged in; the Eldest I judge, of my Age, his Lady, & a Son of Jesse's age, is with him. They lodge at the Next Door. The Younger Brother, is a tolerable speaker, equally zealous. He married *Mr. Gadsdens* Daughter, who as I told you lodges with Us. Mr. Gadsden, leaves all N England Sons of Liberty, farr behind, for he is for taking up his Firelock, & marching direct to Boston, nay he affirmed this Morning, that were his Wife, and all his Children in Boston, & they were there to perish, by the sword, it would not alter his Sentiment or proceeding, for American Liberty, by which You may judge of the Man, when I add that he is one of the most regularly, religious Men I ever met with. Col. Middleton is the only remaining Member for that province whom I have not Characterized. He appears very modest, has said but little hitherto, is I judge Fifty Years of Age, and of a very slender Thin habit, but is in high esteem with his Acquaintance. Virginia comes Next but that must be the Business of a Future hour.

This Evening I spent at Mr. Roberto's, a Gentleman of Fortune, who married Mr. Bostwicks Daughter.<sup>1</sup> She is a most amiable Woman, & often reminded Me of the late Mrs. Adam Babcock, whom she greatly resembled, both Hee, & she are Too zealous Presbyterians for Me which is all the Fault I find with them. They give Mr. Murray a very indifferent Character, but not as to Morals.<sup>2</sup>

RC (CtHi) . A continuation of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 6, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Roberdeau (1727–95) married Rev. David Bostwick's daughter Mary in 1761. Roberdeau was a successful Philadelphia merchant, active in local political affairs, and a member of the Continental Congress, 1777–79. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 8, 1774.

## James Duane's Notes of Debates

Wednesday Morning 9 oClock September 7th [1774]

The Congress was opened with prayers by the revnd Mr Dutché which he Concluded with one suitable to the occasion.

He was much admird both for his Eloquence & Composition & Mr Ward of Rhode Island movd that the Thanks of the Congress be give to him for his Services which was unanimously agreed to; & Mr Cushing & Mr Ward were appointd a Committee for the purpose.

It was then movd that he should be requested to print the prayer. But it being objected that as this might possibly expose him to some disadvantage it was out of Respect to him waived.

The Appointment of a Committee to state the Rights of the Colonies & the several Instances in which they have been violated & infringed; & the means most proper to obtain Redress was then taken into consideration.

Mr Lynch of Virginia<sup>1</sup> movd that the Appointment might be made out of the Members at large without Regard to Colonies alledging that in this way the Gentlemen who had made this point their study & were Best qualifi'd woud be fix'd upon.

This occasion'd much debate—the difficulty of knowing who possesd this Qualification in the highest degree—The different Rights of the several Charter Governments & their Infringements which must be best known to their respective Representatives were insurmountable Objections; And it was accordingly—

1. Resolved that this Committee shall be composed of two members from each Colony to be recommended by their associates.

Then the Committee was namd vitz.

For

New Hampshire	Mr Sullivan	Mr Folsome
Massachusetts	Mr Sam. Adams	Mr J Adams
Rhode Island	Mr Hopkins	Mr Ward
Connecticut	Mr Dyer	Mr Sherman
New York	Mr Duane	Mr Jay
New Jersey	Mr Livingston	Mr Deheart
Pensylvania	Mr Jos. Galloway	Mr Ed. Biddle
Lower Counties		
on Delaware	Mr Caesar Rodney	Mr Th. McKean
Maryland	Mr Johnson	Mr Goldsborough
South Carolina	Mr Lee	Mr Pendleton
Virginia	Mr Lynch	Mr. J. Rutledge <sup>2</sup>

2. Resolved that one Member from each Colony form the Committee to State & report the several Statutes respecting the Trade & Manufacturers of the Colonies.

And the following Gentlemen were appointed vitz.<sup>3</sup>

For

New Hampshire	
Massachusetts	
Rhode Island	
Connecticut	
New York	Mr Low
New Jersey	Mr Kinsey
Pensylvania	Mr Mifflin
Lower Counties	} Mr.
on Delaware	
Maryland	Mr
South Carolina	Mr
Virginia	Mr.

Resolved that the President have power to adjourn the Congress from day to day & to Convene it occasionally when he shall think fit.

N B. An Express arriv'd from New York (Th. Ives) with a Dupli-

cate of the Intelligence reced yesterday of the Conflict between the Soldiers & Inhabitants at Boston; & also with an appointment from Dutchess & Albany Counties of the city Delegates as their Representatives at the Congress.

Part of the Credentials of the New York Credentials [*sic*] were produced at our first meeting<sup>4</sup> the Remainder this day vizt.

1. The Returns of the Magistrates of the City & County of New York on Polls taken in their respective wards by which James Duane Philip Livingston Isaac Low John Jay & John Alsop were unanimously elected.

2. The Vote of the general Meeting of the County of Westchester Col. Philips in the Chair by which they are unanimously elected for that County.

3. A Vote of the Northern precincts of the County of Ulster by which they are unanimously chosen for those precincts; And a Like Vote from the Southern Precincts by which they & the other Delegates for the Cities & Counties are chosen for those precincts.

4. A Vote of the Inhabitants of the precinct of Pokeepsisch by which they are unanimously chosen for that Precinct.

5. A Vote of the Several Committees for the County of Suffolk by which Col. Floyd is unanimously elected for that County.

The Credentials produced this day are

1. A Vote of the Inhabitants of the City & County of Albany by which the N. York Delegates are unanimously elected to represent that City & County.

2. A Vote of the Inhabitants of the precincts of [ ]<sup>5</sup> in Dutchess County by which the same Delegates are appointed for those precincts.

The Congress adjourned till 10 oClk tomorrow morning.

The two Committees agreed to meet immediately to elect a Chairman & Clerk.

The Committee to State the Rights &c of the Colonies met in Carpenters hall.

Present All the Members.

I proposed Mr Lynch as Chairman & was seconded. But he declined & proposed Mr Hopkins of Rhode Island who was unanimously approved.

And Mr Charles Thompson appointed Clerk of the Committee.

The Committee adjourned till 9 oClock to morrow morning.

MS (NH). .

<sup>1</sup> That is, South Carolina.

<sup>2</sup> Here Duane erroneously transposed the names of the Virginia and South Carolina delegates.

<sup>3</sup> For a complete list of the membership of this committee, see *JCC*, 1:29.

<sup>4</sup> That is, September 5, 1774.



<sup>5</sup> MS blank. Duane left space here for the insertion of the names of the Dutchess County precincts in question but characteristically failed to fill it in. The journals also fail to name these precincts.

## James Duane's Propositions Before the Committee on Rights

[September 7-22, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

A firm Union between the Parent State and her Colonies ought to be the great object of this Congress. It is this alone which can ensure the permanent Stability of the british Empire & the mutual Happiness of its' respective Members. In the Resolves therefore to be adopted the Prerogatives of the Crown, the Interest of Great Britain and the Rights of the Colonies ought each to have their proper Influence, & our proceedings to be tempered not only with a Regard to justice but a desire of Reconciliation.

I. The Supremacy of the Crown will be secured upon the Principle that the King is entitled to the same Allegiance and to the like royal Prerogatives in the respective Colonies as are due from his Subjects and appertains to his Sovereignty within the Realm of England.

II. The Rights of the british Nation.

These may be divided into two Branches.

(1) The Advantages of Commerce.

(2) Aids from the Colonists for the Defence of the Empire.

(1) The Advantages of Commerce

These arise .

a. By furnishing the present State in preference to every other (*Nation*) Country with so much of the Produce of the Colonies as they can spare and she may require.

b. By receiving from her exclusively every Commodity which she may raise or Manufacture, & of which we stand in need.

3. By admitting only her ships navigated with her Subjects to an commercial intercourse with the respective Colonies.

4. By Yielding up to her the Power of regulating the general Trade of the Empire to answer these purposes, and to preserve a uniform System in this respect among the several Colonies.

The difficulty is to establish a Principle upon which we can submit this Authority to Parliament without the Danger of *(a hurtful Precedent)* their pleading a *Right to bind us in all Cases whatsoever*.

I think a solid Distinction may be taken.

It has hitherto been a receivd Maxim that we brought over as our Birth right the Common Law of England, and such Statutes, applicable to our locale Circumstances, as existed at the Time of our Colon-



ization; and that these, with our Charter Rights, and provincial Codes, form our Colony Constitutions. This principle seems indisputable: because every Charter comprehends a prohibitory Clause against the enacting any Laws repugant to those of England; which necessarily implies that the latter must originally have extended and been the Basis of our Constitution.

*Some* of the Colonies have been planted since the navigation Act passed in the Reign of King Charles the Second which explicitly asserts claims and reserves for the people of England the Commercial Advantages we have enumerated. In such Colonies therefore this Statute is a part of the Law of the Land. *Others* have adopted or extended it by positive Law. *All* have submitted to and acquiesced in its Authority for more than a Century. By all therefore the Regulation of Trade may be yielded to Parliament upon the footing of a Compact, reasonable in itself, & essentiel to the well-being of the whole Empire as a Commercial People.

The Principle from which our (*internal*) exclusive Colony Legislation with respect to Taxation and internal Polity is derived, will not be crossed by such a Concession & this is the point to be guarded.

(2) Aids from the Colonists for the Defence of the Empire.

These are founded in Justice, due for Protection, and necessary for common Preservation.

The Difficulty of drawing together the Strength, and the Just Contributions, of so many separte Branches of the Empire, and the Danger of leaving it to the discretion of each, is the great Basis on which the Reasonableness of parliamentary Interposition is built. Nothing could be more conciliatory than to obviate this Objection. For that Purpose it is proper

1. That each Colony shoud engage to provide a Competent and honourable Support for the administration of Government & Justice within its own Limits.

2. That considering the present perilous state of the Nation's Funds, & the protection we constantly derive from it's Fleets, a present Supply be recommended in Lieu of the Mony extorted from Us under the fallacious Idea of regulating the Trade.

3. That a Plan be offered for ascertaining the Quotas and securing the Aids of every Colony in Case of future Emergency.

1st. The first we Justly consider as a priviledge instead of a Burthen.

2. To a *present Supply* is objected the Danger of it's being employed as a Means of Corruption: but this might be prevented by a specific Application: to the Support, for Instance, of a certain Number of the royal Navy on an American Establishment, the Funds to be raised by the Authority & on the Inhabitants of each Colony in such proportion as might be agreed upon in genrl. Congress.

3. The Plan for securing the Aids of the Colonies, in future Emergencies can only be established by the mutual Consent of the Crown & the respective Colony Assemblies. Would it not be sufficient for this purpose if Deputies from each respective House of Assembly should be authorized by provincial Laws, when call'd Upon by the Crown, to meet it's Commissionr in a *(Congress)* general Continental Council and adjust the several Quotas and their determination to be declar'd decisive and binding upon each Colony.

I do not know that the Dutch States have any other Bond of Union; or at least that one Province has by the Terms of the Confederacy coercive Authority over the other. Common Interest, which, is the only Cement of such States, will prove a sufficient obligation.

III. The Rights of the Colonies. These as has been already intimated are derived

1. From the Common Law of England and such antient Statutes, applicable to our local Circumstances, as existed at the time of our Colonization which are fundamentals in our Constitution. 2. From our respective Charters confirming those Rights. 3. From our several Codes of provincial Laws.

Nothing seems necessary for the preservation of those Rights but *an exclusive provincial Legislation in each Colony respecting Taxation and internal Polity*, & comprehending the Dispensation of Justice both civil and criminal; & Subject only to the Negative of the Crown where that negative has not been ceded by royal Charter.

If these Ideas are Just, and properly arranged, then the Resolves of the Congress may be to the following Effect.

I. That his Majesty is entitled to the same Allegiance and to the like royal Prerogatives in these his loyal Colonies as are due from his Subjects and constitute his Sovereignty within the Realm of England.

II. That the Acts of Navigation, & for the Encouragement of Trade, passed in the reign of King Charles the second tho' in some Respects extremely burthensome to the Colonies do in their general Tendency establish wise and Salutary *(Laws)* Regulations, on which the Wealth Strength and Safety of the whole british Empire greatly depend; and having taken place before the Settlement of some of the Colonies; and been adopted *(and extended)* in others in their Infancy by positive provincial Law; and in all having been submitted to and acquiesced in for more than a Century ought to be considered in the Light of a Compact between the Parent Kingdom and these Colonies<sup>2</sup> which has reserved to the british Parliament *(an exclusive Authority)* the Supreme direction & superintendance proper over the general Trade of all his Majesty's Dominions, And that this Authority interwoven with our Establishments from their first Rise ought not to be drawn into Question provided that it is bona fide restrained to the regulation of our Trade.

This was changd by:<sup>3</sup>

And this Authority exercised bona fide for the purposes of securing the Commercial Advantages of the whole Empire to Great Britain with a Just Regard to the Interest of its respective Members ought not to be Questioned. But in this declaration we absolutely exclude every Idea of Taxation internal & external for raising a Revenue on the Subjects of America without their Consent.<sup>4</sup>

[II.] That the Acts of Navigation and for the Encouragement of Trade passed in the Reign of King Charles the second tho' in some Respects extremely burthensome to the Colonies, do in this general Tendency establish wise & salutary Regulations on which the Wealth Strength and Safety of the whole british Empire greatly depend; And having become necessary by the policy of other Nations & taken place before the Settlement of some of the Colonies; and been adopt-ed in others in their Infancy by positive Law; and in all submitted to and recognized for more than a Century ought to be considered in the Light of a Compact between the parent State and these Colonies. That from the Spirit of this Compact, & the Necessity of a Supreme controuling Power in this Respect, & for the Protection which we have enjoyed & still derive from Great Britain we cheerfully acknowledge that it belongs only to Parliament to direct & superintend the Trade of all his Majesty's Dominions And that this Authority exercised bona fide for the Purposes of securing the Commercial Advantages of the whole Empire to Great Britain with a Just Regard to the Interests of its respective Members ought not to be drawn into Question. But in this Declaration we absolutely exclude every Idea of Taxation internal & external for raising a Revenue on the Subjects of America without their Consent.

[II.] That the Acts of Navigation and for the Encouragement of Trade passed in the Reign of King Charles the second tho' in some Respects extremely burthensome upon the Colonists, do in their general Tendency establish wise & Salutary Regulations on which the Wealth Strength and Safety of the whole british Empire greatly depend; *(From the Policy of other European Nations they became indispensable highly expedient and That)* And having taken place before the Settlement of some of the Colonies, in others been adopted in their Infancy by positive Laws and in all submitted to and recognized for more than a Century they ought to be considered in the Light of *(a reasonable & beneficial)* an ancient Compact between the parent State and the Colonies! From the Spirit *(of these ancient Acts)* whereof the *(Necessity)* Expediency of *(one)* a *(Supream)* controuling Power over the general Commerce of the Empire as well as on Account of the Protection we have derived from the *(naval strength of the Parent Kingdom)* parent Kingdom we chearfully acknowledge that it belongs only to the british Parliament to direct and superintend the

Trade of all his Majesty's Dominions, and that this Authority while it is exercised bona fide for the Purposes of Securing the Advantages of the Commerce of the whole Empire to Great Britain with a just Regard to the Interests of its respective Members ought not to be questioned. In this declaration we nevertheless absolutely exclude every Idea of Taxation internal and external for raising a Revenue on the Subjects of America without their Consent.

III. That it is the Duty of the several Colonies *not only* to provide a Competent and honourable Support for the Administration of his Majesty's Government and the Dispensation of Justice within their respective Limits: but also to grant a present and annual Supply towards defraying the Expence of the royal Navy from which we derive the great Blessings of Protection in Common with the rest of our Fellow Subjects throughout the Empire.

IV. That it is the Duty of the several Colonies on every Emergency that may threaten the Security *<of any part>* of the Empire to contribute their Aids of Men and money in the common Cause, according to their several Abilities And that this Congress is firmly persuaded that the respective Legislatures of the Colonies will agree to any reasonable Plan which shall be recommended by his Majesty for drawing forth the united Strength and Aids of these Branches of his royal Dominions Whenever it shall be found necessary.

V. That the Colonies are *<bound by and>* entitled to the benefits of, the common Law of England and such of the Statutes of that Realm, [*& from Experience have been found*] applicable to [*their respective*] local Circumstances, as existed at the time of our Colonization.<sup>5</sup> We do not however admit but absolutely reject the Authority of the Statutes of 26th King Henry 8th [Ch. 13th]<sup>6</sup> and King Edward 6 respecting [*the trials for*] Treasons and Misprisions [*or Concealmts*] of Treasons [*committd out of the Realm as applied to Us by a late Constructn. which would effectually destroy all Security of the Lives, Liberties & Properties of the Colonists*] which cannot, nor were intended to be of force where *<Justice is duly administered>* [*Tribunals are Established For the due Administration of Justice*] according to the Laws of England, but only in remote and foreign parts where offenders for want of *<proper>* such Tribunals cannot be brought to legal Trial. That these his Majesty's Colonies are Lik[ewise] entitled to all the Immunities and Privileges granted to them by the royal Charter and Confirmed and secured by their several Codes of provincial Laws; And that these respective Rights cannot be altered or abridged by any other Authority than that of their respective Legislatures.

VI. That the Colonists within their several Colonies are respectively entitled to a free and exclusive power of Legislation in all Cases of Taxation and internal Polity, Subject only to the negative of the



Crown when that Negative has not been ceded by royal Charter. And that to the Representatives of the people in General Assembly constitute a fundamental indispensable Branch in such Legislation.

MS (NHi). Endorsed: "Propositions offered by J. Duane, to the Committee for stating Rights, Grievances and Means of Redress. In Congress at Philadelphia, between 7th and 22d September 1774." This MS, although written almost entirely by Duane, also contains some insertions and emendations by Edmund Pendleton, possibly William Paca, and a third, unidentified hand, which have been set off from the rest of the text in regular brackets, with the authors identified in footnotes.

<sup>1</sup> It is unclear from the existing evidence exactly when Duane presented these propositions. Duane seems to insinuate in his endorsement that he introduced them separately over a period of time beginning with the committee's appointment September 7 and ending with its presentation to Congress on September 22 of a draft report on American rights and grievances, which received congressional approval on October 14.

Although the provenance of these propositions is vague, their relationship to the final declaration of rights and grievances adopted by Congress on October 14 is clear. On the one hand, propositions I, III, and IV, set forth in the last half of the MS and dealing respectively with the royal prerogative, fiscal support for colonial governments, and colonial contributions to imperial defense, are not reflected at all in the declaration. On the other hand, portions of propositions II and VI, concerning the respective authorities of parliament and provincial assemblies, were incorporated almost verbatim into the crucial fourth resolve of the declaration of rights, which attempted to define parliamentary authority over the colonies. Likewise certain parts of proposition V, notably those dealing with American legal rights, the administration of justice, and English treason statutes, appear in the appropriate sections of the preamble as well as in the fifth through seventh and tenth resolves of the October 14 declaration. *JCC*, 1:63-73.

<sup>2</sup> After "the Parent Kingdom and these Colonies" in the MS Duane first wrote and then deleted: "which has reserved and secured to the English Parliament an exclusive authority over the general Trade of all his Majestys Dominions; And that their Authority which is thus interwoven with our Establishments from their first Rise [cannot?] & ought not to be drawn into Question or disputed, provided that such Authority is bona fide restrained to the Regulation of our foreign Trade for the purpose of securing the commercial Advantages of the whole Empire to Great Britain & with a due Regard to the commercial benefits of its respective Members and excluding any Idea of Taxation internal & external for raising a Revenue on the Subjects of America without their Consent."

<sup>3</sup> Duane probably meant by this remark that the alteration in the next paragraph was made at the suggestion of another member of the committee, rather than on his own initiative, since he was not in the habit of noting in this manner textual changes he made by himself.

<sup>4</sup> The next two paragraphs are variant drafts of Duane's second proposition defining the scope of parliamentary authority over the colonies. Both were written on detached sheets and are printed here because it is impossible to determine which of the three texts of this proposition Duane considered definitive.

<sup>5</sup> Regular brackets contain insertions apparently made by William Paca. Paca was not a member of the committee to state the rights of the colonies, but this would not necessarily have prevented Duane from showing him these propositions. *JCC*, 1:28.

<sup>6</sup> Marginal insertion made by Edmund Pendleton, a member of the committee. With one exception, all the remaining words in regular brackets were added by



Pendleton. This exception occurs in the next to last insertion, where the clause beginning with "which" and ending with "Colonists" was written in another, unidentified hand.

## John Rutledge's? Proposed Resolutions to the Committee on Rights

[September 7-22, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

The Colonists in the several Colonies are bound by and intituled to the Benefit of those parts of the Common Law of England, of the Civil & Maritime Law used there; and of the Statutes of that Kingdom of Force there at the Settlement of the Colonies which are applicable to them and from their local Circumstances are not impracticable here, And the like parts of the Statutes of Great Brittain made from that time for Securing the Rights & Liberties of the Subject.

We do not however admit into this Collection but absolutely reject the Statutes of Henry the 8 and Edward 6 respecting Treasons and Misprisions of Treasons.

They are also intituled to the [Immunities] and priviledges which have been from time to time granted to them respectively by royal Charters; and to a free and inclusive power of Legislation in *All Cases of Taxation and internal policy*. Such parts of the Common Civil & maritime Law and of the Statutes of Great Brittain the Acts of our several Assemblies & the Charters granted to the Colonies & these only constitute the Law of the Land & the Rights & priviledges of the peoples in the Colonies. These cannot be alterd or abridged by any Authority but our respective Legislatures.

MS (NH<sub>i</sub>). Endorsed: "Mr Rutledge's resolutions offered [in?] Committee."

<sup>1</sup> Although these resolutions are written in the hand of James Duane and deal with several of the same matters as article V of his Propositions before the Committee on Rights, September 7-22, 1774, the endorsement on them indicates that they are actually Duane's notes of proposals offered by John Rutledge, another member of this committee. The testimony of this endorsement is not conclusive, however, because it was written by a third, unidentified party instead of either Duane or Rutledge. Still, there are a sufficient number of substantive and stylistic variations between these resolutions and Duane's article V to justify the ascription of the former to someone other than Duane. Finally, although the resolutions themselves are undated, they have been assigned the date September 7-22, 1774, because of their physical location next to Duane's "Propositions" of that date, in the Duane Papers, NH<sub>i</sub>.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 7, 1774]

Fair. Agreeable to a vote of yesterday the Congress was opened this

morning by Prayer by Revd. Mr. Duché Episcopal Minister of this Town & on the morning Psalms for the day. This morning came to Town from N. York another Express with Israel Putnam's Letter. Two grand Com[itt]ees were chosen by Congress, & then adjourn'd to morrow. We din'd at Mr. Miers Fishers a Lawyer.

MS (MHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 7, 1774]

Sepr. 7th. Mr. Duchee read Prayers & Lessons & concluded with one of the most sublime catholic well adapted Prayers I ever heard. Thanks for it presented by Mr. Cushing & Mr. Ward.

A Comee. of two from each Colony appointed to prepare a State of the Rights of the Colonists, the Infringements of those Rights & the Means of Redress.

A Comee. to report what Acts of Parliament affect the Trade of the Colonies. (45 members present.)

Door Keepers appointed.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sepr. 8. Thursday.

Attended my Duty on the Committee all Day, and a most ingenious, entertaining Debate We had.<sup>1</sup> The happy News was bro't us, from Boston, *that no Blood had been spill'd* but that Gen. Gage had taken away the Provincial Powder from the Magazine at Cambridge. This last was a disagreeable Circumstance.

Dined at Mr. Powells, with Mr. Duchè, Dr. Morgan, Dr. Steptoe, Mr. Goldsborough, Mr. Johnson, and many others. A most sinfull Feast again! Every Thing which could delight the Eye, or allure the Taste, Curds and Creams, Jellies, Sweet meats of various sorts, 20 sorts of Tarts, fools, Trifles, floating Islands, whippd Sillabubs &c. &c.—Parmesan Cheese, Punch, Wine, Porter, Beer &c. &c.

At Evening We climbed up the Steeple of Christ Church, with Mr. Reed, from whence We had a clear and full View of the whole City and of Delaware River.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:127.

<sup>1</sup> Adams and his cousin, Samuel Adams, were the Massachusetts representatives

on the committee of 22 (North Carolina's delegates had not yet arrived), appointed September 7 to prepare a statement of the rights of the colonies. In a section of his autobiography, apparently written without consulting the printed journals, Adams recalled that "after some days of general discussions, two Committees were appointed of twelve members each, one from each State, Georgia not having yet come in. The first Committee was instructed to prepare a Bill of Rights as it was called or a Declaration of the Rights of the Colonies: the second, a List of Infringements or Violations of those Rights. Congress was pleased to appoint me, on the first Committee, as the Member for Massachusetts." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:308; *JCC*, 1:27-28.

## John Adams' Notes of Debates

Sept. 8. Thursday. [1774]

In the Committee for States Rights, Grievances and Means of Redress.

Coll. Lee. The Rights are built on a fourfold foundation—on Nature, on the british Constitution, on Charters, and on immemorial Usage. The Navigation Act, a Capital Violation.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Jay. It is necessary to recur to the Law of Nature, and the british Constitution to ascertain our Rights.

The Constitution of G.B. will not apply to some of the Charter Rights.

A Mother Country surcharged with Inhabitants, they have a Right to emigrate. It may be said, if We leave our Country, We cannot leave our Allegiance. But there is no Allegiance without Protection. And Emigrants have a Right, to erect what Government they please.

Mr. J. Rutledge. An Emigrant would not have a Right to set up what constitution they please. A Subject could not alienate his Allegiance.

Lee. Cant see why We should not lay our Rights upon the broadest Bottom, the Ground of Nature. Our Ancestors found here no Government.

Mr. Pendleton. Consider how far We have a Right to interfere, with Regard to the Canada Constitution.

If the Majority of the People there should be pleased with the new Constitution, would not the People of America and of England have a Right to oppose it, and prevent such a Constitution being established in our Neighbourhood.

Lee. It is contended that the Crown had no Right to grant such Charters as it has to the Colonies—and therefore We shall rest our Rights on a feeble foundation, if we rest em only on Charters—nor will it weaken our Objections to the Canada Bill.

Mr. Rutledge. Our Claims I think are well founded on the british Constitution, and not on the Law of Nature.

Coll. Dyer. Part of the Country within the Canada Bill, is a con-

quered Country, and part not. It is said to be a Rule that the King can give a Conquered Country what Law he pleases.

Mr. Jay. I cant think the british Constitution inseperably attached to the Person of every Subject. Whence did the Constitution derive is Authority? From compact. Might not that Authority be given up by Compact.

Mr. Wm. Livingston. A Corporation cannot make a Corporation. Charter Governments have done it. K[ing] cant appoint a Person to make a Justice of Peace. All Governors do it. Therefore it will not do for America to rest wholly on the Laws of England.

Mr. Sherman. The Ministry contend, that the Colonies are only like Corporations in England, and therefore subordinate to the Legislature of the Kingdom. The Colonies not bound to the King or Crown by the Act of Settlement, but by their consent to it.

There is no other Legislative over the Colonies but their respective Assemblies.

The Colonies adopt the common Law, not as the common Law, but as the highest Reason.

Mr. Duane. Upon the whole for grounding our Rights on the Laws and Constitution of the Country from whence We sprung, and Charters, without recurring to the Law of Nature—because this will be a feeble Support. Charters are Compacts between the Crown and the People and I think on this foundation the Charter Governments stand firm.

England is Governed by a limited Monarchy and free Constitution.

Priviledges of Englishmen were inherent, their Birthright and Inheritance, and cannot be deprived of them, without their Consent.

Objection. That all the Rights of Englishmen will make us independent.

I hope a Line may be drawn to obviate this Objection.

James was against Parliaments interfering with the Colonies. In the Reign of Charles 2d. the Sentiments of the Crown seem to have been changed. The Navigation Act was made. Massachusetts denied the Authority—but made a Law to inforce it in the Colony.

Lee. Life and Liberty, which is necessary for the Security of Life, cannot be given up when We enter into Society.

Mr. Rutledge. The first Emigrants could not be considered as in a State of Nature—they had no Right to elect a new King.

Mr. Jay. I have always withheld my Assent from the Position that every Subject discovering Land [*does so*] for the State to which they belong.

Mr. Galloway. I never could find the Rights of Americans, in the Distinctions between Taxation and Legislation, nor in the Distinction between Laws for Revenue and for the Regulation of Trade. I have



looked for our Rights in the Laws of Nature—but could not find them in a State of Nature, but always in a State of political Society.

I have looked for them in the Constitution of the English Government, and there found them. We may draw them from this Source securely.

Power results from the Real Property, of the Society.

The States of Greece, Macedon, Rome, were founded on this Plan. None but Landholders could vote in the Comitia, or stand for Offices.

English Constitution founded on the same Principle. Among the Saxons the Landholders were obliged to attend and shared among them the Power. In the Norman Period the same. When the Landholders could not all attend, the Representation of the freeholders, came in. Before the Reign of H[enry] 4., an Attempt was made to give the Tenants in Capite a Right to vote. Magna Charta. Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons and Tenants in Capite held all the Lands in England.

It is of the Essence of the English Constitution, that no Law shall be binding, but such as are made by the Consent of the Proprietors in England.

How then did it stand with our Ancestors, when they came over here? They could not be bound by any Laws made by the British Parliament—excepting those made before. I never could see any Reason to allow that we are bound to any Law made since—nor could I ever make any Distinction between the Sorts of Laws.

I have ever thought We might reduce our Rights to one. An Exemption from all Laws made by British Parliament, made since the Emigration of our Ancestors. It follows therefore that all the Acts of Parliament made since, are Violations of our Rights.

These Claims are all defensible upon the Principles even of our Enemies—Ld. North himself when he shall inform himself of the true Principles of the Constitution, &c.

I am well aware that my Arguments tend to an Independency of the Colonies, and militate against the Maxim that there must be some absolute Power to draw together all the Wills and strength of the Empire.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:128–31.

<sup>1</sup> Adams recalled in his autobiography that the committee debates revolved around two points. “1. Whether We should recur to the Law of Nature, as well as to the British Constitution and our American Charters and Grants. Mr. Galloway and Mr. Duane were for excluding the Law of Nature. I was very strenuous for retaining and insisting on it, as a Resource to which We might be driven, by Parliament much sooner than We were aware. The other great question was what Authority We should concede to Parliament: whether We should deny the Authority of Parliament in all Cases: whether We should allow any Authority to it, in

our internal Affairs: or whether We should allow it to regulate the Trade of the Empire, with or without any restrictions." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:309.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Sept. 8. 1774

When or where this Letter will find you, I know not. In what Scenes of Distress and Terror, I cannot foresee. We have received a confused Account from Boston, of a dreadful Catastrophy. The Particulars, We have not heard. We are waiting with the Utmost Anxiety and Impatience, for further Intelligence.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the News We have both upon the Congress and the Inhabitants of this City, was very great—great indeed! Every Gentleman seems to consider the Bombardment of Boston, as the Bombardment, of the Capital of his own Province. Our Deliberations are grave and serious indeed.

It is a great Affliction to me that I cannot write to you oftener than I do. But there are so many Hindrances, that I cannot.

It would fill Volumes, to give you an Idea of the scenes I behold and the Characters I converse with.

We have so much Business, so much Ceremony, so much Company, so many Visits to recive and return, that I have not Time to write. And the Times are such, as render it imprudent to write freely.

We cannot depart from this Place, untill the Business of the Congress is compleated, and it is the general Disposition to proceed slowly. When I shall be at home I cant say. If there is Distress and Danger in Boston, pray invite our Friends, as many as possible, to take an Assylum with you. Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Adams if you can.

There is in the Congress a Collection of the greatest Men upon this Continent, in Point of Abilities, Virtues and Fortunes. The Magnanimity, and public Spirit, which I see here, makes me blush for the sordid venal Herd, which I have seen in my own Province. The Addressers, and the new Councillors, are held in universal Contempt and Abhorrence, from one End of the Continent to the other.

Be not under any Concern for me. There is little Danger from any Thing We shall do, at the Congress. There is such a Spirit, thro the Colonies, and the Members of the Congress are such Characters, that no Danger can happen to Us, which will not involve the whole Continent, in Universal Desolation, and in that Case who would wish to live?

Make my Compliments to Mr. Thaxter and Mr. Rice<sup>2</sup>—and to every other of my Friends. My Love to all my dear Children—tell them to be good, and to mind their Books. I shall come home and see them, I hope, the latter End of next Month.

Adieu.

John Adams

P.S. You will judge how Things are like to be in Boston, and whether it will not be best to remove the Office entirely to Braintree. Mr. Hill and Williams, may come up, if they choose, paying for their Board.<sup>3</sup>

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:150-51.

<sup>1</sup> Adams apparently wrote this letter before receiving, later in the day, an accurate account of the British raid on the Quarry Hill powderhouse on September 1.

<sup>2</sup> John Thaxter (1755-91), first cousin of Abigail, law apprentice of Adams, 1774-77, and tutor to the Adams children. Nathan Rice (1754-1834) also served as Adams' law clerk, 1774-75. Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:142n.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Hill (1755-75), and Jonathan Williams (d. 1780) were law clerks of Adams. *Ibid.*, p. 146n; Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:228n.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

Philadelphia Sept. 8th. 1774

Thursday Morning. We are all in the greatest anxiety, that of a most cruel suspense as to the certainty of the Boston rupture, as No fresh intelligence has as yet arrived. Though intirely in Health, yet to shake off a Lassitude gathering on me, I rode out this Morning in Company with Miss Levy, who Lodges here, Five Miles South of this City before Breakfast. This is perfectly fine, both the Natural Soil, & the improvements, and she was able to give Me the Names of the Owners of the different Seats We pass'd by, which was as entertaining, as the Morning Air was refreshing. I wish'd often You could have taken a Seat with Us, & admired the Country & prospects. A River on each Side of Us the Delaware & Schuylkill at about Three Miles distance, the former full of large Topsail Vessels, at Anchor, or under Sail, & the latter winding through a Fine intervale Meadow full of Cattle, Fattening for Market, for in these Meadows, they feed all their Beef for the City. B. Deane sets out in the Morning so shall close my Journal this Evening.

3 p.m. Having promised to wait on Mr. Marshall my kind Freind, before mentioned at 4 oClock, I have only Time to add, that to Our Joy Putnam's blundering Story is contradicted, and that every thing as yet wears the most favorable aspect which Zeal & Unanimity can promise Us. My Freinds must content themselves with my expensive Tarry, for to settle the Rights, & ascertain the privileges of a Continent like this, is a Work of Time, & serious beyond the Conception of a bystander. You will read this in full Circle, & the bearer must explain it. My Love to all, Sally, Hannah, Hetty, Jesse, &c, &c. I am most affectionately Yours  
 Silas Deane

[P.S.] Turn to the Morning Service, in the prayer book, for the 7th Day of the Month, Psalm 35th I think it is. As Doctr. Turner goes in

the Morning I close my Letter with adding, that The Bells of the City are Now ringing a peal of Joy on Acct. of the News of Boston's having been destroy'd being contradicted.<sup>1</sup>

RC (CtHi) . A continuation of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 7, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> For the conclusion of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 9, 1774.

## James Duane's Speech to the Committee on Rights

[September 8, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

The Task assigned to this Committee is no less important than it is difficult. It may be reduced to three Heads—

1. To State the Rights of the Colonies.
2. Their Grievances.
3. The Means of Redress.

It is necessary that the first point, *our Rights*, should be fully discussed and established upon solid Principles: because it is only from hence that our Grievances can be disclosed; & from a clear View of both that proper Remedies can be suggested and applied.

To ascertain the Constitutions of the Colonies has employed the Thoughts and the Pens of our ablest Politicians. But no System which has hitherto been published is solid or satisfactory.

During Disputes which arose from the Stamp Act an Exemption from internal Taxes (*seemed to be the ultimate of the General Voice Wish*) seemed to give general Content. The Regulation of Commerce was submitted to Parliament. Their Authority to alter the police (*and administration*) of our respective Governments was not in Contemplation because it had not been exercised.

Upon the Repeal therefore of the Stamp Act we had Reason to conclude that the Blessings of Security in our Liberties & Harmony with the Parent State woud be placed on a permanent Basis.

But short was our Repose and fleeting our Expectations. A despotic Minister soon discovered that under the Idea of a commercial Regulation our Property might still be invaded, and that by a guileful Change of a name we might still be oppressed at his pleasure.

Hence arose Mr Townsends project of loading british Commodities (which we are restrained from importing from any other Nation) with American Duties—As if this poor Evasion coud blind the Colonists, and conceal the Evil which was cloaked under so thin a disguise.

The Resentment & Vigorous opposition of this Country, & the immense Loss to which it exposed the british Manufacturers compeled the Repeal of this detested Law—Excepting the Article of Tea which has been the fatal Cause of our present Misfortunes.



It is now Sir essential to place our Rights on a broader & firmer Basis to advance and adhere to some solid and Constitutional Principle which will preserve Us from future Violations—a principle clear & explicite and which is above the Reach of Cunning, & the Arts of oppression. I hope if we have the Happiness to rest upon such a principle, we shall have the Fortitude and the strength to maintain it. Let it be founded upon Reason and Justice, and satisfy the Consciences of our Countrymen. Let it be such as we dare refer to the Virtuous and impartial part of Mankind, and we shall and must, in the issue of the Conflict, be happy & triumphant.

*(If this principle can call in to its Support)* I conceive it to be the Duty of every Member to offer his Sentiments on this great Occasion without Reserve or Scruple. It will be examined with Candour and have all the weight it merits and if mine is defective it will be Excused from the uprightness of the Intention with which it is offered, & because it is an indispensable Duty.

I shall not forget that we are Colonies, That we are indebted to her for the Blessings of Protection, and that she ought to derive from every commercial Advantage which is the Result of our Connection and Dependence, Nor shall I anticipate either our own past Merit or the cruel Oppressions under which we now labour, because these will more properly be the Subject of our next Head of Enquiry. To the Rights of the Colonies I mean at present to be confin'd.

They may be *(divided into two Heads)* derived from two Sources.

1st. *(As they are derived)* from the common Law, & such ancient Statutes as are coeval with our *(Emigration)* Colonization.

2. As they are granted and secured by Charter.

Upon This last head I shall *(refer to)* reserve myself for further Information from Gentlemen whose local Circumstances have led them to discuss it with more precision. then Leisure has enabled me. I shall only observe that their Charters are to be esteemed as Compacts, that they have long been acquiesced in, and if exceptionable in their origin can not now be violated but by oppression.<sup>2</sup> The first is a principle that is more general and extensive if not more solid and secure: and this I shall proceed to consider.

England is governed by a limited Monarchy and a free Constitution. But if the Subject is bound by a Law to which he does not assent, either personally or by his Representative, he is no longer free but under an arbitrary power, which may oppress or ruin him at pleasure.

It is admitted by the English Judicatories and has been solemnly resolved by the King in privy Council; that the Common Laws of England and such Statutes as existed prior to our Emigration are fundamentals in our Colony Constitution. Upon this grand Basis the

prerogatives of the Crown & the Rights of the Subjects are as fully ascertained in the Plantations as in the parent State.

By the same Constitution the King has the Executive power and is the Fountain of Title offices and Honours. Hence arises his royal *Authority* Prerogative<sup>3</sup> in the formation of Colonies to establish a System of Govern<sup>t</sup>. legislative, Juridical and executive suitable to the Circumstance of a People who are blessed with the Priviledges which they never meant nor were supposed, nor could forfeit, *(by removing to a distant a more remote part of the English Empire)* by altering their local situation within the same Empire. The priviledges of Englishmen were inherent They were their Birth right and of which they could only be deprived by their free Consent. Every Institution legislative and Juridical, essential to the Exercise & Enjoyment of these Rights and priviledges in constitutional Security, were equally their Birth right and inalienable Inheritance. They could not be withheld but by lawless oppression and by lawless oppression only can they be violated.

It is objected that upon this principle the Colonies are independent and exempt from the Authority of the British parliament and free from all Obligation to render to the parent State those advantages which ought to be the Recompence of Protection, to result from the very nature of Colonization And to be justified from the Usage of every commercial Nation.

To which it may be answerd that the Sovereignty and Prerogatives of the Crown *(must effectually prevent the Independence of the Colonies)* our own Security & the Ties of Friendship & common Interest the similiarity of our Government Laws and manners will be sufficient to prevent *(a Rupture)* an Independence which nothing but Oppression can ever reconcile to an American Ear.

*(With respect to the Advantages arising from our Commerce it is certain that if we were under no Obligation the principal Advantages would center in the parent Country where Manufactures are as cheap & better in Quality.)*

But we need not depend on this observation. Had Great Britain till this late day taken no measures to secure the Commerce of the Colonies but left them free to pursue their own Interest and Inclinations I should not hesitate to pronounce *(any restrictive Act of Parliament of this late day to be)* that all Restraints by Authority of Parliament would now be unauthoritative and oppressive.

This however is not the Case. Every Just and reasonable Advantage the parent Country has long since effectually secured and uniformly enjoyed.<sup>4</sup>

1. That political Liberty is the great Object of the English Constitution.

2. That it is essential to Liberty that the Subject be bound by no Laws to which he does not assent by himself or his Representative; A privilege which forms the distinction between Freeman & Slaves for he that is bound to submit to the arbitrary will of another

MS (NHi). Endorsed: "Committee to State Rights of Colonies in Congress of 1774." Tr (NN: Bancroft Collection). Endorsed: "from J. Duane's memoranda"; "*Committee—State Rights of Colonies—in Congress 1774.*" Printed, with the last two paragraphs omitted, in Samuel W. Jones, *Memoir of the Hon. James Duane, Judge of the District Court of the U. States for New York* (Schenectady, N.Y.: Keyser, Printer, 1852), pp. 43–45.

<sup>1</sup> A comparison between this MS and John Adams' record of Duane's remarks before the committee on September 8 demonstrates almost conclusively that Duane delivered this speech on that date. See John Adams' Notes of Debates, September 8, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence, which Duane wrote in the margin of the MS in pencil, is so faded that the present reading is based mainly on Bancroft Tr and Jones, *Memoir of Duane*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Duane first wrote "*Authority*" and then inserted "*Prerogative*" above it; but since he crossed out neither word, both have been allowed to stand here.

<sup>4</sup> Here the main body of Duane's speech ends. The next two paragraphs, the second of which ends abruptly, were written on a detached sheet and conceivably were intended for insertion somewhere in the preceding text.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 8, 1774]

Fine day. By the Post came advice from N. York that a person had arrived from Boston & Newport since the time Supposed in Putnam's Letters & that Boston was quiet & no hurt done. I attended first Comtee of Congress all A.M.<sup>1</sup> Dined at Mr. [Samuel] Powells. P.M. Went into Christ Ch[urch]'s steeple & viewed the City.

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Although Paine was not a member of either of the two major committees appointed on September 7, this diary entry suggests that he attended the committee to "state the rights of the Colonies," which was the first committee of Congress appointed. *JCC*, 1:26–29.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 8, 1774]

8th. The Comtee's met, entered into the Subject & adjourned. Accts. arrived that the News from Boston was not true.

MS (RHi).

## Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren

[*Philadelphia, September 9, 1774.*] "After settling the Mode of voting, which is by giving each Colony an equal Voice, it was agreed to open the Business with Prayer. As many of our *warmest Friends* are *Members of the Church of England*, [*I*] thought it prudent as well on that as on some other Accounts to move that the Service should be performed by a Clergyman of that Denomination. Accordingly the Lessons of the Day and Prayer were read by the Reverend Mr. *DuChé*, who afterwards made a most excellent extemporary Prayer, by which he discovered himself to be a Gentleman of Sense and Piety, and a warm Advocate for the religious and civil Rights of America."

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, September 26, 1774. This extract was printed with a letter of September 24 from Joseph Warren to the printers of the *Boston Gazette*. Warren (1741-75), Boston physician, patriot political leader, and later president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, sought to undermine charges that Massachusetts' leaders were hostile to members of the Church of England. *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 14:510-26.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

Friday Morning Sepr 9th [1774]

Bar[nabas] will not set out untill Tomorrow,<sup>1</sup> or Monday, and on the whole I find my Letter will reach You as early by him as by Doctr. Turner, and it being of such a Miscellaneous composition, I am unwilling it should pass through Too many hands, lest curiosity, should overcome delicacy in the passage, and the Consequence be a misconstruction of my Sentiments.

It gives me some uneasiness to think that You will be disappointed by this Post that is this Week's post, but You will not blame Me, when You receive this Budget, and Find I have wrote to You every Day, and oftener. Yesterday After Noon my Freind Marshall call'd on Freind Deane, & Brother &c, & waited on Us to what is called the bettering House, in other Words, a poor House the particular Description of which must omit & say only, that it vastly exceeds all of the kind in America, put together, & I guess, equals, in its excellent institutions any thing in Europe. It has ample room for Five Hundred Lodgers. There are about Three Hundred in it Old & Young, from the poor old Mortal expiring with Age to the Foundling pick'd up in the Streets but the Night before perhaps. All is Neat, & Clean, even the Rooms of the Sick, & the Walks & Yard very airy, and lightsome, the Yard & garden very Spacious. Here all that can



Labor, are put to it, and what they earn, goes into the common Stock. Here are above Fifty Looms, Wheels, &c, &c, in proportion, & those that can work at no Trade mend Cloaths, and clean Rooms, fetch & carry as We may say For those that do Labour. This House I judge, must have Cost Forty Thousand pounds and the annual Support of it, amounts To about Two Thousand, here are Two schools for the poor Children, and Nothing, that serves at once, to alleviate the Wants, & distresses of Age, Sickness, and poverty is unattended to. It put Me in mind at entering the house and meeting some poor old Women at the Door, who seemed as rejoiced at seeing my Freind, as if he were their Son, of the Line of Pope—“*Where Age & Want, sat Smiling at the Gate.*” All this is done by private donation, & chiefly by the people Called Quakers, among whom the Marshalls are some of the First—yet as if these People determined to outdo all the rest of the World, they never permit any of their Own poor to be sent here, but support them in a Neat House by themselves, which is provided With Gardens, but Too much in the Center of the City occasioned by its being built early whereas the Bettering House stands without the City in the Feilds. Returning We took a View of a more Melancholy Scene, a Prison Now erecting the Construction of which is most curious. It is 190 Feet in length, besides Two Wings of 120 Feet each. This I say is a more melancholy Scene, as it gives more gloomy Ideas, to view the punishments prepared for the Wicked, than provisions for the Releif of the Unfortunate & the miserable. I write as I view things, and as You will preserve this budget, after showing it To J. Webb &c will explain it on my Return more at Large.

The following is the List of the Congress, in the order they stand.

For New Hampshire—Col. Fulsome, Majr. Sullivan.

Massachusetts—Honl. Mr. Cushing, Mr. Saml. Adams, Mr. Jno. Adams, Mr. Robt. T. Paine.

Rhode Island—Honl. Mr. Ward, Honl. Mr. Hopkins.

Connecticut—Honl. Elipht. Dyer, Mr. S. Deane, Honl. Mr. Sherman.

New York—Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Isaac Low, Mr. Jno. Jay, Mr. Jno. Alsop, Col. Floyd.<sup>2</sup>

New Jersey—Mr. Wm. Livingston, Mr. DeHart, Mr. Crane, Mr. Smith, Mr. McKinsey.

Pennsylvania—Honl. Joseph Galloway, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Biddle, Mr. Morton, Mr. Ross, Mr. Rhoads, Mr. Humphreys.

Lower Counties—Honl. Cesar Rodney, Mr. McKean, Mr. Read.

Maryland—Mr. Tilghman, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Goldsborough, Mr. Paca, Mr. Chase.

Virginia—Honl. Peyton Randolph President, Col. Washington, Col. Bland, Col. Harrison, Mr. Henry, Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Chas. Henry Lee.

South Carolina—Mr. Lynch, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Gadsden, Col. Middleton, Mr. Rutledge junr.

Charles Thompson Secretary.

Two Committees are now out, and when they report I shall be able to judge better of Our Business. The one is to ascertain Our Rights, enumerate the Violations of them, & recommend a proper Mode of Redress. The other to take a View of all those Acts, of the British Parliament, which affect Our Trade & Manufactures. I am in the latter Committee—which must attend directly.

RC (CtHi). Conclusion of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, August 29–September 9, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Silas' brother Barnabas Deane. For another reference to Barnabas' departure from Philadelphia, see Roger Sherman to Unknown, this date.

<sup>2</sup> Although James Duane's name was omitted, he was definitely in attendance. In a memorandum attached to his claim for attendance at Congress, Duane explained: "I set out from New York to attend Congress the 1st Sept. 1774 & returned to New York 1st Novem." NN: Emmet Collection. Deane apparently constructed this list from the credentials which had already been presented to Congress. Matthew Tilghman (Md.) did not appear in Congress until September 12; John Alsop (N.Y.) and George Ross (Pa.) took their seats September 14. JCC, 1:30–31. Alsop's activities in early September are not known. His account "for attendance at the Continental Congress" contains a claim for service "from this day [September 1, 1774] to the 1st November, being the days on which I sett out & returned from Philada. (inclusive) 62 days @ 32d." NNPM.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 9, 1774]

Fair A.M. P.M. Rained. Went to see Wax Work Images. Orders came for the Troops here abt. 200 to march to N. York.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Three companies of the British Eighteenth Regiment of Foot were detached and transferred to Boston, where they took up positions in October 1774. C. T. Atkinson, "British Forces in North America, 1774–1781: Their Distribution and Strength," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 16 (1937): 5.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia Sepr. 9th 1774

On Thursday the 1st of this month, after a verry Warm, disagreeable Ride I arrived in Town, together with Some of the Virginia Gentlemen. By Sunday evening last the delegates from all the different Colonies (Except North Carolina & Georgia) Came to Town And On Munday they met at Carpenters Hall. When the Hon. Peyton

Randolph was unanimously Elected to the Chair by the name of President. Charles Thompson was Chose Secretary and two Door keepers and Mesengers was also appointed. The Congress then proceeded to business and have Set every day since. I doubt their Rising before some time in October. Perhaps the Middle. All the Seven delegates appointed for Virginia are here, & more Sensible, fine fellows you'd Never Wish to See, in short it is the greatest Assembly (in proportion to the Number) that ever was Collected in America. And the Bostonians who (we know) have been Condemned by Many for their Violence, are Moderate men, When Compared to Virginia, South Carolina and Rode Island. In Short all the Colonies Seem to be hearty in the Cause, and have the greatest Respect paid them by all the first people here. A Letter to Mr. Cushing by Express from Boston informs that all is Quiet as Yet, That their Superior Court had Met under the act of Parliament for altering their Government, but that it Could not proceed for want of Jury men who would not attend, That allmost all the Judges appointed under that act had waited on the Governor with Resignations.<sup>2</sup> Captain Inglis is arrived with Some dry Goods from London, George Emlens Ship is Expected every day quite full, there is an Accot. of her Sailing, All & Fortner are also Expected soon. I have been Verry poorly ever Since I Came to town, but hope Shall get better. Remember me to Betsey, Sally, Caesar and to all Enquiring friends, the Congress Meets at Nine, therefore have not more time than to Say I am Yr. Humble Servt.

Caesar Rodney

RC (PHi). Addressed: "To Mr. Thomas Rodney at Dover, favoured by Mr. McFerson."

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Rodney (1744–1811), brother of Caesar Rodney, Delaware political leader, and later a delegate to Congress, 1781–82, 1786. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Suffolk County jurors at the August term of the Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature refused to take their oath when Peter Oliver, who stood impeached by the House of the General Court, attempted to sit as chief justice. While a mob roamed Boston, the court sat but heard only nonjury cases. John Adams, *Legal Papers of John Adams*, ed. L. Kinvin Wroth and Hiller B. Zobel, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 1:xc.

## Roger Sherman to Unknown

*Philadelphia Sept. 9th. 1774.* Reports information concerning types and prices of stocking looms available in Philadelphia and requests further instructions from a third party who apparently ordered one. Continues: "I Send this by Mr. Barnabas Deane. . . . The Congress have entered on Business but not come to any Conclusions. We were Alarmed a few Days ago with a report that Boston was

fired upon by the Land and Sea forces, but it has been Since Contradicted."

RC (CtY).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 9, 1774]

9th. The Comee. met, agreed to found our Rights upon the Laws of Nature, the Principles of the english Constitution & Charters & Compacts; ordered a Sub. Comee. to draw up a State of Rights.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> John Adams' diary for this day consists of the terse entry: "Attended my Duty upon Committees. Dined at home." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:131.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dear Children

Philadelphia 9th Sepr. 1774

Through the divine Goodness I am very well. Cajoe had some Complaints yesterday like the small Pox but he is much better this Day that We think it was only a cold or Fatigue. As far as I can judge there will be very little Danger of my taking it.

The Congress is full excepting the Gentlemen from North Carolina. We chose the Honble Payton Randolp Esqr. of Virginia President & Mr. Charles Thompson of this Town Secry. Agreed that each Colony should have one Voice on every Question. This was warmly debated, some of the larger Colonies wanted a larger Number of Voices. We agreed upon Honor not to discover any of the Proceedings until it was determined to make them public. You must therefore expect nothing from Me on that Head. We are as unanimous as I expected.

Much the largest Part of the Province is hearty in the Cause of Liberty.

The southern Gentlemen have been used to do no Business in afternoon so that We rise about 2 or 3 o'Clock & set no more that Day & as we meet late in a Morning We shall sett a long while. I dont doubt but You will do all You can in the Business. Be careful of the shop & charge every thing unpaid for. I hardly think I shall want much Money if any so that you need not be uneasy on that Acct. Your Orchard ought to be carefully shut up that You may save what Apples you can, try to buy some Cyder for none is to be had here or on the Road. It is Time your fat Cattle were on the Island. They



should be fed with Potatoes. Your Hogs also ought to have Potatoes plentifully every Day.

I had the Pleasure of seeing Mr. Davis here this Day. He is gone to preach in the Country & is to call upon Me as he comes back but I fear I shall not be able to go home with him. All that I can say is that I shall endeavour to do my Duty here as soon as I can & if I am well return as soon as possible. You have my daily Prayers & I hope you will all pray for yourselves. If your dear Sister<sup>1</sup> be alive May God of his infinite Goodness still support & comfort her & carry her chearfully through her great Change. My most affectionate Regards to your Aunt. I hope She will stay till my Return. That the Lord may be with You & bless you is the ardent Prayer of your affect. Father.

S Ward

RC (RHi). Addressed: "To Mr. Samuel Ward Junr. In Westerly in the Colony of Rhode Island."

<sup>1</sup> Hannah Ward (1749-74), Samuel Ward's eldest daughter, died the day before this letter was written. Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg), p. 214.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Sept. 10. Saturday.

Attended my Duty upon the Sub Committee.<sup>1</sup> Dined at home. Dr. Morgan, Dr. Cocks [Cox?], Mr. Spence [Spencer?], and several other Gentlemen, Major Sullivan and Coll. Folsom dined with us upon Salt Fish. Rambled in the Evening with Jo. Reed, and fell into Mr. Sprouts Meeting where We heard Mr. Spence preach.

Mr. Reed returned with Mr. Adams and me to our Lodgings, and a very social, agreeable and communicative Evening We had.

He says We never were guilty of a more Masterly Stroke of Policy, than in moving that Mr. Duche might read Prayers, it has had a very good Effect, &c. He says the Sentiments of People here, are growing more and more favourable every day.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:131.

<sup>1</sup> The exact composition of the subcommittee remains unknown, but Samuel Ward and John Rutledge were also members. Adams later stated that the subcommittee was appointed because the grand committee's "discussions spun into great length, and nothing was decided." Adams asserted his own leading role in composing the resolves reported by the subcommittee. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:309-10.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

[September 10-11, 1774]

Barney supp'd with Us last Night, and set out this Morning at

Five. By him You will receive Our proceedings to The Time of his Departure. The Family we Lodge in here consists of a Widow Lady turned of Forty as I judge, genteel & sensible, has been handsome, & is still comely. She has a Daughter her eldest Child, lately married to a Lieutenant, in the Regiment here, one *Mr. Trist*, who lodges with Us.<sup>1</sup> She has also Two Sons, that are one at Apprentice with a Merchant, the other at School. This is the standing Family, but every Room is now full. Two more Gentlemen from Charlestown So. Carolina—& a Sick Gentleman from Jamaica lodge here. The Two former arrived last Evening, the Latter poor Man has been here sometime, & will probably never more remove but by help of others to his last Lodgings,—the Grave. I have not seen him. The Officer here, is much to be pitied, his Commission is his principal dependence. He loves this Country, he loves his Young Wife, who is very deserving, and who is a warm daughter of Liberty, yet is ordered this Morning, to be ready, to March in the After Noon for Boston. This is really affecting and my passions are too sensible of soft impressions to view the Struggle between duty so called, Interest & Honor military on the one hand, and Affection, & an honest Regard & Tenderness on the other. As We have all dined, & supp'd together, on a free footing at the same Table, he seems the nearer to Us, and Our repeatedly asserting that the Troops at Boston would be cut off if they attempted anything against That Town & province, gives him & his Connections the most Uneasy & Melancholy Apprehensions. Could he get rid of his Commission on any Terms, short of ruining himself he would gladly do it.

The Troops here which are to assist in reducing New England, & all America amount to One Hundred & Eighty of which [Sixty?] are old worn out, invalids, unable to March [as far] as Boston in Six Weeks were they to have the [plunder] of the Town for their asking—and the rest disaffected to the unnatural employ. It is a doubt with Me, whether the People here will let them March. Had Blood been shed by the Soldiery at Boston, there would have been No doubt at all, for these Soldiers in that Case would before this have been disarmed, & dispersed, but it is dangerous to begin hostility, but on the most urgent occasion & indeed absolute Necessity. I design to view them when on their March.

I gave you the Character of the South Carolina Delegates or rather a Sketch. I will now pursue the plan I designed. Mr. Randolph our worthy President may be rising of Sixty, of noble appearance, & presides with dignity. Col. Harrison may be Fifty an uncommonly large Man, and appears rather rough in his address, & speech. Col. Washington is nearly as Tall a Man as Col. Fitch and almost as hard a Countenance, yet with a very young Look, & an easy Soldierlike Air, & gesture. He does not appear above Forty five, yet was in the first

Action in 1753 & 1754 on the Ohio, & in 1755, was with Braddock, & was the means of saving the remains of that unfortunate Army. It is said That in the House of Burgesses in Virginia, on hearing of the Boston port Bill, he offered to raise & Arm, & lead One Thousand Men himself at his Own Expende for the defence of the Country were there Need of it. His Fortune is said to be equall to such an Undertaking. Col. Bland, is a plain sensible Man, deeply studied into, & acquainted with the Antiquities, of Virginia, & of this Continent in General, has wrote several very sensible peices on the Subject, & is a tolerable Speaker in public, as is Col. Washington who speaks very Modestly, & in cool but determined Stile & Accent. Mr. Pendleton is a Lawyer of eminence, of easy, and chearful Countenance, polite in address, & elegant, if not eloquent in Stile & elocution. Mr. Henry is also a Lawyer, and the compleatest Speaker I ever heard. If his future Speeches, are equall to the small Samples he had hitherto given Us, they will be worth preserving, but in a Letter I can give You no Idea of the Music of his Voice, or the highwrought, yet Natural elegance of his Stile, & Manner. Col. Lee, is said to be his Rival in Eloquence, & in Virginia & to the Southward they are stiled the *Demosthenes*, & *Cicero* of America. God Grant they may not, Like them, plead in Vain for the Liberties of their Country. These last Gentlemen are Now in full Life, perhaps near Fifty & have made the Constitution, & history of G Brittain, & America their Capital Study ever since the late Troubles between them have arose.

Sunday. We dined Yesterday with Mr. Wharton a plain, hospitable, quaker Family, of great Connections in this City, & on this Continent as well as in Europe but I think has as much of the Serpent, as the Dove in his Composition. He treated Us, with the utmost politeness and Carried Us in his Coach after Dinner to his Country Seat, & about Ten Miles South of this City to view the Country which is fine, & rich, almost beyond Comparison. The Industry of this City exceeds any thing You can have an Idea of. The Delaware naturally overflowed at every Tide, a large Tract of Land, on which Consequently nothing grew but Alders & Rushes. This they enclosed with a Dike for miles in Length and by keeping The Tide Out have made it the richest Meadow, I ever saw, it is said to contain Fifty Thousand Acres. I honestly owned beat To Mr. Wharton, for though I have seen as good Land in Wethersfield, I never saw such an extent of it.

This Morning We set out to look up Mr. Deshay, but being unwell, he only read prayers, & Mr. White preached. After Dinner We went to Mr. Sprouts but finding that Neither Mr. Sprout, nor Mr. Spencer preached, but an indifferent old Gentleman, I push'd on, & heard Mr. Coombs who is call'd a Rival to Mr. Deshay and at Evening heard Mr. Spencer who is a very sensible good preacher.<sup>2</sup>

RC (CtHi). Deane apparently composed this letter over the space of 10 days, concluding it "Monday Evening 11 oClock 19th Sepr. 1774." It is printed here in three parts under the dates September 10-11, September 12-18, and September 19, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Ensign Nicholas Trist, Eighteenth Regiment of Foot, whose company had just been ordered to march to Boston. See Robert Treat Paine's Diary, September 9, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 12-18, 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 10, 1774]

10th. Met, added two to the sub. Comee. which sat & considered the Subject & adjourned to 9 o'Clock on Monday.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sepr. 11. Sunday.

There is such a quick and constant Succession of new Scenes, Characters, Persons, and Events turning up before me that I cant keep any regular Account.

This Mr. Reed is a very sensible and accomplished Lawyer of an amiable Disposition—soft, tender, friendly, &c. He is a friend to his Country and to Liberty.

Mr. Reed was so kind as to wait on us to Mr. Sprouts Meeting, where we heard Mr. Spencer. These Ministers all preach without Notes.

We had an Opportunity of seeing the Custom of the Presbyterians in administering the Sacrament. The Communicants all came to a Row of Seats, placed on each Side of a narrow Table spread in the Middle of the Alley reaching from the Deacons Seat to the front of the House. Three setts of Persons of both sexes, came in Succession. Each new sett had the Bread and the Cup given to them by a new Minister—Mr. Sprout first, Mr. Treat next and Mr. Spencer last. Each Communicant has a token, which he delivers to the Deacons or Elders, I dont know which they call em.

As We came out of Meeting a Mr. Webster join'd us, who has just come from Boston, and has been a generous Benefactor to it, in its Distresses. He says he was at the Town Meeting, and he thinks they managed their Affairs with great Symplicity, Moderation, and Discretion.<sup>1</sup>



Dined at Mr. Willings, who is a Judge of the Supream Court here, with the Gentlemen from Virgina, Maryland and New York. A most splendid Feast again—Turtle and every Thing else.

Mr. Willing told us a Story of a Lawyer here, who the other Day, gave him upon the Bench the following Answer, to a Question Why the Lawyers were so increased.

“You ask me why Lawyers so much are increas’d  
Tho most of the Country already are fleec’d  
The Reason I’m sure is most strikingly plain  
The Sheep are oft sheered yet the Wool grows again  
And tho you may think e’er so odd of the Matter  
The oft’ner they’re fleeced, the Wool grows the better  
Thus downy-chin’d Boys as oft I have heard  
By frequently shaving obtain a large Beard.”

By Mr. Peters, written at the Bar and given to a Judge Mr. Willing, who had asked the Question at Dinner, in Pleasantry.

Mr. Willing is the most sociable, agreeable Man of all. He told us of a Law of this Place, that whereas oysters, between the Months of May and Septr. were found to be unwholesome food, if any were brought to Markett they should be forfeited and given to the Poor.

We drank Coffee, and then Reed, Cushing and I strolled, to the Moravian Evening Lecture where we heard soft, sweet Music and a dutchified english Prayer and Preachment.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:131–32.

<sup>1</sup> Pelatiah Webster (1726–95), a Connecticut native who became a Philadelphia merchant. The Boston town meeting of August 30, 1774, voted to provide employment for those made jobless by the Port Act. *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Boston Town Records . . .*, 39 vols. (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1887), 18:188–89.

## John Adams’ Diary

1774. Septr. 12. Monday.

Attended my Duty on the Committee, untill one O Clock, and then went with my Colleagues and Messrs. Thompson and Mifflin to the Falls of Schuylkill, and viewed the Museum at Fort St. Davids, a great Collection of Curiosities. Returned and dined with Mr. Dickinson at his Seat at Fair Hill, with his Lady, Mrs. Thompson, Miss Norris and Miss Harrison. Mr. Dickinson has a fine Seat, a beautyfull Prospect, of the City, the River and the Country—fine Gardens, and a very grand Library. The most of his Books, were collected by Mr. Norris, once Speaker of the House here, father of Mrs. Dickinson. Mr. Dickinson is a very modest Man, and very ingenious, as

well as agreeable. He has an excellent Heart, and the Cause of his Country lies near it. He is full and clear for allowing to Parliament, the Regulation of Trade, upon Principles of Necessity and the mutual Interest of both Countries.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:132–33.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

[September 12–18, 1774]

Monday. This Day as usual was spent on Committees. Tuesday We dined with Mr. Smith a Merchant of this City—and on Wednesday & Thursday attended Our Business. Friday We had a grand Entertainment at the State House. Sammy Webb must describe it. About Five Hundred Gentlemen sat down at once, and I will only say there was a plenty of everything eatable, & drinkable & no scarcity of good Humor, & diversion. We had besides the Delegates, Gentlemen From every province on the Continent present.<sup>1</sup> Saturday. I send the Resolves of this Day which are applauded to the skies by the Inhabitants of this City, so will say nothing more about them.<sup>2</sup> When I shall return is as uncertain as it was, on my First entering the City. I arm myself with Patience, and determine not to desert the Cause. I hope your Health returns. J Webb says it does, but I had rather see it under your own hand. Mr. Revere sets out in the Morning early and by him I send This Letter, which brings me to Sunday Evening, having heard Mr. Deshay in the Morning, & a Highland parson just imported the last Week from the Mountains of North Scotland, this After Noon. I saw Wm. Goddard here, but he looks dejected, and I thought, did not much choose being seen in public. He most certainly engaged Two potent Adversaries, when he differed with Galloway & Wharton.<sup>3</sup> My most Affectionate Regards to all of both Families and to the Neighborhood. I am my Dear Your most Affectionate Husband<sup>4</sup>

Silas Deane

RC (CtHi) . A continuation of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 10–11, 1774.

<sup>1</sup>An account of this entertainment appeared in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or, the General Advertiser*, September 19, 1774, and was widely reprinted. George Washington's presence is indicated by his September 16 diary entry. Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick) , 2:164.

<sup>2</sup>Resolutions adopted in response to resolves received from Suffolk County, Mass. See Peyton Randolph to Joseph Warren, September 17, 1774; and *JCC*, 1:39–40.

<sup>3</sup>William Goddard (1740–1817), printer, was apparently in Philadelphia to promote congressional support and management of his proposed independent postal system. The journals of October 5 indicate that an address by Goddard, probably on this subject, “was read and ordered to lie on the table.” *JCC*, 1:55. See

also Deane's Diary, October 5, 1774. For further discussion on this point as well as the history of Goddard's controversy with Galloway and Wharton, see Ward L. Miner, *William Goddard, Newspaperman* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962), pp. 65-136.

<sup>4</sup>For the conclusion of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 19, 1774.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 12, 1774]

Fine day. 2 oClock we rode in our Coach to the falls of Schuylkill River & saw the Collection of Curiositys in the Museum of Fort St. David a place of Bachanalian Rendezvous so called, 5 miles to this place. We returned & dind at Mr. John Dickensons, the Celebrated Farmer, whose Seat is 2 1/2 miles from the City, & is a convenient, decent, elegant, Philosophers Rural Retreat. Tarried till sun sett & returned. Found my self surprizingly vivant considering how ill I was yesterday.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>Paine awoke September 10 "in great Paine in my Bowells wch prov'd to be a bilious Cholick," and had continued "feverish" the following day. Robert Treat Paine's Diary, September 10, 11, 1774. MHi.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir,

Philadelphia Monday Sepr. 12th 1774

With this You have inclosed the Pensylvania Packet of this day, as Also another Letter intended to have been Sent by Mr. McFarson<sup>1</sup> who intends going to Lewis adjourned Court, but finding he did not purpose being at Dover before Saturday next, and Seeing Mr. William Gray in Town by Whom it might get a Quicker Conveyance Gave it him with this. Mr. McPherson Will give you the New York paper of Thursday last, I Gave it him for that purpose. You'll find in that paper a Speech of the Bishop of St. Asaph intended to have been Spoken in the house of Lords—and is now printed here in pamphlets—it is one of the Best peices I ever Read.<sup>2</sup> I continue in a Ver-ry poor State of health But not so bad but that I have given my Con-stant attendance in the Congress. The Congress does not now Set in form having appointed two Committees, one Consisting of 24 the other of 12 Members. I am one of the 24 Who are to report the Rights of the Colonies, the infringements of those Rights, and the means of Relief. What Shall be done after this appointmt. of the

Committee the Congress has enjoined every member to keep a Secret till the Whole business is done, When the Whole of their proceedings Will be published to avoid needless disputations out of Doors. This is much to the disappointment of the Curious.<sup>3</sup> We do not Expect to rise till Some time in October. There are more Strangers in Town now (Exclusive of the Gentlemen of the Congress) than ever was known at any one time. George Emlen's Ship Captn. Miller is Arrived from London as full as She Can Swim with dry Goods. All is Looked for every day, and it is Supposed Fortner will not be Long behind him. An Irish Ship is just Come to town Who Landed her passengers at Newcastle, and says that in puting them on Shore a Small Boat with 22 of them With their Effects was overset 19 of Whom Lost their lives between the Ship and the Warff. I beg you'll Write me by the first oppertunity Giving a State of Affairs below both public and private, and if any thing occur's out of the Common Road I Shall take Care to advise you of it. I am Sorry for the Loss of our poor Neighbour Minchall, more especially for his family Who must most Sensibly feel it. The gentlemen of the City are entertaining the Gentlemen of Congress every day by parcels—and on Fryday next the Citizens in General are to entertain the Whole Congress at the Statehouse. It is intended to be the greatest enertainment that ever was made in this City, the Expençe of Which is Computed to a Thousand pounds at least. I Do not now Recollect any thing more by way of news. Therefore desire to be Remember'd as heretofore. I am  
Your friend & Relation  
Caesar Rodney

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> John Macpherson, Jr. (1754–75), Pennsylvania lawyer, became aide-de-camp to Gen. Richard Montgomery. William Macpherson Hornor, "Extracts from the Letters of John Macpherson, Jr., to William Patterson, 1766–1773," *PMHB* 23 (1899): 51–59.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Shipley (1714–88), Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote the pamphlet, *A Speech Intended to Have Been Spoken by the Bishop of St. Asaph, on the Bill for Altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts*. The *Speech* went through several London editions and was widely republished in the colonies. For a broader discussion of Shipley and for a reprint of both the *Speech* and his similarly popular *Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, see Paul H. Smith, comp., *English Defenders of American Freedoms, 1774–1778* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1972), pp. 9–14, 29–43.

<sup>3</sup> Efforts to keep debates and activities of Congress secret were a limited success. Thomas Wharton (1735–78), Philadelphia merchant and subsequently President of Pennsylvania, claimed that "by a rule established at the opening of the Congress, we cannot get copies of their proceedings, but my intimacy with the leading members of most of the colonies, gives me an opportunity in conversation of knowing their daily results. . . ." Thomas Wharton to [Thomas Walpole], September 23, 1774, "Selections from the Letter-Books of Thomas Wharton of Philadelphia, 1773–1783," *PMHB* 33 (1909): 446.



## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 12, 1774]

12th. The Sub. Comee. met, made some Progress in stating the Rights and adjourned. (Some No. Carolina Delegates arrived.)<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Hewes and William Hooper. *JCC*, 1:30. The parenthetical phrase with which this entry ends appears to have been written after the 12th. It is crowded into a comparatively small space in the MS after "adjourned," the probable initial concluding point of the September 12 entry, but above the first line of Ward's entry for the 13th. Ward generally kept his diary faithfully, but occasionally he inserted passages which were not composed on the day of the events described.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sept. 13. Tuesday.

Attended my Duty all Day, on the Sub Comtee. Agreed on a Report.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:133.

<sup>1</sup> Between his diary entries for September 13 and 14, Adams penned a detached note: "1. & 2. Phil. & Mary. C. 10. ss. 7." The British statute cited is "An Acte wherby certayne Offences bee made Tresons," 1554-55, the seventh section of which discusses one of the exemptions of the law. This is one of the few surviving written references that reveals Adams' interest in statutes relating to treason.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 13, 1774]

13th. The Sub. Comee. met & went on with the Business & adjourned.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sept. 14. Wednesday.

Visited Mr. Gadsden, Mr. Deane, Coll. Dyer, &c. at their Lodgings. Gadsden is violent against allowing to Parliament any Power of regulating Trade, or allowing that they have any Thing to do with Us. Power of regulating Trade he says, is Power of ruining us—as bad as acknowledging them a Supream Legislative, in all Cases

whatsoever. A Right of regulating Trade is a Right of Legislation, and a Right of Legislation in one Case, is a Right in all. This I deny.

Attended the Congress and Committee all the forenoon. Dined with Dr. Cox. Dr. Morgan, Dr. Rush, Mr. Bayard, old Mr. Smith dined with us. Dr. Rush lives upon Water Street and has from the Windows of his back Room and Chamber, a fine Prospect of Delaware River, and of New Jersey beyond it. The Gentlemen entertained us, with Absurdities in the Laws of Pensylvania, New Jersey and Maryland. This I find is a genteel Topic of Conversation here. A mighty Feast again, nothing less than the very best of Claret, Madeira, and Burgundy. Melons, fine beyond description, and Pears and Peaches as excellent.

This Day Mr. Chase introduced to us, a Mr. Carrell [Carroll] of Anapolis, a very sensible Gentleman, a Roman catholic, and of the first Fortune in America.<sup>1</sup> His Income is Ten thousand Pounds sterling a Year, now, will be fourteen in two or 3 years, they say, besides his father has a vast Estate, which will be his, after his father.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:133-34

<sup>1</sup> Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832) , Maryland lawyer and statesman. Although his national career did not begin until 1776 with his appointment by Congress as a commissioner to Canada and subsequent election as a delegate, Carroll had gone to Philadelphia on September 6 to monitor the activities of Congress. His observations are contained in three letters to his father, Charles Carroll, Sr., September 7, 9, and 12, 1774. MdHi: Carroll Papers. Although "their debates are kept secret, and the deputies are under a tie of honour not to reveal what passes," Carroll apparently acquired intimate knowledge of the proceedings and was pleased with his trip. "When I see you," he continued in his letter of the 12th, "I shall be able to give you a full account of their deliberations." For a similar claim, made by Thomas Wharton, that affairs of Congress were discussed in the presence of outsiders out-of-doors, see Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, September 12, 1774, note 3.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Septr. 14. 1774

I have written but once to you since I left you.<sup>1</sup> This is to be imputed to a Variety of Causes, which I cannot explain for Want of Time. It would fill Volumes to give you an exact Idea of the whole Tour. My Time is to totally filled from the Moment I get out of Bed, untill I return to it. Visits, Ceremonies, Company, Business, News Papers, Pamphlets &c. &c. &c.

The Congress will, to all present Appearance be well united and in such Measures, I hope will give Satisfaction to the Friends of our Country.

A Tory here is the most despicable Animal in the Creation. Spi-

ders, Toads, Snakes, are their only proper Emblems. The Massachusetts Councillors, and Addressers are held in curious Esteem here, as you will see.

The Spirit, the Firmness, the Prudence of our Province are vastly applauded, and We are universally acknowledged the Saviours and Defenders of American Liberty.

The Designs, and Plans of the Congress, must not be communicated, untill compleated, and We shall move with great Deliberation.

When I shall come home I know not, but at present I dont expect to take my Leave of this City these four Weeks.

My Compliments, Love, Service where they are due. My Babes are never out of my Mind, nor absent from my Heart.

Adieu.

John Adams

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:155.

<sup>1</sup> Adams had written twice previously on this trip: from Princeton, N. J., August 28, and Philadelphia, September 8.

## John Adams to William Tudor

My Friend

Phyladelphia Sept. 14. 1774

I have been so totally taken up, that I dont know whether I have acknowledged your Agreeable Letters or not.<sup>1</sup> They have been of Use as well as Amusement to me I assure you.

You can hardly conceive the avidity with which your Letter and Mr Trumbulls, and indeed every Scrap of Letter or Newspaper from Boston is read here. You cannot conceive the Esteem and Honour in which the Mass. is held here.

While I write this, the Gentlemen Delegates are all around me reading your News Papers. I hear them all around me praising and admiring. By *God* g-d says one, I dont believe there is such a People in the World!—another Answers him, I really dont think there is so fine a People upon the Globe—So cool, So cautious, so prudent, and yet So unalterably determined.

My Dear Friend, pray write to me by every opportunity. Dont wait for Returns from me. I have so much Business—so much Pleasure—so much Ceremony and so much Trifling to do here that I have not Time to write a Line. Yet I will give you a remembrancer when I can.

The Congress are well united—but all is secret as yet. We shall do tolerably well.

As Choice a Collection as North America can afford, I will answer for it.

Adieu

John Adams

[P.S.] Thank Mr Williams, Mr Hill & Mr Trumble for their Letters to me and pray them to continue them.

RC (MHi) . Recipient identified in William Tudor to John Adams, September 26, 1774, MHi.

<sup>1</sup> William Tudor (1750–1819), Massachusetts attorney and Adams' former law clerk, served as judge advocate general of the Continental Army, 1775–78. "Memoir of Hon. William Tudor," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser. 7 (1826) : 285–325.

## Samuel Adams to the Boston Committee of Correspondence

Gentlemen

Philada. Sept 14 1774

I have been waiting with great Impatience for a Letter from the Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Boston upon whose Wisdom and Judgment I very much rely.<sup>1</sup> The Congress is resolved into Committees and Sub Committees and all seem fully sensible of the Intollerable Grievances which the Colonies are struggling under, and determined to procure effectual Redress. The Subject Matter of their Debates I am restraind upon Honor from disclosing at present; but I may assure you that the Sentiments of the Congress hitherto discovered and the Business assignd to the several Committees are such as perfectly coincide with your Expectations.

The Spirit of our Countrymen does them great Honor. Our Brethren of the County of Middlesex have resolved nobly, and their Resolutions are read by the several Members of this Body with high Applause.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally agreed that an opposition to the new Mode of Government ought to be maintained. A warm Advocate for the Cause of Liberty to whom America is much obligd for his former Labors told me that he was fully of opinion that no officer under the new Establishment ought to be acknowledgd; on the other hand that each of them should be warned against exercising any Authority upon pain of *the utmost* Resentment of the people. It is therefore greatly to his Satisfaction to observe the Measures that have been taken. I am pleasd to hear that a provincial Congress is proposd, & cannot but promise my self that the firm manly and perservering opposition of that single province will operate to the total frustration of the villanous designs of our Tyrants and their Distruction.

I hope the Committee will continue to Act up to their Dignity and Importance. I am yet of opinion that Heaven will Honor them with a great Share of the Merit of saving the Rights of all America. May God inspire them with Wisdom & Fortitude. I must beg them to ex-



cuse this hasty Effusion of an honest heart, having been just now (while in a Committee) informed that a Vessell is immediately about to Sail to Marblehead. Pray let me hear from the Committee. Being as you all know *a Man of Fortune*, you need not fear putting me to the Expence of postage—direct to Mr Saml Smith and Sons Merchts in this City. I conclude with my warmest Prayers to the Supreme Being for the Salvation of our Country. Your Friend Fellow Countryman & Fellow Labourer

Samuel Adams

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Adams' correspondence with the Boston committee suggests that a preplanned flow of news from Boston was maintained to sustain an air of crisis and to generate support in Congress for vigorous measures in behalf of Massachusetts. The committee's letter of September 29 subsequently served this precise purpose, stimulating the debates of October 7–10 in protest against Gen. Thomas Gage's fortification of Boston. *JCC*, 1:55; Robert Treat Paine's Diary, October 6, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> The Middlesex County Convention Resolves were read in Congress on September 14, but the more militant Suffolk County Resolves that arrived two days later attracted more attention in Congress and provoked a spirited exchange of views on what course America should take. *JCC*, 1:31.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 14, 1774]

14th. The Sub. Comee. met, reported to great Comee. who appointed next Morning for Consideration of the Report. A Sub. Comee. appointed to state the Infringements of our Rights.

MS (RHi).

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 15, 1774]

Fine day. Dind Mr. Wallace. Wrote to Dr. Cobb & Brother Greenleaf by Capt. Goodhue of Salem.

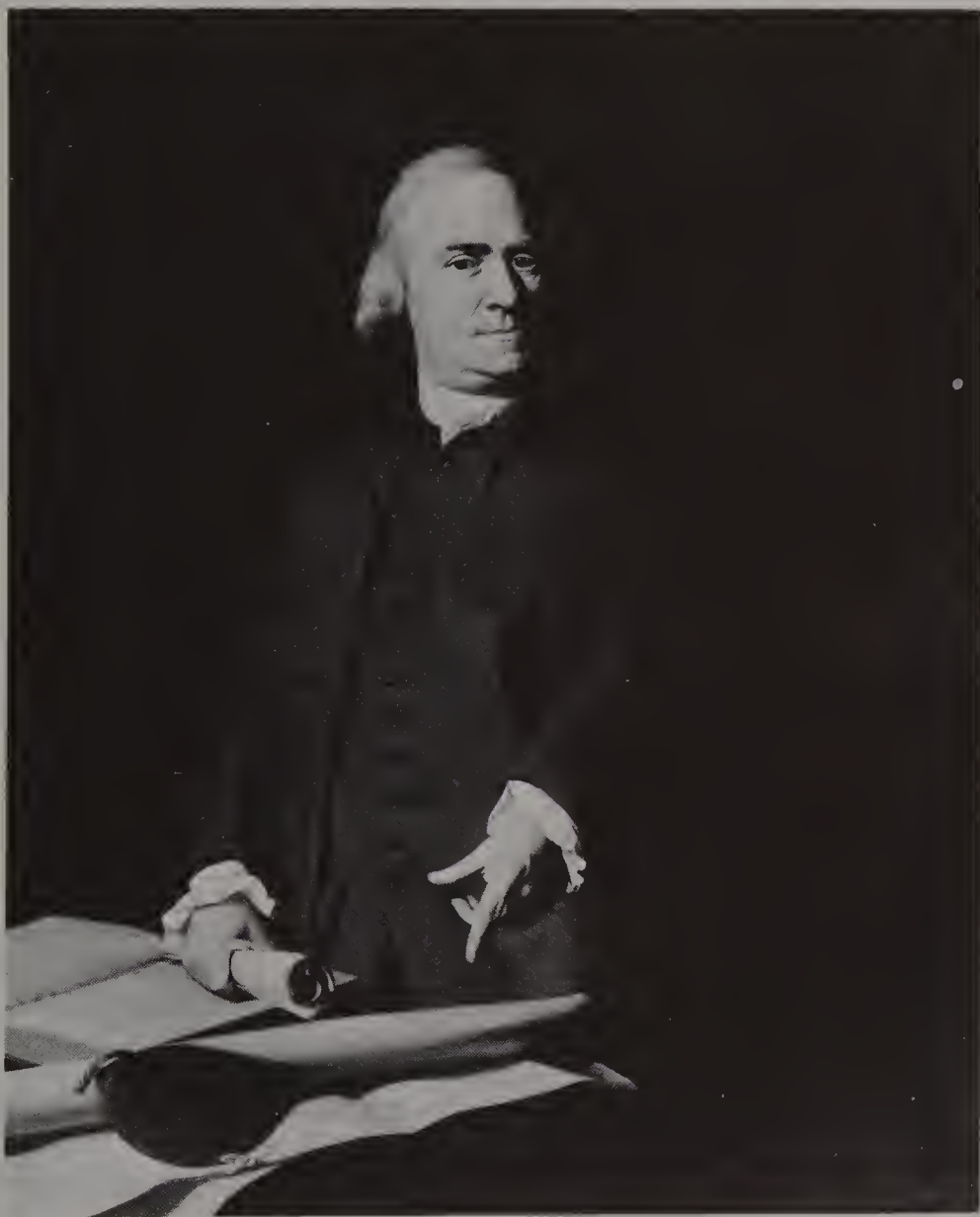
MS (MHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 15, 1774]

15th. The large Comee. met, went on with the Report & adjourned.

MS (RHi).



Samuel Adams

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

Phyladelphia Sept. 16. 1774

Having a Leisure Moment, while the Congress is assembling, I gladly embrace it to write you a Line.

When the Congress first met, Mr. Cushing made a Motion, that it should be opened with Prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay of N. York and Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious Sentiments, some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some anabaptists, some Presbyterians and some Congregationalists, so that We could not join in the same Act of Worship. Mr. S. Adams arose and said he was no Bigot, and could hear a Prayer from a Gentleman of Piety and Virtue, who was at the same Time a Friend to his Country. He was a Stranger in Phyladelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duchè (Dushay they pronounce it) deserved that Character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duchè, an episcopal Clergyman, might be desired, to read Prayers to the Congress, tomorrow Morning. The Motion was seconded and passed in the Affirmative. Mr. Randolph our President, waited on Mr. Duchè, and received for Answer that if his Health would permit, he certainly would. Accordingly next Morning he appeared with his Clerk and in his Pontificallibus, and read several Prayers, in the established Form; and then read the Collect for the seventh day of September, which was the Thirty fifth Psalm. You must remember this was the next Morning after we heard the horrible Rumour, of the Cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater Effect upon an Audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that Morning.

After this Mr. Duche, unexpected to every Body struck out into an extemporary Prayer, which filled the Bosom of every Man present. I must confess I never heard a better Prayer or one, so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervour, such Ardor, such Earnestness and Pathos, and in Language so elegant and sublime—for America, for the Congress, for The Province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially the Town of Boston. It has had an excellent Effect upon every Body here.

I must beg you to read that Psalm. If there was any Faith in the sortes Virgilianæ, or sortes Homericæ, or especially the Sortes biblicæ, it would be thought providential.

It will amuse your Friends to read this Letter and the 35th. Psalm to them. Read it to your Father and Mr. Wibirt. I wonder what our Braintree Churchmen would think of this? Mr. Duchè is one of the most ingenious Men, and best Characters, and greatest orators in the Episcopal order, upon this Continent—Yet a Zealous Friend of Liberty and his Country.<sup>1</sup>

I long to see my dear Family. God bless, preserve and prosper it.  
Adieu.

John Adams

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:156–57.

<sup>1</sup> See Adams' Diary, September 7, 1774, and *JCC*, 1:27. Adams misjudged the strength of Duché's attachment to America. Duché fled to England in late 1777, after urging Washington to repudiate the Declaration of Independence. Adams to Abigail Adams, October 25, 1777. Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 2:359–60.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 16, 1774]

Fine day. This A.M. Paul Revere arrived Express from Boston bringing advices to the 11th. & praying Advice of the Congress.<sup>1</sup> This day a No. of Gentlemen of Philada. gave a grand Dinner to the Congress at the State House abt. 500 dined at once.

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the Suffolk County Resolves, which were laid before Congress the following day. *JCC*, 1:31–32.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 16, 1774]

16th. The large Comee. met, resumd the Business & adjourned.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sept. 17. Saturday.

This was one of the happiest Days of my Life. In Congress We had generous, noble Sentiments, and manly Eloquence. This Day convinced me that America will support the Massachusetts or perish with her.<sup>1</sup>

Dined with old Mr. Smith, with much Company. Visited the bettering House, a large Building—very clean, neat, and convenient for the Poor. Viewed the Gardens, &c.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:134–35.

<sup>1</sup> Congress adopted resolutions approving the Suffolk Resolves and pledging support for Boston. *JCC*, 1:31–40.



## Thomas Cushing to Joseph Warren

SIR,

PHILADELPHIA, September 17, 1774.

We received your Favor of the 11th Instant, together with the Resolutions of the County of Suffolk,<sup>1</sup> and communicated the same to the Congress: In Consequence of which, they passed the several Resolutions which will be delivered you by Mr. Revere, together with a Letter from the President. They highly applaud the wise, temperate and spirited Conduct of our People, in their Opposition to the late Act of altering our Constitution. These Resolves will, we trust, support and comfort our Friends, and confound our Enemies. In Behalf of myself and Brethren, I am with Respect, Your most humble Servant,

THOMAS CUSHING.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, September 26, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Although Joseph Warren wrote the resolves which the Suffolk County Convention approved on September 9, the Massachusetts' delegates in Congress, particularly Samuel Adams, had conferred with Warren about this convention before leaving Boston. John H. Cary, *Joseph Warren: Physician, Politician, Patriot* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 149-58.

## Peyton Randolph to Joseph Warren

SIR,

Philadelphia, 17th Sept. 1774.

Your Letter of the 11th Instant, directed "To the Honorable Thomas Cushing, Esq; and the other Gentlemen of the Congress, Members for Massachusetts-Bay," together with the Resolutions entered into by the Delegates of the several Towns in the County of Suffolk, and their Address to his Excellency Governor Gage were communicated to the Congress, whereupon the Congress came into the following unanimous Resolves, which by their Order I transmit to you to be communicated to the Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Boston.<sup>1</sup> I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

PEYTON RANDOLPH.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, September 26, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> The resolutions of Congress were adopted on September 17, but in the printed *Journals* they appear erroneously under the date, "Saturday, September 18, 1774." *JCC*, 1:39-40. The proceedings therein recorded under the September 18 date appear in the manuscript journals as a continuation of the September 17 entry. PCC, item 1.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 17, 1774]

Fine day. Congress consider & form a Resolve on the Boston Case. Din'd Mr. Saml. Smith. P.M. visited the Bettering House.

MS (MHi).

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir, Philadelphia. Saturday Sepr. 17th 1774  
By Express Which arrived here Yesterday, from the Committee of the Town of Boston to the general Continental Congress, Who are Informed the County of Suffolk of which the Town of Boston is the Capital, had entered into Certain Resolutions, a Copy of Which was inclosed us. Generally to the purport of not Suffering the Commander in Chief to Execute the Act of Parliament changing their Government by Persuading, protecting and Compelling officers under the new Regulation to Resign and by a Refusal in jury men to Serve &c, That they have ordered all those able to bear Arms to keep in Readiness, to defend their inherent rights, Even with Loss of Blood & Treasure; That they are determined not [to] Injure the General or any of the Kings Troops, Unless Compelled thereto by an Attack made by the Troops on them.

They complain of the General's Seizing the Powder at Cambridge Which they say was private property; and also that he is now fortifying the only pass that leads from the Town of Boston into the Country from Whence the inhabitants of the Town are daily Supplied. This pass is a Narrow Neck of Land about 120 yards wide, at Which he has placed a Number of Troops and 28 Canon. That the Country people passing and repassing this place are Suffered to be insulted by the Soldiery. And that the inhabitants feared (from those Movements of the General) he had designs of Apprehending and sending to England those persons who have Stood foremost in the great Cause of Liberty. That in Consequence of his Conduct, and these their Suspitions, the inhabitants of Suffolk sent (by a Committee appointed for that purpose) An address to the General, enquiring the Cause of his Stopping up and fortifying the pass, Seizing and Securing the Magazine's &c., & Their disaprobation of his Conduct—and that they had no Intention to assault either him or his Soldiers—But that if he Continued to block up the pass, and thereby prevent them of the only Means of Supplying the Town with necessaries—they Should Look upon it, as a Commencement of Hostilities. Upon the whole They Sent an Express to the General Congress here, for their

Instructions as to their future Conduct. The Congress met on that business this day and have Resolved thereon—Which You Will see in the Packet of Munday being ordered immediately to be printed, as Well that the General, as the people might know What they thought of the Matter. If Morris or Henry Stays till Munday I Will Send you the Monday's paper.

Mr. Richard Penn has got Hockley office<sup>1</sup>—about £1200 a Year. Your Accot. of Politicks in Kent as Set forth in Your Letter by Butler, places them in that State I Expected they would be. However do not Doubt but a great Majority of the people Will Show Such a firm Attachment to the Cause in Which I am embarked as (With the assistance of My Real friends) Will defeat their little, Low, Un-greatfull Schemes.<sup>2</sup> If the Shallops go before Munday I shall Inclose you the New York paper of Thursday in this—if not Shall inclose the Munday's paper with it in another Cover. Let me here every thing, by Every opportunity. V. Loockerman will give you accot. of the Entertainment of Yesterday—by Whom I Wrote Several days ago. Remember me kindly to all friends—and next to Relations, to Doctr. McCall who did not forget me. I am Yrs. Caesar Rodney

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> Richard Penn, Jr. (1735–1811), son of proprietor Richard Penn and brother of John Penn, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania. Richard Hockley, merchant, served as receiver general of Pennsylvania, 1753–68, and then assumed the duties of naval officer, which he performed until his death in 1774. His father, Richard, had been a business partner of proprietor Thomas Penn. Nicholas B. Wainwright, "An Indian Trade Failure: The Story of the Hockley, Trent and Croghan Company, 1748–1752," *PMHB* 72 (1948): 352, 372n.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter of September 11, 1774, Thomas had warned Caesar that his political opponents were attempting to gain their purpose "of throwinge you off the assembly." Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden), p. 46.

## Charles Thomson to the Printer of the *Pennsylvania Packet*

Sir,

[September 17? 1774]

Please to insert in your paper, the following extract from the Minutes of the Congress now sitting at Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

By Order of the Congress, Charles Thomson, Secretary

MS not found; reprinted from *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, September 19, 1774.

<sup>1</sup> The "extract from the Minutes" printed in the *Packet* included the Suffolk County Resolves, the county's address to Gen. Thomas Gage, and the two resolutions supporting Massachusetts passed by Congress September 17. *JCC*, 1:31–40. See also Peyton Randolph to Joseph Warren, September 17, 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 17, 1774]

17th. The Congress met, considered the Situation & Conduct of the County of Suffolk, approved their Conduct & recommended to them to persevere according to their Resolutions as formed at a late County Meeting and recommended to the sevrall Colonies to continue Donations as long as necessary. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)

MS (RHi).

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Sept. 18. 1774

I received your very agreeable Letter, by Mr. Marston, and have received two others, which gave me much Pleasure. I have wrote several Letters, but whether they have reached you I know not. There is so much Rascallity in the Management of Letters, now come in Fashion, that I am determined to write nothing of Consequence, not even to the Friend of my Bosom, but by Conveyances which I can be sure of.

The Proceedings of the Congress, are all a profound Secret, as yet, except two Votes which were passed Yesterday, and ordered to be printed. You will see them from every Quarter. These Votes were passed in full Congress with perfect Unanimity.

The Esteem, the Affection, the Admiration, for the People of Boston and the Massachusetts, which were expressed Yesterday, And the fixed Determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt an Heart of Stone. I saw the Tears gush into the Eyes of the old, grave, pacific Quakers of Pensylvania.

You cannot conceive my Dear, the Harry of Business, Visits and Ceremonies which we are obliged to go through.

We have a delicate Course to steer, between too much Activity and too much Insensibility, in our critical interested situation. I flatter myself however, that We shall conduct our Embassy in such a manner as to merit the Approbation of our Country.

It has taken Us much Time to get acquainted with the Tempers, Views, Characters, and Designs of Persons and to let them into the Circumstances of our Province. My dear do, intreat every Friend I have to write me. Every Line which comes from our Friends is greedily enquired after, and our Letters have done us vast service.

Middlesex and Suffolk have acquired unbounded Honour here. There is No Idea of Submission, here in any Bodies head.



Thank my dear Nabby for her Letter—tell her it has given me great Spirits. Kiss all my sweet ones for me.

Adieu.

John Adams

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:157–58.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Sept. 18. 1774

In your last you inquire tenderly after my Health, and how we found the People upon our Journey, and how We were treated.

I have enjoyed as good Health as usual, and much more than I know how to account for, when I consider the extream Heat of the Weather, and the incessant Feasting I have endured ever since I left Boston.

The People, in Conecticut, New York, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, we have found extreamly well principled, and very well inclined, altho some Persons in N. York and Phyladelphia, wanted a little Animation. Their Zeal however has increased wonderfully since we began our Journey.

When the horrid News was brought here of the Bombardment of Boston, which made us compleatly miserable for two days, We saw Proofs both of the Sympathy and the Resolution, of the Continent.

WAR! WAR! WAR! was the Cry, and it was pronounced in a Tone, which would have done Honour to the Oratory of a Briton or a Roman. If it had proved true, you would have heard the Thunder of an American Congress.

I have not Time nor Language to express the Hospitality and Civility, the studied and expensive Respect with which we have been treated, in every Stage of our Progress. If Cambden, Chatham, Richmond and St. Asaph had travelled thro the Country,<sup>1</sup> they could not have been entertained with greater Demonstrations of Respect, than Cushing, Paine and the Brace of Adams's have been.

The Particulars will amuse you, when We return.

I confess the Kindness, the Affection, the Applause, which has been given to me and especially, to our Province, have many a Time filled my Bosom, and streamed from my Eyes.

My best Respects to Coll. Warren and his Lady when you write to them. I wish to write them.

Adieu.

John Adams

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:158–59.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Pratt (1714–94), first Earl Camden, William Pitt (1708–78), first Earl of Chatham, and Charles Lennox (1735–1806), third Duke of Richmond and Lennox, were Whig lords widely identified in the colonies as opponents of the

North ministry's American policy. For more information related to Jonathan Shipley (1714–88), Bishop of St. Asaph, see Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, September 12, 1774.

## John Adams to Richard Cranch

My dear Brother

Phyladelphia Sept. 18. 1774

I thank you<sup>1</sup> most kindly for your obliging Letter. And beg the Continuance of your Correspondence. Every Line from Boston is a Cordial, and of great Use to us in our Business.

It is a grief to my Heart that I cannot write to my Friends so often and particularly as I wish.<sup>2</sup>

But Politicks I can't write, in Honour. I send the Votes of Yesterday, which are ordered to be printed, and this is the only Thing which we are yet at Liberty to mention even to the People out of Doors here. The Congress will support Boston and the Massachusetts or Perish with them. But they earnestly wish that Blood may be spared if possible, and all Ruptures with the Troops avoided. Break open my Letters to my Wife, and then send them as soon as possible.

Adieu.

John Adams

[P.S.] My Love to sister, the Children and every Body.

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:159–60.

<sup>1</sup>Richard Cranch (1726–1811), glass manufacturer and watchmaker, married Mary, elder sister of Abigail Smith Adams. Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:1.

<sup>2</sup>Adams' busy schedule is attested to by his diary, in which he noted this day that he attended two church services, wrote several letters, and "spent the evening at home with General Lee, Capt. Dagworthy, Mr. McDougall and others." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:135.

## John Adams to Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Dr sir

Philadelphia Sept. 18. 1774

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your kind Letter, and to thank you for it, and then Seal my Letter.

Business, Ceremony, Visits and a thousand et ceteras take up my Time so entirely that I can scarce find half enough for Sleep.

I have Spoken to several Gentlemen concerning you and Shall to more. I wish you a prosperous Voyage and much of the exalted Pleasure of serving your Country.<sup>1</sup>

You are surrounded with active scenes in our Province at present. We are not idle here—but how long it will be before the World will know our Meditations I cant Say.

Our Country is in the Post of Honour, and of Danger and she behaves in Character. The Congress is sensible of it, and will Act in Character too, I hope and believe. Adieu. John Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>Josiah Quincy (1744–75), Boston attorney, who had previously traveled through the southern colonies to test whig sentiment, sailed for England on September 28, 1774, ostensibly for the purpose of recovering from tuberculosis. Secretly, he was to present the patriot case to British leaders and sample sentiment toward the colonies. Quincy died on his return voyage in April 1775, just as his ship reached Boston, before communicating the information he had gathered in England. *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 15:479–91. See also George H. Nash, III, "From Radicalism to Revolution: The Political Career of Josiah Quincy, Jr.," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 79 (October 1969): 253–90.

## George Read to Gertrude Read

[September 18, 1774]

I flatter myself that I am rid of my intermittent, though I had a slight fit on Thursday last, the day I wrote by Captain Young, since which I have taken fourteen doses of bark. I shall take a short ride on horseback this morning. . . . I long to be with you, but dare not hint a time lest I could not keep it, but you may be assured, if I can discover a few days that I can with propriety be absent, I will seize the opportunity. If I had been able to have travelled through yesterday, I should have blamed myself for being absent, as two matters were debated which I would have chosen to appear in—to wit, a resolve of approbation of the conduct of the people of Boston and county of Suffolk, which includes Boston, since the operation of the port-bill; and another resolve for a further contribution from all the colonies for the support of the poor of Boston, both of which will be published to-morrow. These were suddenly done in consequence of an application from Boston to the Congress for their advice upon the late measures of General Gage, in fortifying the neck of land that leads into Boston. John Penn made, and Richard Penn accepted, the offer of the naval office on the day of Hackley's death.<sup>1</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from extract in William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence* . . . (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), pp. 94–96.

<sup>1</sup> See Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, September 17, 1774.

## Samuel Adams to Charles Chauncy

Rev'd Sir,

Philadelphia Sep 19 1774

I have had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you<sup>1</sup> since my

## Samuel Adams

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 1:39–40.

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half of myself & Bretheren Your most humble Servt.

Thomas Cushing

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>The proceedings of the Middlesex County Convention, which met at Concord August 30–31, arrived at Congress on September 14. Congress took no concrete action on the resolutions from Middlesex County, in contrast to its response to the more militant Suffolk County Resolves.

<sup>2</sup>JCC, 1:39–40.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

Monday Evening 11 oClock 19th Sepr. 1774

P.S. I shall possibly write again before I return, but not so lengthy, as I am really hurried, and have many more engagements than I wish for, though they are Agreeable. Am engaged to dine out every Day this Week, once with Mr. Dickinson, & once with a Quaker just Married. You will begin to suspect We do nothing else, but I assure You it is hard Work. We meet at Nine and set untill Three, by which Time We are unable to do any thing but eat & drink the rest of the Day. Love to All.

S.D.

I tell you on the other page that I shall not be so particular in my future Letters. I shall not have Time for the Business of the Congress having been at Committees, & the Committee I was upon having the least Difficulty has given Me Time to scribble, but as both Committees are Now ready to report We shall attend Night & Day untill We get Through, or adjourn.<sup>1</sup> I beleive We shall adjourn untill May Next, but this is out Door Talk. If We do, I hope You will then have an Opportunity of seeing this City which I do think is a healthy one, & my Countenance shows it for every one of my Quaker Freinds I meet tells Me, *Thee lookest very well Freind Dean.*

RC (CtHi). Conclusion of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, September 10–19, 1774.

<sup>1</sup>The committee "to examine & report the several statutes, which affect the trade and manufactures of the colonies," to which Deane was appointed September 7, submitted its report to Congress September 17, which in turn referred it to the committee "to state the rights of the Colonies." JCC, 1:29, 40–41.

## Silas Deane to Wethersfield Committee of Correspondence

Gentlemen,

Philadelphia Sepr. 19th. 1774

I have the pleasure of inclosing to you Two Resolves of the Con-

gress, which were pass'd without one dissenting Voice, though all the Members were present.<sup>1</sup> I wish To have these dispersed through the Colony, into every Town at least. Mr. Webb can inform you of the general Sentiments of this part of the Continent. Particulars will not be published by the Congress, untill they rise or adjourn, except in those cases where it is judg'd, To be [publikly?] necessary. I may take Liberty however to assure You that the greatest Unanimity has hitherto prevailed among the Members. I am with regard Gentlemen Your Most Obed. & most Hum. Servt. Silas Deane

P.S. Mr. Webb to whom I refer sets out Tomorrow, but Mr. Rever[e] going this instant I forward by him.

RC (NNPM).

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the resolutions of September 17 endorsing the Suffolk Resolves. *JCC*, 1:39-40.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 19, 1774]

Wrote to Mr. Jos. Greenleaf & Joshua Bracket & David Cobb by Mr. Revere who set out this morning. We dined at Dr. Rush's.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> John Adams recorded for this day: "Dined with Dr. Rush in Company with Dr. Shippen, and many others. Folsom and Sullivan from N. Hampshire. Mr. Blair &c. &c." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:135.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir, Phila. Monday Sept. the 19th 1774.

I wrote you on Saturday by John Morris, the St. Jones's Creek Shallop man who was to leave town that night, with him also I directed another paper inclosing the New York news-paper of Thursday last. With this letter which will go by Matthew Henry's Shallop, I shall inclose you the Penna. packet of this day.

Some time ago, I do not doubt but you were all much alarmed on a report that the King's ships were firing on the town of Boston. When that news came to this city the Bells were muffled & kept ringing all that day. However, in a few days after that news was contradicted here, & hope by this time it is so with you. By some late very authentick accts. from Boston govt. to the gentn of that place now at the Congress, We are informed that there was about 3 days between this reports passing thro' the Mass. & Conn. govts. & its being contra-

dicted. That when the expresses went to contradict this false report, they found in those 2 govts. in different parties upward of 50,000 men well-armed, actually on their march to Boston for the relief of the inhabitants & that every farmer who had a cart or waggon (& not able to bear arms) were with them loaded with provisions, ammunition, baggage &c, all headed by experienced officers who had served in the Late American war, & That vast numbers more were preparing to march. Upon the news being contradicted, they returned peaceably to their several places of abode—but not till they had sent some of their officers from the different parties to Boston to know the real situation of affairs there & to direct them what principal officers in the different parts of the country they should hereafter send expresses to—in case they should stand in need of their assistance. It is supposed by some of the friends of liberty at Boston that the alarm was set on foot by some of the friends to the ministerial plan in order to try whether there was that true valor in the people. If this was the case, I suppose you will think with me that by this time they can have no doubts remaining. Indeed, I think it is proved by the Gens. own conduct, for ever since that, he has been fortifying himself, which I imagine is more for his own security than to attack the inhabitants. Yesterday afternoon Capt. All from London came up to town. But no news that he may have bro't has as yet transpired, except that friends to the American Cause are daily increasing on the other side of the water. I am yours,

Caesar Rodney

Tr (DLC).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 19, 1774]

19th. The Congress met & resumed the Business & adjourned.<sup>1</sup> The Comee. met, resumed the Consideration of Rights & adjd. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup>The "Business" in question was the report of the committee investigating British statutes affecting American trade and manufacturers, which this day Congress considered and referred to the committee to state the rights of the colonies. JCC, 1:40-41.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Tuesday Sept. 20.

Had Cards a Week ago to dine with Mr. Maese [Mease]—but

forgot it, and dined at home. After We had dined after 4 O Clock, Mr. Maes's Brother came to our Lodgings after Us. We went, after Dinner, and found Mr. Dickinson, Mifflin, Dr. Rush, Mr. West, Mr. Biddle, and Captn. All and Mr. Maes's Brother—a very agreeable Company. Our Regret at the Loss of this Company was very great. Mr. Dickenson was very agreeable.

A Question was started about the Conduct of the Bostonian Merchants since the Year 1770, in importing Tea and paying the Duty. Mr. Hancock it is said has received the Freight of many Chests of Tea. I think the Bostonian Merchants are not wholly justifiable—yet their Conduct has been exaggerated. Their fault and guilt has been magnified. Mr. Hancock I believe is justifiable, but I am not certain, whether he is strictly so. He owned a Ship in Partnership with Geo. Hayley, who is agreed here to be a ministerial Man, and Haley I suppose sent the Tea in the Ship.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:135.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

*Philadelphia Septr. 20. 1774.* "I am anxious to know how you can live without Government. But the Experiment must be tried. The Evils will not be found so dreadfull as you a[ppreh]end them." Extols the virtues of frugality and economy, which will save Americans from "ignominious Domination."

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:161.

## Richard Henry Lee to William Lee

Dear Brother, Philadelphia 20th Septr 1774

We have been here in full Congress of Deputies from the Principal Colonies near three weeks proceeding slowly but with great unanimity on the important business that brought us to this Town. The proceedings are yet on honor to be kept secret, but we have great hopes that their vigor and unanimity will prove the ruin of our Ministerial Enemies and the salvation of American Liberty. About a fortnight more will produce a publication of our plan, after which you shall have it by the first opportunity. Since we came to this place, a universal alarm has been occasioned by a report that Boston had just been Cannonaded. This proves not true, and took its rise from a night manœuvre of the Generals, to seize some Provincial Powder that had been stored by law for Militia uses. The report served however to



show the spirit and situation of the people in that part of America, for we have good intelligence that 50,000 Men were in Arms in the Massachusetts Government and Connecticut, and that 30,000 were on march, well armed and provided, to Boston when they were informed all was peace at that place, on which they quietly returned home. Does not this shew that no small difficulty will attend forcing a submission from these people, and they are most firmly resolved to dye rather than submit to the change of their Government. In this too they will have the concurring support of the other Colonies as the Congress have in fact already published their determination by approving in strong terms the resolves of the County of Suffolk as the inclosed Paper will shew you. It seems to me, that if Ministry have not their hearts hardened, as the Scripture has it, they will best consult the good of their Country and their own safety by a prudent and speedy reversal of their ill judged measures. For they may be certain of a full, complete, and steady opposition from all North America—I mean every part of it that is worth regarding. Give my love to the Doctor and communicate this letter to him.<sup>1</sup>

I heartily wish my Sister & yourself health and happiness.  
Farewell.

Richard Henry Lee

RC (NN) .

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Lee (1740–92), doctor, lawyer, diplomat, Massachusetts' agent in London, 1770–75, was actively involved in British politics and an important source of news from Britain. *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 13:245–60.

## Isaac Low to William Wickham and David Matthews

Gentlemen

Philadelphia, September 20, 1774

I did not receive your favor of 16th instant time enough to answer it by return of the post. Mr. Herring [Haring] has not yet made his second appearance; nor did we imagine Mr. Wisner would have had the confidence to present himself as a delegate after knowing the circumstances which were communicated to us relative to his election.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore thought by my colleagues most advisable to show him your letters on that subject. He was not in the least disconcerted, but expressed great satisfaction at being treated with so much candor, and in return thought himself bound in gratitude to show us with equal frankness the certificates on which he founded his pretensions, leaving us at full liberty afterwards to make such use of the intelligence received from you as we thought proper. From the face of his certificates,<sup>2</sup> the one signed by Col. [Vincent] Matthews, the other by Ba[1]thazar De Hart (copies of which I now enclose), we were of opinion his election would appear too regular to be set aside by anything we could produce to the contrary; especially as the fact we

principally relied on, as related in a letter to you from Col. Matthews, the chairman, might seem to be in a great measure invalidated by his certificate as chairman "at a meeting of the inhabitants of the precincts of Goshen and Cornwall." And Mr. De Hart's certificate might probably pass for those others of the county. Upon the whole it was our unanimous opinion that we could not with any prospect of success oppose Mr. Wisner's qualifications on the evidence we were yet possessed of, but to wait for the vouchers which you seem so determined to exhibit against him, which we must submit to your discretion.

MS not found; reprinted from Franklin Burdge, *A Second Memorial of Henry Wisner* (New York: Privately Printed, 1898), pp. 15-16.

<sup>1</sup> John Haring and Henry Wisner were elected as delegates for Orange County on August 16 at a meeting "of all the Committees of the County of Orange," reportedly attended by only 20 of the county's estimated 1,000 eligible freeholders. Wisner, perhaps in an effort to broaden his support, had his election confirmed on September 3 at a meeting of the inhabitants of the Orange County precincts of Goshen and Cornwall, after which he went to Philadelphia and took his seat in Congress on the 14th. Wisner won this second election by only two votes, however, and then allegedly only through some electoral irregularities, which William Wickham and David Matthews, both conservatives, described to Low in a letter of September 16, now lost. Wisner managed to overcome the complaints of Wickham and Matthews, as Low goes on to explain here, by producing certificates attesting to the validity of his joint election with Haring in August and his own confirmatory election in September. Hence he retained his seat and was joined on the 26th by Haring, who was then admitted to Congress. Burnett, who in this respect was otherwise very scrupulous, knew that Wisner attended the First Congress but failed to mention it in his record of Wisner's service as a delegate. Burnett, *Letters*, 1:lvii, 17n.15; *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:879; *NYHS Collections* 10 (1878): 367; and Burdge, *Second Memorial*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> There are facsimile reprints of these certificates in G. Franklin Wisner, *The Wisners in America and their Kindred: A Genealogical and Biographical History* (Baltimore: Privately Printed, 1918), pp. 25, 27.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 20, 1774]

20th. The Comee. met, resumed &c, and adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.)

MS (RH) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Wednesday. Sept. 21.

Capt. Callender came to breakfast with Us. Coll. Dagworthy and

his Brother Captn. Dagworthy breakfasted with Us. Mrs. Yard entertained Us, with Muffins, Buck Wheat Cakes and common Toast. Buckwheat is an excellent grain, and is very plenty here. Attended Congress from 9 to after 3.<sup>1</sup> Rode out of Town six Miles to Mr. Hills where we dined with Mr. Hill and Lady, Mr. Dickinson and his Lady, Mr. Thompson and his Lady, old Mr. Meredith, father of Mrs. Hill, Mr. Johnson of Maryland and Mr. Jo Reed.<sup>2</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:136.

<sup>1</sup> Adams must have meant that he attended the committee to state the rights of the colonies. *JCC*, 1:41.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Treat Paine also "dind at Mr. Henry Hills at his seat 6 miles out of Town." Robert Treat Paine's diary, September 21, 1774, MHi.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 21, 1774]

21st. The Comee. met, resumed & adjourned. (Mr. Hopkins sick.) Desird a Congress to be held.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Since Congress was in adjournment September 20–21, Ward's remark at the end of this entry probably signified nothing more than a wish by the committee to state the rights of the colonies (of which he was a member) for all the delegates to reconvene in order to receive the committee's report, as indeed they did on September 22. *JCC*, 1:41–42.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Thursday. Sept. 22.

Dined with Mr. Chew, Chief Justice of the Province, with all the Gentlemen from Virginia, Dr. Shippen, Mr. Tilghman and many others.<sup>1</sup> We were shewn into a grand Entry and Stair Case, and into an elegant and most magnificent Chamber, untill Dinner. About four O Clock We were called down to Dinner. The Furniture was all rich. Turtle, and every other Thing—Flummery, Jellies, Sweetmeats of 20 sorts, Trifles, Whip'd Syllabubbs, floating Islands, fools—&c., and then a Desert of Fruits, Raisins, Almonds, Pears, Peaches—Wines most excellent and admirable. I drank Madeira at a great Rate and found no Inconvenience in it.

In the Evening General Lee and Coll. Lee, and Coll. Dyer and Mr. Deane, and half a Score friends from Boston came to our Lodgings. Coll. Lee staid till 12 o Clock and was very social and agreeable.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:136.

<sup>1</sup>In their diary entries for this date, both Robert Treat Paine and George Washington explicitly noted their presence at Chews' dinner. Robert Treat Paine's diary, September 22, 1774, MHi; Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:165.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 22, 1774]

22nd. The Congress met, made & ordered publick a Request to the Merchts. not to import & also to direct a delay of Orders already sent until the Congress came to Resolutions on that Point.<sup>1</sup> The Comee. met afterwards.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup>For the text of this resolution, see *JCC*, 1:41.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Fryday. Sept. 23.

Walked along Second Street Southward, untill I got out of the City into the Country. The Uniformity of this City is dissagreeable to some. I like it.

Dined with the late C[hief] Justice Allen—with all the Gentlemen from North Carolina, and Mr. Hambleton [Hamilton], late Governor—and Mr. Andrew Allen Attorney General.

We had much Conversation, about Mr. Franklin. The C[hief] J[ustice] and Attorney General had much droll Chat together.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:136–37.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Friday 23d. Sepr. 1774

My last by S Webb brought Me down to Tuesday of this week, the 22d.<sup>1</sup> when he left Us, much regretted by the Younger Lodgers in the Family and I assure You, not a little miss'd, by a Numerous, & I may add a very genteel acquaintance in the City. I told you in my Last That I could not in future be so particular, but as I gave you a sketch of the S. Carolina, & Virginia Delegates and the North Carolina being now arrived I will fill up the space by telling You there are Three of Them, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Caswell, & Mr. [Hewes].<sup>2</sup> The first is a Bostonian bred & Educated at Cambridge College, Classmate with Jos. Trumbull: a Lawyer by profession, ingenious, polite,



spirited, & tolerably eloquent, the other Two are Men of about Forty, to appearance of sedate, & settled Characters, well affected, to the general Cause, but have not spoke as yet publicly. On Tuesday We dined with Mr. Read [Joseph Reed], a Gentleman of the Law, very polite, & sensible, he married the Boston Agent Mr Deberts Daughter in London, and though small is of a most elegant figure, & countenance. She is a Daughter of Liberty zealously affected in a good Cause. On Wednesday We dined with Mr. Biddle, a Freind lately married to a young Lady, in Rhode Island. He brought her home but last Week. Her Name I think was [Cornel?] of a Freind Family there, though indeed the younger, & politer part of that profession in this City are not distinguishable, but in a very few particulars, from other people. Mr Biddle was a young Widower, is a peculiar Freind to the New England People, and seems to have even a great prejudice in their favor. It is not probable, that a most beautiful Young Wife will alter his Opinion. Mr. Galloway, Mr. Hooper &c dined with Us & Yesterday we dined with the Celebrated Pensylvania Farmer alias Mr. Dickinson at his Country Seat Four Miles from Town, a description of which must be omitted untill my Return.

Our Business You begin To Think proceeds slow, but it is not in Consequence of any Divisions, or Altercation in the Congress but from the vast, extensive, & lasting importance of the Questions before Us. I wish, You could have come here, with Me. I think it is as healthy a place, as any on the Continent, & other ways very agreeable. I fear I shall have too high an Opinion of this City, it is so much to be preferr'd to New York in point of Civility, & hospitality, as well as of frugality & Oeconomy, but the Country round, is vastly inferior to Ours on Connecticut River, nor will any part except those Meadows I mentioned bear any Comparison with The Towns of Middletown, Wethersfield, Hartford &c. I expect a Lettr. by Tomorrows post, so will not add untill I receive that. I am &c. SD

Saturday Evening. The post arrived, but no Letters, save one Word from J Webb, & but one, have an Opportunity of sending this in the morning therefore add tho: late at Evening that you or your Freinds for you, must write me, more particularly. For here, I have wrote, into Connecticut, more than One Hundred pages, & can receive nothing in return, or what is worse than Nothing, a perfect uncertainty as to Your situation in point of Health. Nothing but the Business before Us, could detain Me one Moment having seen, & been acquainted with, all I wish connection with, in this City either for Curiosity, or instruction, & to be detained Three Weeks longer is intolerable in Thought. I will not therefore think of it—but praying for Your Repose this Evening & your happiness forever subscribe Your most Affectionate Husband Silas Deane

P.S. Sally, Hannah, Jesse, &c are in my Remembrance.

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup>Deane apparently meant his letter of September 19, which Samuel Webb carried with him when he left Philadelphia Tuesday, September 20.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Hewes, who arrived with William Hooper September 14. Richard Caswell took his seat September 17. *JCC*, 1:30–31.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 23, 1774]

23rd. The Comee. met, considered Greivances & adjd.

MS (RHi) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Saturday. Septr. 24.

Dined with Mr. Charles Thompson, with only Mr. Dickenson, his Lady and Niece in Company.<sup>1</sup> A most delightfull Afternoon we had. Sweet Communion indeed we had—Mr. Dickinson gave us his Thoughts and his Correspondence very freely.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:137.

<sup>1</sup>Accompanying Adams was Robert Treat Paine who also "Din'd at Mr. Charles Thompsons out of Town." Robert Treat Paine's diary, September 24, 1774, MHi.

## John Adams' Notes on

### Means to be Pursued for a Restoration of Rights

September 24–October 12? 1774

Non Importation, Non Consumption, Non Exportation to Britain, & W. Indies.

Petition to the King—Address to the People of England—Address to the People of America.

Societies of Arts & Manufactures in every Colony.<sup>1</sup>

A Militia Law in every Colony. Encouragement of Militia & military Skill.<sup>2</sup>

Raising 500,000£ st. and 20,000 Men.

Offering to raise a sum of Money, and appropriate it to the Support of the Navy.<sup>3</sup>

Sending home Agents from the Congress to negotiate—and propose an American Legislature.<sup>4</sup>

## Petitions

1. Petition to the King.  
Agents to carry it.
2. Offers to raise Money 200,000£ say, & appropriate it to the Support of the Navy.  
Agents to negotiate this—and propose an American Legislature—to lay Taxes in certain Cases & make Laws in certain others.

## Addresses

3. Address to the People of England—& America—commercial Struggle
4. Societies of Arts & Manufactures, in every Colony.  
Auxiliary to.
5. N. Importation, N. Consumption, N. Exportation.

Preparations for War, procuring Arms  
and Ordnance, & military Stores

6. Raising Money and Men.
7. A Milita Law in every Colony. Encouragement of Militia and military skill.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:145–46. This entry consists of two lists, written on separate sheets of paper and separated by several pages, in Adams' loose notes of debates in Congress. The various subjects listed are topics discussed intermittently during debates on "the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of our rights," which took place between September 24 and October 12. The second list—the numbered items organized under the headings "Petitions," "Addresses," and "Preparations for War, procuring Arms and Ordnance, & military Stores"—is little more than a rearrangement of the first.

<sup>1</sup> Incorporated into the eighth item of the Association adopted October 20, 1774. JCC, 1:78.

<sup>2</sup> See Richard Henry Lee's Proposed Resolution, October 3, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Discussed under the heading "Aids from the Colonists for the Defence of the Empire," among James Duane's Propositions before the Committee on Rights, September 7–22, 1774.

<sup>4</sup> Recommended by Joseph Galloway, September 28. John Adams' Notes of Debates, September 28, 1774.

## Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren?

My dear sir

Philadelphia Sept [24] 1774

Your Letter of the 12 Instant directed to Mr Cushing and others came duly to hand. The Subject of it is of the greatest Importance. It is difficult at this Distance to form a Judgment with any Degree of Accuracy of what is best to be done. The Eastern and Western Counties appear to differ in Sentiment with regard to the two Measures mentiond in your Letter. This Difference of Sentiment might produce opposition in Case either part should be taken. You know

the vast Importance of Union. That Union is most likely to be obtained by a Consultation of Deputies from the several Towns either in a house of Representatives or a provincial Congress. But the Question still remains, which Measure to adopt. It is probable the people would be most united as they would think it safest to abide by the present form of Government, I mean according to the Charter. The Governor has been appointed by the Crown according to the Charter, but he has placed himself at the head of a different Constitution. If the only constitutional Council chosen last May have honesty and Courage enough to meet with the Representatives chosen by the People by Virtue of the last Writ and joyntly proceed to the publick Business, would it not bring the Governor to such an explicit Conduct as either to restore the General Assembly or give the two houses a fair Occasion to declare the Chair vacant, in which Case the Council would hold it till another Governor should be appointed. This would immediately reduce the Government prescribed in the Charter, and the people would be united in what they would easily see to be a constitutional opposition to Tyranny. You know there is a Charm in the Word Constitutional.

FC (NN). Unsigned draft in the hand of Samuel Adams; recipient designated in Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:156-57. The document provides no clue to its exact date, but Adams' September 25 letter to Warren stating that "I wrote you yesterday" suggests that he wrote this letter on September 24.

## John Jay to John Vardill

Dear Vardill

Philadelphia 24 Sept 1774

The Rect. of your Letter (which Mr Laight kindly forwarded to this Place) was exceedingly grateful to me.<sup>1</sup> I am so attached to my old Friends that I feel myself interested in all that concerns them, & am always happy in hearing of their Welfare.

I am most obliged to you for the political Hints contained in your Letter. I wish they had as much Influence on others as they have upon me.

The Indignation of all Ranks of People is very much roused by the Boston & Canada Bills. God knows how the Contest will end. I sincerely wish it may terminate in a lasting Union with Great Britain. I am obliged to be very reserved on this Subject by the Injunction of Secrecy laid on all the Members of the Congress, and tho I am aware of the Confidence I might repose in your Prudence, I must nevertheless submit to the Controul of Honour perhaps on this occasion too delicate. By the next opportunity I hope I shall be able to be more explicit. You may then expect my Sentiments at large.

I thank you for the Attention you pay to certain other matters.



Nothing in your Letter pleases me more than the Circumstance of your returning to us in the Spring.

Pray inform me whether you ever see or hear of my Brother James. Where is he, what is he doing? We have recd. no Letters from him for some time past. Be so kind as to forward the inclosed to him. Adieu my dear Vardill. I am your Friend

John Jay

RC (PRO: A.O. 13, 105).

<sup>1</sup> John Vardill (1749–1811), fellow and professor of natural law at King's College, New York, journeyed to London in 1774 to seek preferment. His efforts to attract important New York leaders to the king's cause won him an appointment as King's College Regius Professor of Divinity, an office which he never exercised. Detained in England by the war, Vardill became an agent for William Eden, under secretary of state and head of the British Secret Service. An earlier letter by Jay declining Vardill's offer of an official post is located in PRO: A.O. 13, 105 and partially printed in Frank Monaghan, *John Jay, Defender of Liberty against Kings & Peoples, Author of the Constitution & Governor of New York, President of the Continental Congress, Co-Author of the Federalist, Negotiator of the Peace of 1783 & the Jay Treaty of 1794, First Chief Justice of the United States* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1935), pp. 53–54. For Vardill's career in England, see Lewis Einstein, *Divided Loyalties: Americans in England during the War of Independence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933), pp. 51–71.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir,

Philadelphia Sepr 24th 1774, Saturday

There is little or nothing new since I Wrote you last; I think I wrote you of Mr. Hawkley's death and that Mr Richard Penn had got his office.<sup>1</sup> I have now the pleasure to tell you of a Truith that in this the Governor has the whole and Sole Merit, and that it has brought about an entire Reconciliation, Mr. Penn has (since) been to See the Governor and the Governor him, their wives have also Visited. I shall tell you more of this Matter if I live to see you. Mr. R. Penn is a great friend to the Cause of Liberty and has treated the Gentlemen delegates with the greatest Respect. More or less of them dine with him every day, and his brother Wishes his Station would admit of his acting the same part. All these Matters are for your own private Speculation, and not for Public View, by this you may see that Some people with you are Mistaken in their Politic's, and you may also take for granted every Body here are not Well pleased with the coalition of the two Brothers.

Since I wrote last Fortner and Allen two London ships Quite full Came to town and are now nearly discharged. There are three or four more Expected verry soon, in Short every Body say half the Quantity of Dry goods never was before imported, as now are, and

likely to be this fall, So that it will not be necessary for you to Come up for the purpose of purchasing till after the Election. You may tell those whom it may Concern that Misses Charlton who used to take in Some of our Kent Ladies to Lodge, Was buried the day before Yesterday from Whence they will (no Doubt) Readily Suppose She is dead.

This Letter is intended to Come by Allen McClain by Whom I Shall Send you the Last Wednesday's paper Which will furnish you with the News up to that time. This day the post Came in by Whom we have the Boston News, Wherein is inserted General Gages's answer to the Committee for the County of Suffolk Whoes address to him you had in the last paper I sent you. His answer is to the following purport—*Gentmn: I have no intention to Stop up the pass between the Town and the Country, but that the people Shall pass and Repass as usual without Molestation; I have no intention to disturb the peace and Quiet of the inhabitants of the Town; But as I find the people of the Massachuset's Bay are determined not to Submit to the Several Acts of Parliament, Shall Write to his Majesty for further instructions &zt. or to this Effect.*

From this you Will readily Suppose the General is about to Act a prudent part. Query, was he not friten'd into that prudence by the manly prudent opposition of the inhabitants of that Government. I have never Recd but one Letter from you Since I Came up, and Can say of a Truth I never wanted to have one from you much more than at present, therefore live in hopes everyday that Some Chance hand will throw one in my way. I Expected one of the Shallops would have been here by this time but Can neither see or hear any thing of them. Tell Betsy and Sally that I have not got well Yet, and that I have verry little Expectation that I Shall While I am under the necessaty of Spending all those that ought to be my Leisure Hours, in Feasting or be thought to neglect those who kindly invite. However Remember me kindly to them both, and tell Caesar that I will send his *fiddle* by the first Shallop. I am as Usual Your friend, Relative, & humble Servt.

Caesar Rodney

P.S. I have inclosed you a Request from the Congress to the Merchants, that [you] might know in time what they may Expect.<sup>2</sup>

RC (PHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Rodney to Thomas Rodney, September 17, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to a resolution of September 22, calling upon American merchants to cancel "any orders for goods" from Great Britain until Congress decided "on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America." Congress formally adopted a nonimportation agreement on September 27. *JCC*, 1:41, 43.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 24, 1774]

24th. Congress met, considered Rights, Greivances & Ways & Means & adjd.

MS (RH*i*) .

### Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dearest Children

Philadelphia 24th Sepr. 1774

The Letters which I first received from Nancy & Sammy gave Me great Pleasure, to find that you bore the Shock which the News from Boston must give you so well and that such a Spirit prevailed in the Town and in my own Family in particular gave Me the highest Satisfaction. A noble Ardor prevailed here. We proposed turning the Congress into a Council of War (had the News been confirmed which was much doubted) and some had Thoughts of removing to Rhode Island that We might be at Hand to give any necessary Advice.

The Accts. given Me by Nancy & Kitty of the last Stage in this fleeting World of that blessed Child whom infinite Goodness hath removed from Pain & Sickness to a Country where all sighing & Sorrow are excluded effected Me much.<sup>1</sup> Though daily thought of and expected I could have been glad to have been present & enjoyed the divine Instructions Given to all around her. May they sink deep into every Heart, may those who are not yet prepared for the last Change be sensible that youth is no Security against Death and immediately sett about that great, I was going to say only important Business of this Life, a due Preparation for Death and may you all learn that in that happy Situation Death though sometimes a painful is a kind & most desirable Messenger to introduce You to real and eternal Life and Bliss. I wuld have been glad to have performed the last offices to that dear Saint but some other had the melancholy Pleasure of closing her Eyes and it is enough that She is happy. May We all (as She desired) Give Glory to God.

I have enclosed you two Hand Bills<sup>2</sup> which you'l carefully send to your Uncle Ward and desire him to get printed in the Newport and Providence Papers as soon as possible. What has been done in Congress relative to the Massachusetts You'l have in the Paper probably before this reaches you.

I long to write to your Aunts & to each of you but go into Congress about 9 o'Clock A.M. sitt until 3 or after, dine at 4 or after

that. The Remainder of the Day is necessary for Relaxation & my Eyes are such I dont think it prudent to write by Candle Light. I fear my Friends will take it unkindly & how to help it I know not but shall comply with their Expectations as much as possible.

Give my most affectionate Regards to your Aunts and to all my immediate Connections.

I recd. a kind Letter from Mr. Ethan Clarke but could write him nothing certain, in my next may be able.

May God of his infinite Mercy preserve You from all evil and lead You in the Way everlasting. Your most affectionate Father

Sam: Ward

[P.S.] I say nothing about my own Business because of the Sabbath.<sup>3</sup>

RC (RHi) . Addressed: "To Mr. Samuel Ward Junr. In (Rhode Island) Westerly."

<sup>1</sup>A reference to the death on September 8 of Ward's eldest daughter, Hannah. See Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr., September 9, 1774.

<sup>2</sup>Very likely these were broadsides containing Congress' resolution of September 22, requesting American merchants to suspend importations of British goods until Congress had publicly announced "the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America." For a facsimile reproduction of the broadside with the September 22 resolution see the page facing *JCC*, 1:42.

<sup>3</sup>Ward was a Sabbatarian Baptist who observed the Sabbath on Saturday. Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg), p. 20; Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), pp. 50-51.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Septr. 25. 1774<sup>1</sup>

I would not loose the Opportunity of writing to you—tho I must be short.

Tedious, indeed is our Business. Slow, as Snails. I have not been used to such Ways.

We sit only before Dinner. We dine at four O Clock. We are crowded with a Levee in the Evening.

Fifty Gentlemen meeting together, all Strangers, are not acquainted with Each others Language, Ideas, Views, Designs. They are therefore jealous, of each other—fearfull, timid, skittish,—<sup>2</sup>

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:162-63.

<sup>1</sup>Adams' activities this Sunday included attendance at a Quaker Meeting and supper at the home of Stephen Collins. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:137.

<sup>2</sup>This unfinished letter was probably not sent; it bears no seal, address, or endorsement.



## Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren?

My dear sir

Phil Sept. 25th 1774

I wrote you yesterday by the Post. A frequent Communication at this critical Conjunction is necessary. As the all important American Cause so much depends upon each Colony acting agreeably to the Sentiments of the whole it must be useful to you to know the Sentiments which are entertained here of the Temper and Conduct of our Province. Heretofore we have been accounted by many, intemperate and rash; but now we are universally applauded as cool and judicious as well as Spirited and brave. This is the Character we sustain in Congress. There is however a certain Degree of Jealousy in the Minds of some that we aim at total Independency not only of the Mother Country but of the Colonies too: and that as we are a hardy and brave People we shall in time over run them all. However groundless this Jealousy may be, it ought to be attended to, and is of Weight in your Deliberations on the Subject of your last Letter. I spent yesterday Afternoon and Evening with Mr. Dickinson. He is a true Bostonian. It is his opinion that if Boston can safely remain on the defensive the Liberties of America which that Town have so nobly contended for will be secured. The Congress have in their resolve of the 17 Instant given their Sanction to the Resolutions of the County of Suffolk<sup>1</sup>—One of which is to act merely upon the defensive so long as such Conduct may be justified by Reason & the principles of Self preservation, but *no longer*. They have great Dependence upon your tried Patience and fortitude. They suppose you mean to defend your civil Constitution. They strongly recommend Perseverance in a firm & temperate Conduct and give you a full pledge of their united Efforts in your Behalf. They have not yet come to final resolutions. It becomes them to be deliberate, I have been assured in private Conversation with Individuals that if you should be driven to the Necessity of acting in Defence of your Lives or Liberty, you would be justified by their Constituents and openly supported by all Means in their power but whether they will ever be prevailed upon to think it necessary for you to set up another form of Government, I very much question for the Reason I have before suggested. It is of the greatest Importance that the American opposition should be united, and that it should be conducted so as to concur with the opposition of our friends in England. Adieu.

FC (NN). Unsigned draft in the hand of Samuel Adams; recipient designated in Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:157.

<sup>1</sup> JCC, 1:39–40.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 25, 1774]

Fine day. A.M. [Wind Rains?] Stopped. P.M. to Quaker Meeting. General Meeting of Quakers in Philada. Evening recd letters from J. Greenleaf, B. Kent & J. Palmer.

MS (MHi).

## George Read to Gertrude Read

Sunday Morning half past 7 O'Clock [September 25? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

My dear Gitty

This being Sunday Morning I was in hopes Betsey Biddle wou'd have set off to see you but she went to Pat. Turners yesterday & did not return last Evening. I have not seen her since this day Week though we are in the same Street and hardly A Square's distance. The day is Consumed in this Way—Shaving, Washing, breakfasting, waiting an Hour for the Barber's coming, near half an Hour under his hands—running to the Congress, sitting there 'till 3 O'Clock then running to dine upon Invitation—waiting an hour before dinner appears—then running home to avoid the Night Air. Not A moment to spare is disagreeable yet very little in all the bustle. We are wide of our business. I shall send the Carriage down this Week that you may return with it when you please but think the sooner the better on Account of the Weather. This is to go by Mr. Barclay who is waiting. I dine to day at Gurney's where I expect to meet Mr. Biddle—tomorrow at Mr. Dickinson's a 2d time and Wednesday at Mr. Rd. Penn's &c. This is tiresome duty. Prepare to come up as I wish to see You. I cannot come to you but conclude abruptly yours most Affectly.

Geo. Read

RC (MdHi photostat).

<sup>1</sup> Read's remarks indicate that he wrote this letter during September, but after he had been in Philadelphia some time. Since he wrote another letter to Mrs. Read on September 18, he must have written this one September 25. Richard Penn entertained the delegates (an invitation mentioned by Read) on Wednesday, September 28. John Adams' Diary, September 28, 1774.

## George Washington to Joseph Chew

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Sept. 25. 1774

It would have given me sincere pleasure to have serv'd you in your request of March the 10th (which by the by did not come to my

hands till sometime late in May; after Colo. Pendleton, at the desire of Mr. Maddison, had made an unsuccessful application to Lord Dunmore for the Land you claim under your Brother Colby; whose merits well entitles his heir to the Kings bounty).<sup>1</sup> I say to have serv'd you in this affair would have given me a singular pleasure, and I should have set about the work with great chearfulness had I not in an exact similar Instance been repuls'd by his Lordship before; and made acquainted much abt. that time, by him, that he had just receivd orders to grant no more Lands to any person whatsoever till his Majestys further pleasure should be known. In consequence of which (though it would not, he added affect the Warrants he had granted antecedant thereto, and which were many) he absolutely refused to Issue Warrants to those who personally applied. Under these Circumstances, and, as I before observed, a refusal to Colo. Pendleton, I Judg'd it altogether inexpedient to apply till things should put on a different face; but if I can at any time hereafter serve you in this, or any other matters, I shall do it with great chearfulness, as I shall always retain a grateful Remembrance of the Civilities I have receivd at your hands.

It gave me exceeding great concern to hear that any untoward accident or losses should injure you either in your property, or domestick felicity—and the more so, as the death of Sir William Johnson, on whom you seem'd to rely, may possibly be attended with some additional misfortune.

In respect to the New Government on the Ohio, I scarce know what acct. to give you of it. For four years last past we have been told that the next Packet was to bring a confirmation of the Grant &c. This is still the cry among the friends to that Government in this City, but the authorities for the Report I am ignorant of. In the meanwhile, the Country is filling with People, and but for the disturbances with the Indians, I suppose by next Spring all the valuable Lands within the limits of their Grant would have been claim'd if not settled. What will be the consequence of all this I know not—great confusion I fear will ensue if the Government should take place.

Not knowing before, in what manner to convey a Letter to you, is the cause of My silence till this time, & not the want of Inclination as I shall always be glad to hear from you—being Dr Sir Yr. Most Obedt. Servt.

G. Washington

RC (NjHi).

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Chew (ca. 1725–98), of Orange County, Va., a cousin of James Madison, Sr., had solicited Washington's favor in behalf of an application for a land grant based on his late brother's service in Washington's Virginia regiment during the French and Indian War. James Madison, *The Papers of James Madison*, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962–), 1:69n. His letter is in DLC: Washington Papers, and is printed in Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*:

*Published by the Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 5 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898-1902), 4:351-53. Washington had been especially active since 1770 in pursuit of claims promised the volunteers of 1754. Freeman, Washington, 3:chaps. 13-14.*

## John Adams' Notes of Debates

[September 26-27? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Lee made a Mo[tion] for a Non Importation.

Mr. Mifflin. The 1st of Novr. ought to be fixed, for no honest orders were sent after the first of June. Orders are generally sent in April and May. But the Intention was known, of a Non Importation.

Coll. Bland. I think the Time ought to be fixed, when Goods are shipp'd in Great Britain, because a ship may have a long Voyage.

Mr. Gadsden. For the 1st of Novr. We may be deceived and defrauded, if we fix it to the Time when Goods are shipped.

Coll. Lee. Invoices have been antedated.

Mr. John Rutledge. I think all the Ways and Means should be proposed.

Mr. Mifflin. Proposes Stoppage of Flax seed and Lumber to the West Indies—and Non Importation of dutied Articles—to commence 1st. Aug. 1775.

Mr. Chace. Force, I apprehend is out of the Question, in our present Enquiry.

In 1770, the annual Tax was 13 millions. Last Year it was only 10 millions.

Land Tax, Malt Tax, perpetual Funds, amount to only 10 millions. They are compelled to raise 10 millions in time of Peace.

The Emigrations from G. Britain prove that they are taxed as far as they can bear.

A total Non Import and Non Export to G. Britain and W. Indies must produce a national Bankruptcy, in a very short Space of Time.

The foreign Trade of G. Britain is but four Million and an half. As great a Man as ever Britain produc'd, calculated the Trade with the Colonies at two Millions. I believe the Importation to the Colonies now represented, may be three millions.

A Non Exportation amounts to 3 millions more, and the Debt due to four Million. Two thirds in the Colonies, are cloathed in British Manufactures. Non Exportation of vastly more importance than a Non Importation—it affects the Merchants as well as Manufacturers, the Trade as well as the Revenue.

60 thousand Hdds. of Tobacco—225 british Ships employed.

I am for a Non Exportation of Lumber to W. Indies immediately.

The Importance of the Trade of the West Indies to G. Britain almost exceeds Calculation.



The Sugar carries the greatest Revenue—the Rum a great deal.

If you dont stop the Lumber immediately, you cant stop it at all. If it takes Place immediately, they cant send home their next Years Crop.

A Non Exportation at a future day, cannot avail us.

What is the Situation of Boston and the Massachusetts.

A Non Exportation at the Virginia Day, will not opperate before the fall 1766 [1776].

I[t] would not affect the Trade of the Colonies to the Mediterranean or other Parts of the World.

I am for a more distant Day than the first of November.

Mr. Linch. We want not only Redress, but speedy Redress. The Mass. cant live without Government I think one Year. Nothing less than what has been proposed, by the Gentleman last speaking, will put the Colonies in the State I wish to see them in. I believe the Parliament would grant us immediate Relief. Bankrupcy would be the Consequence if they did not.

Mr. Gadsden. By saving our own Liberties, we shall save those of the West Indies. I am for being ready, but I am not for the sword. The only Way to prevent the sword from being used is to have it ready.

'Tho the Virginians are tied up, I would be for doing it without them.

Boston and New England cant hold out—the Country will be deluged in Blood, if We dont Act with Spirit. Dont let America look at this Mountain, and let it bring forth a Mouse.

Mr. Chace. We cant come into a Non Exportation immediately without Virginia.

Mr. Cushing. For a Non Importation, Non Exportation and Non Consumption, and immediately.

Coll. Bland. It has been our Glory [. . . ]<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Hooper. We make some Tobacco. I was instructed to Protest vs. Petitioning alone.

Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine We can ship nowhere but to Great Britain. The whole of the Subsistence of the People in the Southern Parts, are from naval Stores.

G. Britain cannot do without Naval Stores, from N. Carolina.

Mr. Ed. Rutledge. A Gentleman from the other End of the Room talked of Generosity. True Equality is the only public Generosity. If Virginia raises Wheat instead of Tobacco they will not suffer. Our Rice is an enumerated Commodity. We shall therefore loose all our Trade.

I am both for Non Im and Exportation to take Place immediately.

Mr. Henry. We dont mean to hurt even our Rascalls—if We have any. I move that December may be inserted instead of November.

Mr. Jay. Negotiation, suspension of Commerce, and War are the only three things. War is by general Consent to be waived at present.

I am for Negotiation and suspension of Commerce.<sup>3</sup>

Coll. Lee. All Considerations of Interest and Equality of Sacrifice should be laid aside.

Produce of the other Colonies, is carried to Markett, in the same Year when it is raised, even Rice.

Tobacco is not untill the next Year.

Mr. Sullivan. We export Masts, Boards, Plank, Fish, Oil and some Potash. Ships, we load with Lumber for the West Indies, and thence carry Sugar to England and pay our Debts that Way.

Every kind of Lumber, We export to West Indies.

Our Lumber is made in Winter. Our Ships sale in Jany. or Feby. for W. Indies.

Coll. Dyer. They have now drawn the Sword, in order to execute their Plan, of subduing America. And I imagine they will not sheath it, but that next Summer will decide the Fate of America.

To withdraw all Commerce with Great Britain at once, would come upon them like a Thunder Clap. By what I heard Yesterday, G. Britain is much more in our Power, than I expected—the Masts from the Northward—the Naval Stores from N. Carolina.

We are struggling for the Liberties of the West Indies and of the People of G. Britain as well as our own—and perhaps of Europe.

Stopping the Flax Seed to Ireland would greatly distress 'em.

Govr. Ward.

Mr. Cushing. Whoever considers the present State of G. Britain and America must see the Necessity of spirited Measures. G.B. has drawn the sword against Us, and nothing prevents her sheathing it in our Bowells but Want of Sufficient Force.

I think it absolutely necessary to agree to a Non Importation Non Exportation immediately.<sup>4</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:137–40.

<sup>1</sup> Although the MS is undated, it contains debates on “the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights.” The topic was introduced on September 24 and debated at length on September 26 and 27. *JCC*, 1:42–43. See also Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:140n for a description of the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Adams failed to finish the sentence.

<sup>3</sup> There is a break here in the MS, and the continuation was probably written at another time or with another pen. Although there is no apparent shift in the subject of the debate, Adams' notes to this point may pertain to debates which occurred September 26, while the following paragraphs pertain to September 27.

<sup>4</sup> Although there is no significant break in the MS at this point, the next paragraph clearly covers Galloway's remarks delivered at the time he submitted his Plan of Union on September 28. The remainder of the MS is therefore printed separately under that date.

## John Adams to Joseph Palmer

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia September 26. 1774

Yesterday I had the Pleasure of receiving yours of the fourteenth Instant, for which I am very much obliged to you. I receive a greater Pleasure from the Letters of my Friends, than ever, and every Line We receive is of Use to us.

Before this reaches you, the Sense of the Congress concerning your Wisdom, Fortitude and Temperance, in the Massachusetts in general and the County of Suffolk in particular, will be public, in our Country. It is the universal Sense here that the Mass. Acts and Murder Act ought not to be Submitted to a Moment. But then, when you ask the Question what is to be done? they answer Stand Still. Bear, with Patience. If you come to a Rupture with the Troops all is lost. Resuming the first Charter, Absolute Independency &c are Ideas which Startle People here.

It Seems to be the general opinion here that it is practicable for Us, in the Massachusetts to live wholly without a Legislature and Courts of Justice as long as will be necessary to obtain Relief. If it is practicable, the general Opinion is, that We ought to bear it. The Commencement of Hostilities is exceedingly dreaded here. It is thought that an Attack upon the Troops, even tho it should prove successfull and triumphant, would certainly involve the whole Continent in a War. It is generally thought here that the Ministry would rejoice at a Rupture in Boston, because that would furnish him with an Excuse to the People at home, and unite them with him in an opinion of the Necessity of pushing Hostilities against Us.

On the Contrary, the Delegates here and other Persons from all Parts, are universally, very Sanguine, that if Boston and the Massachusetts can possibly Steer a middle Course between Obedience to the Acts, and open Hostilities with [*the*] Troops, the Exertions of the Colonies, will procure a total Change of Measures and full Redress for us.

However my Friend, I cannot, at this Distance pretend to judge. We must leave all to your Superiour Wisdom.

What you propose, Sir, of holding out Some Proposal which shall shew our Willingness to pay for our Protection at Sea is a Subject, often mentioned in private Conversations here. Many Gentlemen have pursued the Thought, and digested their Plans. But what is to be the Fate of them I cant say.

It is my opinion, Sir, that We do our full Proportion towards the Protection of the Empire, and towards the Support of the naval Power. To the Support of the Standing Army, We ought never to contribute voluntarily.

A gentleman, put into my Hands a Plan, a few Days ago, for of-

fering to raise 200,000 £. St[erling] annually and to appropriate it to the maintenance of a Ship of War.

But is not this Surrendering our Liberty? I have not Time however to discuss these Questions, at present. I hope to have the Pleasure of considering these Things in private Conversation. Mean Time, I pray God to direct assist and protect you, and all our Friends, amidst the Dangers that Surround you.

Am glad to hear Mr. Cranch is about taking Refuge at Braintree. I wish every living Creature, except the Tories, was well provided for in the Country. My Respects to all your worthy Family. I remain, with great Respect your Friend & humb Sevt      John Adams<sup>1</sup>

RC (MeHi) .

<sup>1</sup>In his diary Adams recorded these activities for the day. "Dined at old Dr. Shippens with Mr. And Mrs. Blair, young Dr. Shippen, the Jersey Delegates and some Virginians. Afterwards went to the Hospital and heard another Lecture upon Anatomy, from young Dr. Shippen." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:137.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 26, 1774]

Fine weather. Dind Dr. Shippen. P.M. went to Hospital. Wrote to J. Greenleaf, Dr. Cobb.

MS (MHi) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 26, 1774]

26th. The Congress met agreed upon non Importation<sup>1</sup> & adjourned.

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup>Although Congress generally agreed on the desirability of nonimportation in its debates on September 26, not until the next day did it approve a formal resolution in favor of this action. John Adams' Notes of Debates, September 26-27, 1774; *JCC*, 1:42-43.

## Samuel Adams' Notes on Trade

[September 27? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

A Suspension of our Trade with G B will leave the Value of 2 Million Sterling in Manufactures & India goods on their hands.



It will shorten the Revenue near one million, one half of which arises from Tobacco.

It will deprive them of many raw Materials viz Indigo, potash, Lumber, Iron, Pitch, Tar &c.

A Suspension of Trade with the W Indies—they will want Lumber to save their Crops—provision to feed their Slaves—Horses to work their Lands. Britain will feel it severely, for many Plantations are ownd there—those which are ownd in the West Indies owe to British Merchts one Crop before it is made.

Stoping Exportation of Flax Seed to Ireland will put at least 300,000 Linnen Manufacturers out of Employ—34000 hhds are usually exported from America in the Winter—the Irish can get but little from Holland or elsewhere—half the Irish Linnen Manufacture is due to G B before it is made. Many Gentn & members of Par in Engd own Estates in Ireland.

MS (NN). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

<sup>1</sup> After devoting several days to “consideration of the general state of American rights,” the delegates decided on September 24 to “deliberate on the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of our rights,” and on September 26–27 discussed suspension of trade with Britain as a “means” to be used to obtain restoration of those rights. On the 27th Congress resolved to begin nonimportation effective December 1, 1774, and on the 30th voted to prohibit “the exportation of all merchandize and every commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies” effective September 10, 1775. *JCC*, 1:42–43, 51–52. Simultaneously a committee was appointed to prepare a plan to carry these resolves into effect, and at various times during the following week Congress debated a motion for the immediate suspension of certain exports upon which Britain was particularly dependent—a proposal that was not finally rejected until October 6. It was surely in the context of weighing the impact of a suspension of trade with Britain that Adams drafted these notes, but it is not known when or for what specific purpose they were prepared, although it seems more likely that they were written before rather than after the nonimportation resolution of September 27 was adopted.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 27? 1774]

27th. The Congress met & conside[re]d non Imp[ortatio]n & non Exp[ortatio]n.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Ward probably wrote this passage on September 30 or October 1. The passage itself has been inserted into a small space in the MS between Ward's entries for September 26 and 28. Since Ward initially misdated his diary entries for September 28, 29, and 30 one day too early and did not rectify his error until September 30 or October 1, the obvious conclusion is that at this time Ward also realized that he had made no entry for September 27 and inserted the entry printed above.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Wednesday. Sept. 28.

Dined with Mr. R. Penn. A magnificent House, and a most splendid Feast, and a very large Company. Mr. Dickinson and General Lee were there, and Mr. Moiland [Moylan], besides a great Number of the Delegates. Spent the Evening at Home, with Coll. Lee, Coll. Washington<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Shippen who came in to consult with us.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:140.

<sup>1</sup> George Washington's diary for this day reads: "Dined at Mr. Edward Shippen's. Spent the afternn. with the Boston Gentn." Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick) , 2:165.

## John Adams' Notes of Debates

[September 28, 1774]

Mr. Galloway. The Proposal I intended to make having been opposed, I have waited to hear a more effectual one. A general Non Importation from G. Britain and Ireland has been adopted, but I think this will be too gradual in its Operation for the Relief of Boston.

A General Non Exportation, I have ever looked on as an indigested Proposition. It is impossible America can exist, under a total Non Exportation. We in this Province should have tens of Thousands of People thrown upon the cold Hand of Charity. Our Ships would lie by the Walls, our Seamen would be thrown out of Bread, our Shipwrights &c. out of Employ and it would affect the landed Interest. It would weaken us in another Struggle which I fear is too near.

To explain my Plan I must state a Number of facts relative to Great Britain, and relative to America.

I hope no facts which I shall state will be disagreeable.

In the last War, America was in the greatest Danger of Destruction. This was held up by the Massa[chusetts] and by the Congress in 1754. They said We are disunited among ourselves. Their is no indifferent Arbiter between us.

Requisitions came over. A No. of the Colonies gave most extensively and liberally, other[s] gave nothing, or late. Pensylvania gave late, not for Want of Zeal or Loyalty, but owing to their Disputes, with Proprietors—their disunited State.

These Delinquencies were handed up to the Parent State, and these gave Occasion to the Stamp Act.

America with the greatest Reason and Justice complained of the Stamp Act.

Had they proposed some Plan of Policy—some Negociation but set afoot, it would have terminated in the most happy Harmony between the two Countries.

They repealed the Stamp Act, but they passed the declaratory Act.

Without some Supream Legislature, some common Arbiter, you are not, say they, part of the State.

I am as much a friend of Liberty [*as*] exists—and No Man shall go further, in Point of Fortune, or in Point of Blood, than the Man who now addresses you.

Burlamaqui, Grotius, Puffendorf, Hooker. There must be an Union of Wills and Strength. Distinction between a State and a Multitude. A State is animated by one Soul.

As We are not within the Circle of the Supream Jurisdiction of the Parliament, We are independent States. The Law of Great Britain dont bind us in any Case whatever.

We want the Aid and Assistance and Protection of the Arm of our Mother Country. Protection And Allegiance are reciprocal Duties. Can We lay claim to the Money and Protection of G. Britain upon any Principles of Honour or Conscience? Can We wish to become Aliens to the Mother State.

We must come upon Terms with G. Britain.

Some Gentlemen are not for Negociation. I wish I could hear some Reason against it.

The Minister must be at 20, or 30 millions to inforce his Measures.

I propose this Proposition. The Plan. 2 Classes of Laws. 1. Laws of Internal Policy. 2. Laws in which more than one Colony were concerned, raising Money for War. No one Act can be done, without the Assent of Great Britain. No one without the Assent of America. A British American Legislature.

Mr. Duane. As I mean to second this Motion, I think myself bound to lay before the Congress my Reasons. N. York thought it necessary to have a Congress for the Relief of Boston and Mass. And to do more, to lay a Plan for a lasting Accommodation with G. Britain.

Whatever may have been the Motive for departing from the first Plan of the Congress, I am unhappy that We have departed from it. The Post Office Act was before the Year 1763. Can we expect lasting Tranquility. I have given my full Assent to a Non Im and Exportation Agreement.

The Right of regulating Trade, from the local Circumstances of the Colonies, and their Disconnection with each other, cannot be exercised by the Colonies.

Mass. disputed the Navigation Act, because not represented, but made a Law of their own, to inforce that Act.

Virginia did the same nearly.

I think Justice requires that we should expressly cede to Parliament the Right of regulating Trade.

In the Congress in 1754 which consisted of the greatest and best Men in the Colonies, this was considered as indispensable.

A civil War with America, would involve a national Bankruptcy.

Coll. Lee. How did We go on for 160 Years before the Year 1763? We flourished and grew.

This Plan would make such Changes in the Legislatures of the Colonies that I could not agree to it, without consulting my Constituents.

Mr. Jay. I am led to adopt this Plan.

It is objected that this Plan will alter our Constitutions and therefore cannot be adopted without consulting Constituents.

Does this Plan give up any one Liberty?—or interfere with any one Right.

Mr. Henry. The original Constitution of the Colonies, was founded on the broadest and most generous Base.

The Regulation of Our Trade, was Compensation enough for all the Protection we ever experienced from her.

We shall liberate our Constituents from a corrupt House of Commons, but thro them into the Arms of an American Legislature that may be bribed by that Nation which avows in the Face of the World, that Bribery is a Part of her System of Government.

Before We are obliged to pay Taxes as they do, let us be as free as they. Let us have our Trade open with all the World.

We are not to consent by the Representatives of Representatives.

I am inclined to think the present Measures lead to War.

Mr. Ed. Rutledge. I came with an Idea of getting a Bill of Rights, and a Plan of permanent Relief.

I think the Plan may be freed from almost every objection. I think it almost a perfect Plan.

Mr. Galloway. In every Government, Patriarchal, Monarchical, Aristocratical or democratical, there must be a Supream Legislature.

I know of no American Constitution. A Virginia Constitution, a Pensylvanian Constitution We have. We are totally independent of each other.

Every Gentleman here thinks, that Parliament ought to have the Power over Trade, because Britain protects it and us.

Why then will we not declare it.

Because Parliament and Ministry is wicked, and corrupt and will take Advantage of such Declaration to tax us—and will also Reason from this Acknowledgment, to further Power over us.

Answer. We shall not be bound further than We acknowledge it.

Is it not necessary that the Trade of the Empire should be regulated by some Power or other? Can the Empire hold together, without



it. No. Who shall regulate it? Shall the Legislature of Nova Scotia, or Georgia, regulate it? Mass. or Virginia? Pensylvania or N. York. It cant be pretended. Our Legislative Powers extend no farther than the Limits of our Governments. Where then shall it be placed. There is a Necessity that an American Legislature should be set up, or else that We should give the Power to Parliament or King.

Protection. Acquiescence. Mass. Virginia.

Advantages derived from our Commerce.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:141-44.

<sup>1</sup> These notes are a continuation of the MS printed under the date September 26-27? 1774. For the date of this entry, see *JCC*, 1:43 and Samuel Ward's *Diary*, September 28, 1774.

## Joseph Galloway's Proposed Resolution

[September 28, 1774]

Resolved

That this Congress will apply to his Majesty for a Redress of Grievances under which his faithful Subjects in America labour, and assure him that the Colonies hold in Abhorrence the Idea of being considered independant Communities on the British Government and most ardently desire the Establishment of a political Union not only among themselves but with their Mother State upon those principles of Safety and Freedom which are essential in the Constitution of all free Governments and particularly that of the British Legislature. And as the Colonies from their local Circumstances cannot be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, they will humbly propose to his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament the following plan under which the Strength of the whole Empire may be drawn together on any Emergency, the Interest of both Countries advanced and the Rights and Liberties of America secured.<sup>1</sup>

MS (NHi) . In the hand of Joseph Galloway and endorsed by James Duane: "Resolves intended to be offered by Mr Galloway & Seconded by J. D. for promoting a Plan of Union between G. B. & A. But as the plan itself was rejected by the Congress; the Resolves became fruitless & were not proposed."

<sup>1</sup> Galloway introduced his plan of union on September 28, when Congress was in the midst of debate on the subject of "the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights," which had been under discussion since the 22d. Although not entirely germane to the discussion, the plan was apparently offered as an alternative to the use of economic pressure against Britain, as Galloway and others were reluctant to form an association to enforce a boycott. From John Adams' notes of debates it is clear that Galloway spoke at length on the subject and that Duane, John Jay, and Edward Rutledge supported him. But the evidence on whether the proposed resolution printed above was ever formally submitted is conflicting. Although Duane's endorsement on this document suggests that it was

not—"the Resolves became fruitless & were not proposed"—his endorsement on Galloway's Plan of Union printed below—"Seconded & supported by the New York Delegates. But finally rejected and ordered to be left out of the minutes"—supports a contrary conclusion.

Aside from Adams' notes of debates and the two Duane endorsements quoted, the contemporary evidence bearing on this question and not originating with Galloway himself consists of two Samuel Ward diary entries of September 28 and October 22, 1774, and Charles Thomson's manuscript journal of proceedings (see illustrations). Within a few months of Congress' adjournment, a story was in circulation that Galloway's plan had been rejected by a single vote, and all mention of it had been erased from the minutes of proceedings. Galloway first gave this account to Gov. William Franklin, who reported it to Lord Dartmouth, together with copies of Galloway's plan and proposed resolutions, in a letter of December 6, 1774. *JCC*, 1:48-51; *N. J. Archives*, 1st ser. 10 (1886): 504. "They [Congress] not only refused to resume Consideration of it, but directed both the Plan and Order to be erased from their Minutes, so that no vestige of it might appear there." And Galloway restated this version in a pamphlet which he sent to James Rivington for publication in February 1775. *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain, and the Colonies: with a Plan of Accommodation, on Constitutional Principles* (New York: James Rivington, 1775), p. 52.

In London William Franklin's letter to Dartmouth was apparently circulated within the ministry, and by February Congress' dismissal of Galloway's plan had been discussed in the House of Commons. This was reported to Galloway in a February 25, 1775, letter from Benjamin Franklin, who had also received a copy of the plan from Galloway. "Lord Gower I believe alluded to it, when in the House he censur'd the Congress severely, as first resolving to receive a Plan for uniting the Colonies to the Mother Country, and afterwards rejecting it, and ordering their first Resolution to be eras'd out of their Minutes." Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth), 6:311.

It is unlikely, nevertheless, that Congress ever formally voted upon the question of "the Establishment of a political Union" with Britain or that Secretary Thomson made and then expunged from the journals a regular entry pertaining to the plan. Rather, Galloway apparently was dissuaded on September 28 from actually submitting his resolution to a vote; whereupon a motion was made and adopted to have the plan "lye upon the table," presumably to be taken up for reconsideration at any later appropriate time. His most carefully phrased statement on the subject, given in testimony before the House of Commons in 1779, supports this view. "It was proposed and debated a whole day, and carried upon the question, six Colonies to five, that it should be resumed and further considered. I have in my hand the introductory resolve [*the same as that printed above*] of Congress in my own writing, which identically was delivered by me in Congress. It is indorsed in the hand of Charles Thompson, the then and present Secretary to the Congress. . . . 'Mr. J. Galloway's Motion 28th Sept. 1774.'" *The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq; Late Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania. Before the House of Commons, in a Committee on the American Papers*, 2d ed. (London: J. Wilkie, 1780), p. 48.

It is not at all improbable that Thomson returned to Galloway the endorsed copy of the motion, which had been read and discussed at length, after the vote had been taken to reconsider at a later date. And no special significance should be attached to the fact that Thomson made no regular entry in the minutes for September 28. He often made cumulative entries summarizing two or three days' activities—thus: "Wednesday and Thursday being taken up in the consideration and debates on the means, &c., the Congress met on Friday, Septr. 30 and upon the question, Resolved . . . ." And many proposals came before Congress which Thomson formally ignored altogether. Perhaps the most significant of these was

violations of American rights, which being read, upon motion Resolved, That the consideration of this report be referred till tomorrow, and that the Congress in the mean while deliberate on the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of our rights.

After some debate on that subject the Congress adjourned.

Monday Sept: 26. A.M.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

John Fleming Esq: a deputy from Orange County in the Colony of New York appeared this morning and took his seat as a Delegate for that Colony.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the means and after several hours spent thereon, it was referred till tomorrow, to which time the Congress was adjourned.

Tuesday Sept: 27. A.M.

The Congress met according to adjournment, and resuming the consideration of the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights, Resolved unanimously

That from and after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America from Great Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares or merchandizes whatsoever, or from any other place, of any such goods, wares or merchandizes, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; and that no such goods, wares or merchandizes imported after the said first day of December next be used or purchased.

Adjourned till tomorrow. X

~~Wednesday & Thursday being taken up in the consideration~~  
Wednesday & Thursday being taken up in the consideration

liberation and debates on the means ~~at~~ the congress met on Friday 30<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> and upon the question

Resolved, That from and after the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Sept<sup>r</sup> 1775 the exportation of all merchandize and every commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies <sup>ought to</sup> ~~shall~~ cease unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time.

Agreed, That W<sup>th</sup> Cushing, W<sup>th</sup> Low, W<sup>th</sup> Mifflin, W<sup>th</sup> Lee & W<sup>th</sup> Johnson be a committee to bring in a plan for carrying into effect the nonimportation, non consumption and nonexportation resolved on. —

Saturday Oct<sup>r</sup> 1. 1774.

Simon Boerum Esq<sup>r</sup> appeared in congress as deputy from King's county in the Colony of New York & produced the credentials of his election, which being read and approved he took his seat as Delegate for that Colony. —

The congress resuming the consideration of the means upon motion

Resolved unanimously

That a loyal address to his majesty be prepared, dutifully requesting the royal attention to the grievances that alarm and distress his majesty's faithful subjects in North America, and entreating his majesty's gracious interposition for the removal of such grievances, thereby to restore between Great Britain and the Colonies that harmony so necessary to the happiness of the British Empire and so ardently desired by all America.

Agreed, That W<sup>th</sup> Lee, W<sup>th</sup> J. Adams, W<sup>th</sup> Johnson, W<sup>th</sup> Henry and



Benjamin Franklin's plan of confederation, introduced July 21, 1775, which had a reception similar to that accorded Galloway's plan. *JCC*, 2:194-99; and Benjamin Harrison to Unknown, November 24, 1775. Thomson's notation, following his September 27 entry and marked for insertion at the point of his "x"—"Wednesday. Here insert Mr. Galloway's motion & plan"—was probably meant only as a copyist's instruction and was obviously added and lined out after he made the entry for September 30. Of course Galloway, as a member of the committee appointed October 21 "to revise the minutes of the Congress," would have seen this deletion. *JCC*, 1:101. It is understandable that he would have been distressed, particularly since on October 22 the delegates rejected a motion to reconsider the plan, and even that he later portrayed himself to governors William Franklin and Cadwalader Colden as the victim of a conspiracy. But if he pardonably exaggerated his treatment in his reports to high-ranking royal officials and in various pamphlets written during the next six years, he was not the only delegate who could have denounced Congress for ignoring his proposed recommendations.

Little evidence survives to explain the circumstances which led to rejection of the motion to reconsider his plan on October 22. Perhaps the most telling is to be found in the exchange that took place between John Dickinson and Charles Thomson on the one hand and Galloway on the other, early in 1775. In a lengthy rebuttal to Galloway's *Candid Examination*, which they submitted to the *Pennsylvania Journal*; and the *Weekly Advertiser*, March 8, 1775, Dickinson and Thomson provided some interesting details which merit equal consideration with Galloway's story. "Much has been said against the Congress, for rejecting this plan. The matter, I am told, stands thus—When it was first introduced in Congress, most of the members heard it with horror—as an idle, dangerous, whimsical, ministerial plan. Some of the 'Pennsylvania Oracles,' Friends, with whom infinite pains had been taken before hand, moved to have it committed. This was rejected, then, a motion was made that the plan might lye on the table to be taken up at any future day. This was carried in the affirmative. When the minutes came to be revised, towards the end of the sitting, the Plan was omitted. Here the patriot [Galloway] raged—and insisted on his right to have it on the Minutes. The question was put, and a great majority thought the inserting it in the Journal would be disgracing their records, and accordingly rejected it. Certainly, in such a Society, every question must, of course, be determined by a majority. If then a majority were of opinion, that the inserting it on their Journal would be disgraceful and injurious, they unquestionably had a right to reject it. If his plan was defensible, why did he not enter into the argument with a Gentleman from Virginia who challenged him to it, and who said, he could prove it to be big with destruction to the Colonies? 'Tis true he did, when thus called upon, say, that he would defend it, if the Congress would appoint a day for that purpose. But this, Sir, was when all was hurry, and the forms of business only, delayed their breaking up."

For Galloway's "reply" to Dickinson and Thomson, and further discussion of the entire exchange, see Joseph Galloway, *A Reply to an Address to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, 'A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies,' &c.* (New York: James Rivington, 1775); Julian P. Boyd, *Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's Plans to Preserve the British Empire, 1774-1788* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), pp. 45-50; and Robert M. Calhoon, "'I Have Deduced Your Rights': Joseph Galloway's Concept of His Role, 1774-1775," *Pennsylvania History* 35 (October 1968): 372-73.

Finally, in addition to the sources noted above and the account Galloway elaborated in his 1780 statement printed below, another account that he sent to two Philadelphia newspapers in April 1775 also bears significantly on the consideration given his plan. In response to a charge appearing in William and Thomas Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal*; and the *Weekly Advertiser* on April 5, 1775—that

Galloway claimed credit not due him and that Benjamin Franklin (at the Albany Congress in 1754) was the true author of the plan—Galloway asserted that Franklin's name had been deliberately associated with the plan when it was circulated among the delegates in Congress. "I shall offer but one argument more in vindication . . . that he [*Galloway, speaking in the third person*] could entertain no design of taking from Doctor Franklin, or the Congress of 1754, the merit of the first [*plan*]. He carried with him to the Congress the plan of 1754, with the reasons, under every article, which induced the then Commissioners to adopt them, *in the Doctor's own writing*. He shewed it to several of the members, as the plan proposed *by the Doctor*, and agreed to *by the Commissioners*. He delivered it to one of the Delegates, without the least injunction or reserve. From that Delegate it passed into the hands of several others, until the gentleman to whom it was first delivered could not, for some time, discover in whose hands to find it. This was done to enable the members to compare the two plans, to digest the better the one then proposed, and if any addition could be made to it, that it might be done when it should be taken into consideration agreeable to the rule of the Congress [*i.e., to the motion to reconsider the plan*]." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 26, 1775; and *Story & Humphreys's Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser*, April 28, 1775.

## Joseph Galloway's Plan of Union

[September 28, 1774]

A plan of a proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies of New Hampshire, The Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, Maryland, the three lower Counties on Delaware, Virginia, North-Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

That a British and American Government<sup>2</sup> for regulating the Administration of the general Affairs of America be proposed and established in America, including all the said Colonies: within and under which Government each Colony shall retain its present Constitution and powers of regulating and governing its own internal Police in all Cases whatsoever.

That the said Government be administer'd by a president General to be appointed by the King and a Grand Council to be chosen by the Representatives of the people of the several Colonies in their respective Assemblies, once in every three years.

That the several Assemblies shall choose Members for the Grand Council in the following Proportions—Viz.

New Hampshire  
Massachusetts Bay  
Rhode Island  
Connecticut  
New York  
New Jersey  
Pensylvania

Delaware Counties  
Maryland  
Virginia  
North Carolina  
South Carolina  
Georgia

Who shall meet at the City of [        ]<sup>3</sup> for the first Time being called by the President General as soon as conveniently may be after his Appointment.

That there shall be a new Election of Members for the Grand Council every three Years, and on the Death Removal or Resignation of any Member his place shall be supplied by a new Choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every Year if they shall think it necessary, and oftener if occasion shall require, at such Time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceeding Meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president General in any Emergency.

That the grand Council shall have power to choose their Speaker and shall hold and exercise all the like Rights Liberties and privileges as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great Britain.

That the president General shall hold his Office during the pleasure of the King, and his Assent shall be requisite to all Acts of the Grand Council and it shall be his Office and Duty to cause them to be carried into Execution.

That the president General by and with the Advice and Consent of the Grand Council hold & exercise all the Legislative Rights Powers and Authorities necessary for regulating and administering all the general Police & Affairs of the Colonies in which Great Britain and the Colonies or any of them, the Colonies in general or more than one Colony are in any Manner concerned as well civil and criminal as commercial.

That the said president General and Grand Council be an inferior and distinct Branch of the British Legislature united and incorporated with it for the aforesaid general purposes; and that any of the said general Regulations may originate and be formed and digested either in the Parliament of Great Britain or in the said Grand Council, and being prepared transmitted to the other for their Approbation or Dissent and that the Assent of both shall be requisite to the Validity of all such general Acts or Statutes.

That in Time of War all Bills for granting Aids to the Crown prepared by the Grand Council and approved by the president General shall be valid and passed into a Law without the Assent of the British parliament.

MS (NH). In the hand of Joseph Galloway and endorsed by James Duane: "Mr Galloway's Motion & Plan of Union, proposed in Congress 28th Sept 1774. Seconded & supported by the New York Delegates. But finally rejected and ordered to be left out of the minutes. Jas. Duane."

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the authorship of this document and minor differences in phraseology between the manuscript and the version printed in *JCC*, 1:49–51, see Julian P. Boyd, *Joseph Galloway's Plans to Preserve the British Empire, 1774–1788* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), pp. 112–14.

<sup>2</sup> The word "*Legislature*" appears above "Government." In the version presented to the public in a pamphlet printed early in 1775, "*legislature*" is used. Joseph Galloway, *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain, and the Colonies: with a Plan of Accommodation, on Constitutional Principles* (New York: James Rivington, 1775), p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> MS blank.

## Joseph Galloway's Statement on His Plan of Union

[September 28, 1774]

The Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774.<sup>1</sup> They brought with them their appointments and instructions. The latter plainly discover the dispositions of the assemblies, and of the people who gave them, and demonstrate their aversion to every thing which might tend to a seditious or illegal opposition to Government. They strictly enjoined their delegates to "*pursue proper, prudent, and lawful measures*, and to adopt a plan for obtaining a redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, *which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both.*" Under these instructions, it was the general expectation that decent petitions would be presented to Parliament, explicitly pointing out the measures by which its authority over the Colonies might be rendered more constitutional, and the grievances complained of might be redressed; because this was nothing more than the reasonable duty of subjects, and it was the sincere wish of the people.

Upon the meeting of Congress, two parties were immediately formed, with different views, and determined to act upon different principles. One intended candidly and clearly to define American rights, and explicitly and dutifully to petition for the remedy which would redress the grievances justly complained of—to form a more solid and constitutional union between the two countries, and to avoid every measure which tended to sedition, or acts of violent opposition. The other consisted of persons, whose design, from the beginning of their opposition to the Stamp Act, was to throw off all subordination and connexion with Great-Britain; who meant by every fiction, falsehood and fraud, to delude the people from their due allegiance, to



throw the subsisting Governments into anarchy, to incite the ignorant and vulgar to arms, and with those arms to establish American Independence. The one were men of loyal principles, and possessed the greatest fortunes in America; the other were congregational and presbyterian republicans, or men of bankrupt fortunes, overwhelmed in debt to the British merchants. The first suspected the designs of the last, and were therefore cautious; but as they meant to do nothing but what was reasonable and just, they were open and ingenuous. The second, fearing the opposition of the first, were secret and hypocritical, and left no art, no falsehood, no fraud unessayed to conceal their intentions. The loyalists rested, for the most part, on the defensive, and opposed, with success, every measure which tended to violent opposition. Motions were made, debated and rejected, and nothing was carried by either.

While the two parties in Congress remained thus during three weeks on an equal balance, the republicans were calling to their assistance the aid of their factions without. Continual expresses were employed between Philadelphia and Boston. These were under the management of Samuel Adams—a man, who though by no means remarkable for brilliant abilities, yet is equal to most men in popular intrigue, and the management of a faction. He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects. It was this man, who by his superior application managed at once the faction in Congress at Philadelphia, and the factions in New England. Whatever these patriots in Congress wished to have done by their colleagues without, to induce General Gage, then at the head of his Majesty's army at Boston, to give them a pretext for violent opposition, or to promote their measures in Congress, Mr. Adams advised and directed to be done; and when done, it was dispatched by express to Congress. By one of these expresses came the inflammatory resolves of the county of Suffolk, which contained a complete declaration of war against Great-Britain. By these resolves it is declared, "that no obedience is due to acts of Parliament affecting Boston:"

That "the justices of the superior courts of judicature, court of assize, &c. are unconstitutional officers, and that no *regard ought to be paid to them by the people*:"

That "the county will support and bear harmless all sheriffs and their deputies, constables, jurors and other officers, who shall *refuse to carry into execution the orders of the said courts*:"

That "the collectors of taxes, constables and other officers, retain in their hands *all public monies*, and not make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer:"

And that "the persons who had accepted seats at the council-

board, by *virtue of a mandamus from the King*, should be considered as *obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country*."

They advise the people "to elect the officers of militia, and to use their *utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war* as soon as possible, and for that purpose to appear under arms once in every week:"

And to carry these and other measures into execution; among many other things equally treasonable, they recommend it to the several towns to "chuse a Provincial Congress."

Upon these resolves being read, a motion was made that the Congress should give them their sanction. Long and warm debates ensued between the parties. At this time the republican faction in Congress had provided a mob, ready to execute their secret orders. The cruel practice of tarring and feathering had been long since introduced. This lessened the firmness of some of the loyalists; the vote was put and carried. Two of the dissenting members presumed to offer their protest against it in writing, which was negatived. They next insisted that the tender of their protest and its negative should be entered on the minutes; this was also rejected.

By this treasonable vote the foundation of military resistance throughout America was effectually laid. The example was now set by the people of Suffolk, and the measure was approved of by those who called themselves *the representatives of all America*. The loyal party, although they knew a great majority of the colonists were averse to the measure, perceived the improbability of stemming the torrent. They had no authority, no means in their own power to resist it; they saw those who held the powers of Government inactive spectators, and either shrinking from their duty, or uniting in the measures of sedition; they saw the flame of rebellion spreading with more rapidity in a province under the eye of his Majesty's army than in any other; and that no effectual measures were taking by Government in Britain to suppress it; and yet, as a petition to his Majesty had been ordered to be brought in, they resolved to continue their exertions. They hoped to prevail in stating the rights of America on just and constitutional principles; in proposing a plan for uniting the two countries on those principles, and in a clear, definitive and decent prayer, to ask for what a majority of the colonies wished to obtain; and as they had no reason to doubt the success of this measure in a British Parliament, they further hoped, that it would stop the effusion of blood and the ruin of their country.

With this view, as well as to probe the ultimate design of the republicans, and to know with certainty whether any proposal, short of the absolute independence of the Colonies, would satisfy them, a plan of union was drawn by a member of the loyal party,<sup>2</sup> and approved by the rest. It was so formed as to leave no room for any rea-

sonable objection on the part of the republicans, if they meant to be united to Great Britain on any grounds whatever. It included a restoration of all their rights, and a redress of all their grievances, on constitutional principles; and it accorded with all the instructions given to them as members of Congress.

Introductory to his motion which led to this plan, the author of it made, in substance, the following speech, which is taken from his short notes: "He told Congress that he came with instructions to propose some mode, by which the harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies might be restored on constitutional principles: that this appeared to be the genuine sense of all the instructions brought into Congress by the Delegates of the several Colonies. He had long waited with great patience under an expectation of hearing some proposition which should tend to that salutary and important purpose; but, to his great mortification and distress, a month had been spent in fruitless debates on equivocal and indecisive propositions, which tended to inflame rather than reconcile—to produce war instead of peace between the two countries. In this disagreeable situation of things he thought it his incumbent duty to speak plainly, and to give his sentiments without the least reserve.

"There are," says he, "two propositions before the Congress, for restoring the wished-for harmony: one, that Parliament should be requested to place the Colonies in the state they were in in the year 1763; the other, that a non-exportation and non-impotation agreement should be adopted. I will consider these propositions, and venture to reject them both; the first, as indecisive, tending to mislead both countries, and to lay a foundation for further discontent and quarrel; the other, as illegal, and ruinous to America.

"The first proposition is indecisive, because it points out no ground of complaint—asks for a restoration of no right, settles no principle, and proposes no plan for accommodating the dispute. There is no statute which has been passed to tax or bind the Colonies since the year 1763, which was not founded on precedents and statutes of a similar nature before that period; and therefore the proposition, while it expressly denies the right of Parliament, confesses it by the strongest implication. In short, it is nugatory, and without meaning; and however it may serve, when rejected by Parliament, as it certainly will be, to form a charge of injustice upon, and to deceive and inflame the minds of the people hereafter, it cannot possibly answer any other purpose.

"The second proposition is undutiful and illegal: it is an insult on the supreme authority of the State; it cannot fail to draw on the Colonies the united resentment of the Mother Country. If we will not trade with Great Britain, she will not suffer us to trade at all. Our ports will be blocked up by British men of war, and troops will be

sent to reduce us to reason and obedience. A total and sudden stagnation of commerce is what no country can bear: it must bring ruin on the Colonies; the produce of labour must perish on their hands, and not only the progress of industry be stopped, but industry and labour will cease, and the country itself be thrown into anarchy and tumult. I must therefore reject both the propositions; the first as indecisive, and the other as inadmissible upon any principle of prudence or policy.

"If we sincerely mean to accommodate the difference between the two countries, and to establish their union on more firm and constitutional principles, we must take into consideration a number of facts which led the Parliament to pass the acts complained of, since the year 1763, and the real state of the Colonies. A clear and perfect knowledge of these matters only can lead us to the ground of substantial redress and permanent harmony. I will therefore call your recollection to the dangerous situation of the Colonies from the intrigues of France, and the incursions of the Canadians and their Indian allies, at the commencement of the last war. None of us can be ignorant of the just sense they then entertained of that danger, and of their incapacity to defend themselves against it, nor of the supplications made to the Parent State for its assistance, nor of the cheerfulness with which Great Britain sent over her fleets and armies for their protection, of the millions she expended in that protection, and of the happy consequences which attended it.

"In this state of the Colonies, it was not unreasonable to expect that Parliament would have levied a tax on them proportionate to their wealth, and the sums raised in Great Britain. Her ancient right, so often exercised, and never controverted, enabled her, and the occasion invited her, to do it. And yet, not knowing their wealth, a generous tenderness arising from the fear of doing them injustice, induced Parliament to forbear to levy aids upon them—It left the Colonies to do justice to themselves and to the nation. And moreover, in order to allure them to a discharge of their duty, it offered to reimburse those Colonies which should generously grant the aids that were necessary to their own safety. But what was the conduct of the Colonies on this occasion, in which their own existence was immediately concerned? However painful it may be for me to repeat, or you to hear, I must remind you of it. You all know there were Colonies which at some times granted liberal aids, and at others nothing; other Colonies gave nothing during the war; none gave equitably in proportion to their wealth, and all that did give were actuated by partial and self-interested motives, and gave only in proportion to the approach or remoteness of the danger. These delinquencies were occasioned by the want of the exercise of some supreme power to ascertain, with equity, their proportions of aids, and to over-rule the par-



ticular passions, prejudices, and interests, of the several Colonies.

"To remedy these mischiefs, Parliament was naturally led to exercise the power which had been, by its predecessors, so often exercised over the Colonies, and to pass the Stamp Act. Against this act the Colonies petitioned Parliament, and denied its authority. Instead of proposing some remedy, by which that authority should be rendered more equitable and more constitutional over the Colonies, the petitions rested in a declaration that the Colonies could not be represented in that body. This justly alarmed the British Senate.<sup>3</sup> It was thought and called by the ablest men and Britain, a clear and explicit declaration of American Independence, and compelled the Parliament to pass the Declaratory Act, in order to save its ancient and incontrovertible right of supremacy over all the parts of the empire. By this injudicious step the cause of our complaints became fixed, and instead of obtaining a constitutional reformation of the authority of Parliament over the Colonies, it brought on an explicit declaration of a right in Parliament to exercise absolute and unparticipated power over them. Nothing now can be wanting to convince us, that the Assemblies have pursued measures which have produced no relief, and answered no purpose but a bad one. I therefore hope that the collected wisdom of Congress will perceive and avoid former mistakes; that they will candidly and thoroughly examine the real merits of our dispute with the Mother Country, and take such ground as shall firmly unite us under one system of polity, and make us one people.

"In order to establish those principles, upon which alone American relief ought, in reason and policy, to be founded, I will take a brief view of the arguments on both sides of the great question between the two countries—a question in its magnitude and importance exceeded by none that has been ever agitated in the councils of any nation. The advocates for the supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies contend, that there must be one supreme legislative head in every civil society, whose authority must extend to the regulation and final decision of every matter susceptible of human direction; and that every member of the society, whether political, official, or individual, must be subordinate to its supreme will, signified in its laws: that this supremacy and subordination are essential in the constitution of all States, whatever may be their forms; that no society ever did, or could exist, without it; and that these truths are solidly established in the practice of all Governments, and confirmed by the concurrent authority of all writers on the subject of civil society.

"These advocates also assert, what we cannot deny—That the discovery of the Colonies was made under a commission granted by the supreme authority of the British State, that they have been settled under that authority, and therefore are truly the property of that State. Parliamentary jurisdiction has been constantly exercised over

them from their first settlement; its executive authority has ever run through all their inferior political systems: the Colonists have ever sworn allegiance to the British State, and have been considered, both by the State and by themselves, as subjects of the British Government. Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; the one cannot exist without the other. The Colonies cannot claim the protection of Britain upon any principle of reason or law, while they deny its supreme authority. Upon this ground the authority of Parliament stands too firm to be shaken by any arguments whatever; and therefore to deny that authority, and at the same time to declare their incapacity to be represented, amounts to a full and explicit declaration of independence.

“In regard to the political state of the Colonies, you must know that they are so many inferior societies, disunited and unconnected in polity. That while they deny the authority of Parliament, they are, in respect to each other, in a perfect state of nature, destitute of any supreme direction or decision whatever, and incompetent to the grant of national aids, or any other general measure whatever, even to the settlement of differences among themselves. This they have repeatedly acknowledged, and particularly by their delegates in Congress in the beginning of the last war; and the aids granted by them since that period, for their own protection, are a proof of the truth of that acknowledgment.

“You also know that the seeds of discord are plentifully sowed in the constitution of the Colonies; that they are already grown to maturity, and have more than once broke out into open hostilities. They are at this moment only suppressed by the authority of the Parent State; and should that authority be weakened or annulled, many subjects of unsettled disputes, and which, in that case, can only be settled by an appeal to the sword, must involve us in all the horrors of civil war. You will now consider whether you wish to be destitute of the protection of Great Britain, or to see a renewal of the claims of France upon America; or to remain in our present disunited state, the weak exposed to the force of the strong. I am sure no honest man can entertain wishes so ruinous to his country.

“Having thus briefly stated the arguments in favour of parliamentary authority, and considered the state of the Colonies, I am free to confess that the exercise of that authority is not perfectly constitutional in respect to the Colonies. We know that the whole landed interest of Britain is represented in that body, while neither the land nor the people of America hold the least participation in the legislative authority of the State. Representation, or a participation in the supreme councils of the State, is the great principle upon which the freedom of the British Government is established and secured. I also acknowledge, that that territory whose people have no enjoyment of

this privilege, are subject to an authority unrestrained and absolute; and if the liberty of the subject were not essentially concerned in it, I should reject a distinction so odious between members of the same state, so long as it shall be continued. I wish to see it exploded, and the right to participate in the supreme councils of the State extended, in some form, not only to America, but to all the British dominions; otherwise I fear that profound and excellent fabrick of civil polity will, ere long, crumble to pieces.

“The case of the Colonies is not a new one. It was formerly the very situation of Wales, Durham, and Chester.

“As to the tax, it is neither unjust nor oppressive, it being rather a relief than a burthen; but it is want of constitutional principle in the authority that passed it, which is the ground for complaint. This, and this only, is the source of American grievances. Here, and here only, is the defect; and if this defect were removed, a foundation would be laid for the relief of every American complaint; the obnoxious statutes would of course be repealed, and others would be made, with the assent of the Colonies, to answer the same and better purposes; the mischiefs arising from the disunion of the Colonies would be removed; their freedom would be established, and their subordination fixed on solid constitutional principles.

“Desirous as I am to promote the freedom of the Colonies, and to prevent the mischiefs which will attend a military contest with Great Britain, I must intreat you to desert the measures which have been so injudiciously and ineffectually pursued by antecedent Assemblies.<sup>4</sup> Let us thoroughly investigate the subject matter in dispute, and endeavour to find from that investigation the means of perfect and permanent redress. In whatever we do, let us be particular and explicit, and not wander in general allegations. These will lead us to no point, nor can produce any relief; they are besides dishonourable and insidious. I would therefore acknowledge the necessity of the supreme authority of Parliament over the Colonies, because it is a proposition which we cannot deny without manifest contradiction, while we confess that we are subjects of the British Government; and if we do not approve of a representation in Parliament, let us ask for a participation in the freedom and power of the English constitution in some other mode of incorporation; for I am convinced, by long attention to the subject, that let us deliberate, and try what other expedients we may, we shall find none that can give to the Colonies substantial freedom, but some such incorporation. I therefore beseech you, by the respect you are bound to pay to the instructions of your constituents, by the regard you have for the honour and safety of your country, and as you wish to avoid a war with Great Britain, which must terminate, at all events, in the ruin of America, not to rely on a denial of the authority of Parliament, a refusal to be represented, and on a

non-importation agreement; because whatever protestations, in that case, may be made to the contrary, it will prove to the world, that we intend to throw off our allegiance to the State, and to involve the two countries in all the horrors of a civil war.

"With a view to promote the measure I have so earnestly recommended, I have prepared the draught of a plan for uniting America more intimately, in constitutional polity, with Great Britain. It contains the great outlines or principles only, and will require many additions in case those should be approved. I am certain, when dispassionately considered, it will be found to be the most perfect union in power and liberty with the Parent State, next to a representation in Parliament, and I trust it will be approved of by both countries. In forming it, I have been particularly attentive to the rights of both; and I am confident that no American, who wishes to continue a subject of the British State which is what we all uniformly profess, can offer any reasonable objection against it.

"I shall not enter into a further explanation of its principles, but shall reserve my sentiments until the second reading, with which I hope it will be favoured."

The introductory motion being seconded, the Plan was presented and read. Warm and long debates immediately ensued on the question, Whether it should be entered in the proceedings of Congress, or be referred to further consideration. All the men of property, and most of the ablest speakers, supported the motion, while the republican party strenuously opposed it.

The question was at length carried by a majority of one Colony.

Reprinted from Joseph Galloway, *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion* (London: G. Wilkie, 1780), pp. 65–81.

<sup>1</sup> Although Galloway wrote this account several years after the events described, a fact to be carefully considered when evaluating his remarks, the passage reprinted here has been dated September 28 to focus on the speech he made in behalf of his plan of union. This reconstruction of that speech, he explained, "is taken from his short notes." *Historical and Political Reflections*, p. 70. For further background on Galloway's submission of his plan, plus a discussion of comparisons between this version and John Adams' Notes of Debates, this date, see Julian P. Boyd, *Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's Plans to Preserve the British Empire, 1774-1788* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), pp. 32–38.

<sup>2</sup> That is, by Joseph Galloway.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John Adams' Notes of Debates, this date, where Galloway is reported to have said, "America with the greatest Reason and Justice complained of the Stamp Act."

<sup>4</sup> John Adams wrote that Galloway claimed: "I am as much a friend of Liberty [as] exists—and No Man shall go further, in Point of Fortune, or in Point of Blood, than the Man who now addresses you." *Ibid.*



## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 28, 1774]

28th. The Congress met. A Plan of Union between G. Britain & the Colonies presented by Mr. Galloway considered, not committed but ordered to lye on the Table.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Sept. 29. 1774

Sitting down to write to you, is a Scene almost too tender for my State of Nerves. It calls up to my View the anxious, distress'd State you must be in, amidst the Confusions and Dangers, which surround you. I long to return, and administer all the Consolation in my Power, but when I shall have accomplished all the Business I have to do here, I know not, and if it should be necessary to stay here till Christmas, or longer, in order to effect our Purposes, I am determined patiently to wait.

Patience, Forbearance, Long Suffering, are the Lessons taught here for our Province, and at the same Time absolute and open Resistance to the new Government. I wish I could convince Gentlemen, of the Danger, or Impracticability of this as fully as I believe it myself.

The Art and Address, of Ambassadors from a dozen belligerant Powers of Europe, nay of a Conclave of Cardinals at the Election of a Pope, or of the Princes in Germany at the Choice of an Emperor, would not exceed the Specimens We have seen. Yet the Congress all profess the same political Principles.

They all profess to consider our Province as suffering in the common Cause, and indeed they seem to feel for Us, as if for themselves. We have had as great Questions to discuss as ever engaged the Attention of Men, and an infinite Multitude of them.

I received a very kind Letter from Deacon Palmer, acquainting me with Mr. Cranch's designs of removing to Braintree, which I approve very much—and wish I had an House for every Family in Boston, and Abilities to provide for them, in the Country.

I submit it to you, my Dear, whether it would not be best to remove all the Books and Papers and Furniture in the Office at Boston up to Braintree. There will be no Business there nor any where, I suppose, and my young Friends can study there better than in Boston at present.

I shall be kill'd with Kindness, in this Place. We go to congress at

Nine, and there We stay, most earnestly engaged in Debates upon the most abstruse Misteries of State untill three in the Afternoon, then We adjourn, and go to Dinner with some of the Nobles of Pensylvania, at four O Clock and feast upon ten thousand Delicacies, and sitt drinking Madeira, Claret and Burgundy till six or seven, and then go home, fatigued to death with Business, Company, and Care.<sup>1</sup> Yet I hold it out, surprizingly. I drink no Cyder, but feast upon Phyladelphia Beer, and Porter. A Gentleman, one Mr. Hare, has lately set up in this City a Manufactory of Porter, as good as any that comes from London. I pray We may introduce it into the Massachusetts. It agrees with me, infinitely better than Punch, Wine, or Cyder, or any other Spirituous Liquor. My Love to my dear Children one by one. My Compliments to Mr. Thaxter, and Rice and every Body else. Yours most affectionately,  
John Adams

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:163–64.

<sup>1</sup>Adams' diary entries for September 29 and 30 merely record his dinner engagements. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:144.

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Septr. 29. 1774.

I wish it was in my Power, to write you any Thing for the Relief of your Anxiety, under the Pressure of those Calamities which now distress our beloved Town of Boston and Province of Massachusetts. The Sentiments expressed in your last to me, are Such as would do Honour to the best of Citizens, in the Minds of the Virtuous and worthy of any Age or Country in the worst of Times.

Dulce et decorum est pro Patria mori.

Wouldst thou receive thy Countrys loud Applause,  
Lov'd as her Father, as her God ador'd,  
Be thou the bold Asserter of her Cause,  
her Voice in Council, in the Fight her Sword.

You can have no adequate Idea of the Pleasures or of the Difficulties of the Errand I am now upon. The Congress is Such an Assembly as never before came together on a Sudden, in any Part of the World. Here are Fortunes, Abilities, Learning, Eloquence, Acuteness equal to any I ever met with my Life. Here is a Diversity of Religions, Educations, Manners, Interests, Such as it would Seem almost impossible to unite in any one Plan of Conduct.

Every Question is discussed with a Moderation, and an Acuteness and a minuteness equal to that of Queen Elizabeths privy Council.

This occasions infinite Delays. We are under obligations of Secrecy in every Thing except the Single Vote which you have Seen approving the Resolutions of the County of Suffolk. What Effect this Vote may have with you is uncertain. What you will do, God knows. You Say you look up to the Congress. It is well you Should: but I hope you will not expect too much from Us.

The Delegates here are not Sufficiently acquainted with our Pr[ovince] and with the Circumstances you are in, to form a Judgment [of] what Course it is proper for you to take. They Start at one Thought of taking up the old Charter. They Shudder at the Prospect of Blood. Yet they are unanimously and unalterably against your Submission, to any of the Acts for a Single Moment.

You See by this What they are for—vizt, that you Stand Stock Still, and live without Government, or Law. At least for the present and as long as you can. I have represented to them, whenever I see them, the Utter Impossibility, of four hundred Thousand People existing long with[ou]t a Legislature or Courts of Justice. They all Seem to acknowledge it: Yet nothing can be as yet accomplished.

We hear, perpetually, the most figurative Panegyricks upon our Wisdom Fortitude and Temperance: The most fervent Exhortations to perseverance, But nothing more is done.

I may venture to tell you, that I believe We Shall agree to N. Imp., N. Consumption, and Non Exportation, but not to commence so soon as I could wish.

Indeed all this would be insufficient, for our Purpose—a more adequate Support, and Relief to the Massachusetts Should be adopted—But I tremble for fear, We should fail of obtaining it.

There is however a most laudable Zeal, and an excellent Spirit, which every Day increases, especially in this City. The Quakers had a General Meeting here last Sunday, and are deeply affected with the Complexion of the Times. They have recommended it to all their People to renounce Tea, and indeed the People of this City of all Denominations have laid it generally aside Since our Arrival here. They are about Setting up Companys of Cadets, voluntarily. &c &c &c.

It is the universal opinion here that the General, Gage, is in the Horrors, and that he means only to act upon the Defensive. How well this opinion is founded you, can judge better than I.

I must beseech you to Shew this Letter to no Man, in whom you have not the most perfect Confidence. It may do a great deal of Mischief.

We have had numberless Prejudices to remove here. We have been obliged to act, with great Delicacy and Caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of Sight, and to feel Pulses, and Sound the Depths—to insinuate our Sentiments, Designs and Desires by means of other Persons, Sometimes of one Province and Sometimes

of another—a future opportunity I hope in Conversations will make you acquainted with all. Adieu  
John Adams.

RC (MHi) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 29, 1774]

29th. The Congress met, considered a non Importation of all dutiable Goods & a non exportation to G. Britain & adjourned.

MS (RHi) .

## John Adams' Proposed Resolutions

[September 30, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Resolved That the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and the Town of Boston are now Suffering and Struggling in the common Cause of American Freedom and therefore that it is the indispensable Duty of all the Colonies, to Support them by every necessary Means, and to the last Extremity.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas Hostilities have been already been commenced against the Province of Massachusetts Bay and through them against all the Colonies, and whereas this congress have already advised the People of that Province by no Means to Submit to the late Act of Parliament for altering their Government,

Resolved that in Case Hostilities should be further pursued against that Province, and Submission be attempted to be compelled by Force of Arms, that as soon as Intelligence of this shall be communicated to the several Colonies, they ought immediately to cease all Exportations of Goods Wares & Merchandise to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies.<sup>3</sup>

Resolved, That, in Case any Person or Persons, Should be arrested, in the Massachusetts Bay, or any other Colony, by General Gage or any other Person, in order to be sent to Great Britain to be there tryed for any Crime whatsoever, committed in America, under Pretence of Authority of the Statute of Henry the Eighth or that of the present Reign, that this ought to be considered, as a Declaration of War and a Commencement of Hostilities against all the Colonies and that Reprisals ought to be made in all the Colonies, and held as Hostages for the Security of the Person or Persons so arrested, and all Exportations of Merchandise to Great Britain Ireland and the West Indies ought immediately to cease.

*(Whereas the Debts and Taxes, the Luxury and Venality preva-*



*lent in Great Britain prove too clearly that Americans have can have little well grounded Hope of Defence, Protection or Security from anything but their own wisdom & Valour, Frugality and Industry, in Times to come,*

*Resolved that it be recommended to all the Colonies, to establish by Provincial Laws, where it can be done, a regular well furnished, and disciplined Militia, and where it cannot be done by Law, by voluntary Associations, and private Agreements.*

*Resolved that it be recommended to all the Colonies, to encourage Arts Manufactures and Agriculture, by all Means in their Power, and for this End to establish in each Colony a distinct Society.)*

MS (MHi) . In the hand of John Adams and endorsed by Charles Thomson: "J. Adams' Motion Sept. 30th."

<sup>1</sup> These resolutions were drafted in the midst of a continuing debate on nonexportation. Although they were not endorsed at this time, key elements appeared in later instructions and resolutions adopted by Congress. *JCC*, 1:52; and Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:144n.

<sup>2</sup> Phrases from this resolve were used in Congress' instructions to the committee to prepare a letter to General Gage on October 7. *JCC*, 1:57.

<sup>3</sup> Parts of this paragraph were included in the October 8 resolve of Congress on American opposition to the use of British force in Massachusetts. *JCC*, 1:58.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[September 30, 1774]

Fine day. Dined Mr. [Jere.?] Smith.

This Month has been remarkably cool [for the?] Season & [sunny?] days. The Congress has sett day by day from 9 oClock AM to 3 PM.

MS (MHi) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[September 30, 1774]

30th. The Congress met, went on with Means &c.

MS (RHi) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Saturday [October 1]

Dined with Mr. Webster. Spent the Evening with Stephen Collins.

Went to see the Election at the State House. Mr. Dickinson was chosen.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:146.

<sup>1</sup> John Dickinson was one of eight representatives to the Pennsylvania Assembly chosen for the County of Philadelphia. *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7148. For the elections for the City of Philadelphia, see Adams' Diary, October 3, 1774.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[October 1, 1774]

Moved, that the proposal for paying for the Tea be added to the Instructions.<sup>1</sup> Motion for this made by Mr. Jay, Seconded by Mr. Low—supported by Mr. Pendleton—opposed by Mr. Lee, Mr. Gadsden, Mr. Lynch. Mr. Ross rather in favor of it. Mr. Lee against it. Mr. Jno. Rutledge against it—spoke long & well. Mr. Pendleton again for it. His principle is, that We expressly justify the Town of Boston for destroying the Tea, & offer to pay for the Tea, on Condition, that the Town of Boston be instantly relieved and at the same time We resolve never hereafter to Use E India Commodities more untill the E India Company refund the Money.

Mr. Henry, against it intirely. Forcible, & spirited in his harangue.

Mr. Jno Adams against it.

Mr. Low again for it, his Reason that it will take away the Ostensible Reason for the Act.

Govr. Ward against it.

Mr. Low again for the Motion.

Mr. Goldsborou[gh] long Against it.

Mr. Duane lengthy in favor of it.

Mr. Rutledge Junr. long against it. The question put carried Unanimously in the Negative.

Mr. Duane made a Long speech & then a Motion. See the Journal.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Adams, & Mr. Rutledge for postponing it to Monday.

Col. Lee proposes to extend it, to raising also, a Militia, & arming them, for Our defence.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Duane resents it.

Col. Lee, & Mr. Mifflin defend it. Postponed untill Monday.

Motion for Nonex[portatio]n of Flaxseed & Lumber to commence instantly. Spoke against by Mr. Ross that it is quarrelling with Ireland before We begin with G Brittain.

Adjd half past Three.

Two Motions lye for Monday, one for instant Nonexportation of Flaxseed, the other respecting Administration of Justice.

MS (CtHi) . This is the surviving remnant of the first part of a diary fragment which begins in the middle of Deane's entry for October 1 and continues through

October 6. The MS bears page numbers 17 through 31, at the head of the first of which Deane wrote "from page the 3d."

<sup>1</sup> A debate on instructions to the committee appointed to prepare an address to the king was in progress.

<sup>2</sup> See James Duane's Proposed Resolution, October 1, 1774. The resolution as finally adopted appears in the *Journal* under the date October 3, when it passed after much debate and alteration. *JCC*, 1:54.

<sup>3</sup> See Richard Henry Lee's Proposed Resolution, October 3, 1774, and Deane's Diary, October 3, 1774.

## James Duane's Proposed Resolution

[October 1, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Resolved that these Colonies as far as their respective Circumstances permitted have always cheerfully complied with the royal Requisitions for raising Supplies of Men and Money not only for their common defence and in the Reduction of Canada but in assisting his Majestys Arms in every other Instance when they have been called upon for Aids; And that this Assembly is firmly persuaded that the respective provincial Legislatures, zealous for the Safety & Glory of the British Empire will readily concur in any plan consistent with constitutional Liberty for drawing forth the united Councils aid and Strength of these Branches of his Majesty's Dominions whenever it shall be found necessary.

MS (NHi) . In the hand of James Duane.

<sup>1</sup> Duane introduced this resolve on October 1 as an instruction to the committee appointed the same day to draft an address to the king. It was debated on the first and the third, when it was adopted in substantially revised form. Its substance is reflected in the Address to the King of October 26. *JCC*, 1:53-54, 119; Silas Deane's Diary, October 1, 3, 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 1, 1774]

Octr. 1s. The Congress met, went on with Ways & Means. A new Member from New-York.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Simon Boerum. *JCC*, 1:53. The New York Provincial Congress credited Boerum with "35 days actual service in the first Honl. Continental Congress from the 27th of Sept. 1774." Simon Boerum's Account, NN, Emmet Collection.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dear Children

Philadelphia 1st Octr. 1774

Sammy's Letter by last Post I have the Pleasure of and did design to have wrote yesterday and given some general directions about Business but could not get Time We rose so late from Business.

The manner in which I live is so different from that to which I have been long used to that it incommoded Me vastly at first but Nature kindly gives Way to Necessity & I can bear it as well again as at first. I am very well & think there is little or no Danger of the small Pox.

We have much good Company here and have every Thing around us in the most elegant Taste but I am confirmed in the Opinion I have long been of that Happiness does not depend upon any Thing without Us. I have seen a man worth £50000 law[ful] m[one]y very unhappy in his Coach, a Rival in the public Eye, an imprudent Step in an only Child embitter all his Pleasures, and with Regard to myself though I am much pleased with the noble Sentiments & Ardor of some of the Congress, the Consciousness of my having come here upon the best Principles and having invariably pursued the public Good give me a much greater Satisfaction than every thing else, and the Pleasure of being with & taking Care of my little Tribe is much greater than all the Grandeur & Gaiety around Me can inspire. Again I think much of the noble Pleasures of Religion of the Worship of God in my own Family & in his House and long to share those truly important & real Pleasures with you & my Brethren & Friends but Providence has pointed out this as the Scene of Action at present and I pray that I may [be] enabled to see & do my Duty.

Besides seeing Mr. Davis twice one of our Brethren of his Church was to see Me. He appeared to be a very modest good Man, my Desire is very great to visit them but whether I can conveniently do it is very uncertain.

The Congress have come to a Resolution that a Non Importation & non exportation Agreement shall take Place, [the fi]rst on 1st Decr. next, the last not until 10th Sepr. 1775. I lament its being postponed so late & did all I could to prevent it. Flaxseed will not be allowed to be exported I think.

I am in hopes we shall rise in a Fortnight or three Weeks but can form no Judgment with Certainty.

There is a Vessel here which will sail for Newport this Week coming & I design to write by her. In the mean Time Remember Me to all my Friends and in the most affectionate Manner to all your Aunts. I am vastly glad your Aunt Marchant has joined you & hope They will Stay until I come home that I may Once more have the Pleasure of seeing them at my own House. That the Lord may be



with You & prosper You is the daily Prayer of Your affectionate  
Father  
Sam Ward

RC (RHi) . Addressed: "To Mr. Samuel Ward Junr. In Westerly Rhode Island."

## James Duane to Peter Van Schaack

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 2d Sept [*i.e.* October] 1774

I am sorry I have not paid you<sup>1</sup> the attention which I am sincerely disposed to do on every Occasion; but the scene of Business and the anxiety of Mind into which I am plunged by this important Delegation must plead my Apology. I presume no Business in which I am engagd will be hurried on during my absence, for can there be anything more injurious than that Individuals shoud suffer because I am pressed into the Publick Service at a Crisis when this Continent is in danger of a civil war! At such a Time surely private Interest ought to give place. I must suffer greatly on every Account and in every View; & I am content to suffer. But it woud be severe indeed if the Inconvenience shoud also fall upon my Clients. I hope therefore you will not be pressed to a hearing against your Consent.<sup>2</sup>

The Map you mention lies on the lower shelf behind Mr. Lansings usual Seat. It is drawn on brown paper & you can lay your hand on it readily. I do not know any Argumt that will be of great use to you with respect to the [Verterbeck?] Claim as it was never yet drawn into Judgement or discussion. In my Breif for the King agt Col. Renselaer I Noted such objection as occurred to me. I believe it may be found under Letter K or N in the upper alphabet of my office papers but of this I am not Sure. Mr. Lansing will however make a Search & you can possess yourself of it very probably.

Mr. Boerum is arriv'd from King's. He says there will be a meeting in Queen's. Of Richmond I hear Nothing. I have so much at Heart a complete Representation (including the four new Counties from whence nothing can be expected); that I do not Care who comes; tho considering the Rank & abilities of the other Delegates it serves no pleasing Contrast for our Province. We have now here four from New York and Wisener Herring Floyd & Boerum.<sup>3</sup> I hope these last will be edified & pleased for Life with the Rank they held in their grand Assembly & that their generous Counties will erect Monuments to their everlasting Fame!

My lips are Sealed & I can give you no Information, so that you must suppress your Curiosity till I am at Liberty. Pray with me for the happy Issue of Determinations on which our future peace so much depends. My Anxiety believe me is inexpressible; and when a period will be put to my Inquietudes I cannot even guess. I hope to

have the Consolation of doing the little good that is in my power, and if it should serve the Cause of this unhappy Country I shall be contented.

I am much pleased with the active part you have taken in bringing the delinquent Counties to a Sense of their Duty. It must do you Credit, for whatever may be the Event their Supinness is highly censureable.

A Strange Story is propagated here of two of our eminent Characters Mr. Watts & Mr. Kempe.<sup>4</sup> As it came from New York you must know the particulars & I need not relate them. I have venturd to pronounce it, very publickly, to be an infamous Forgery. I think I did this on secure Grounds & have boldly staked my Reputation for my injurd Friends. Pray let me know what you can elicit on this extraordinary Subject. If I get time I shall write to Mr. Kempe but least I should be disappointed Just mention it to him & let me know what he says. I am sensible he is above a Slander of this Kind But as a Friend I feel tenderly both for him & Mr Watts & shud be happy to state the Truth. Dr Cooper is another Character which is the Subject of Animadversion. It is said he applauds without Reserve the Measures of Ministry towards Boston—which are certainly held in abhorrence by the whole Continent. I am Dear Sir with great Regard  
Your most Obed huml Servt  
Jas Duane

P.S. Write me by the post at the [Nor.?] of the Town if you have time. It is no small Relief to me to hear from my Friends; & when you write send to here the State of my Family, as you once kindly did. In my Frame of mind I cannot hear often enough from them!

Forget not to inform me of the proceedings concerning Mr McEvers & Mr De Lancey who it is said are under Suspicion or in Disgrace for Supplying the Troops at Boston with Blankets.

RC (ICHi).

<sup>1</sup>Peter Van Schaack (1747–1832), New York lawyer, was, like Duane, a member of the Committee of Fifty-One in New York City. Van Schaack, whose later loyalism led to his exile in England, was still deeply involved in the colonial resistance movement in 1774. Edward P. Alexander, *A Revolutionary Conservative: James Duane of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 97–98.

<sup>2</sup>Duane's apprehension that his law practice in New York might suffer during his absence in Philadelphia was shared by his colleague John Jay. John Jay to Peter Van Schaack, October 2, 1774, ICHi, Van Schaack Papers.

<sup>3</sup>The election of delegates for Congress was a complicated process in New York. After much bickering between radicals and conservatives, New York City freeholders, freemen, and taxpayers approved on July 28, 1774, a slate of delegates recommended by the Committee of Fifty-One and consisting of John Alsop, James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, and Isaac Low. The very next day this committee dispatched circular letters to all the other counties in New York, requesting them to elect delegates of their own or authorize New York City's to represent them instead. Three counties thereupon went ahead and chose their own delegates—Orange (John Haring and Henry Wisner), Suffolk (William Floyd),

and Kings (Simon Boerum). Another county—Albany—first elected its own delegates and then decided to allow the New York City delegation to act in its behalf, and three others—Westchester, Dutchess, and Ulster—simply took the latter course. On the other hand the six remaining New York counties took no action at all in regard to the election of delegates. Carl Becker, "The Nomination and Election of Delegates from New York to the First Continental Congress, 1774," *Political Science Quarterly* 18 (1903) : 28–46.

<sup>4</sup>For details of this "Strange Story" see Duane to John Tabor Kempe, October 11, 1774.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Monday Octr. 3. 1774.

Breakfasted at home with Coll. Dagworthy of Maryland, Captn. Dagworthy his Brother, Major De Bois, Mr. Webb, Dr. Clopton &c. The hurry of Spirits I have been in, since my Arrival in this City, has prevented my making Remarks in my Journal as I wished to have done. The quick Succession of Objects, the Variety of Scenes and Characters, have rendered it impracticable. Major De Bois says he will drink Dispute this Morning. The Congress not come to Decision, yet.<sup>1</sup>

Dined at home. This Day Charles Thompson and Thos. Mifflin were chosen Burgesses for this City. The Change in the Elections for this City and County is no small Event. Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Thompson, now joined to Mr. Mifflin, will make a great Weight in favour of the American Cause.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:146–47.

<sup>1</sup>Adams is undoubtedly referring to instructions for the committee to prepare an address to the king, which were debated at length October 3, 4, and 5. *JCC*, 1:53–55.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[October 3, 1774]

Monday Congress opened.

3d Octo. The president in the Chair. Ten oClock—both Motions read. Col. Lee makes a Motion for Amendment. See the Motion Seconded by Col. Lee.<sup>1</sup>

Opposed by Mr. Rutledge as being out of the Line of Our Business, and in degree, a Declaration of Warr, which if intended, no other Measure ought to be taken up, but that We should he says speak out at Once. Col. Lee opposes him & defends his Motion—that it is the Duty of the Congress to put the Americans on defending themselves.

Mr. Roger Sherman, for it, confusedly enough though *miss'd the Question & sat down*. Col. Harison against it, that it will tend, only to irritate, whereas Our Business is to reconcile—that we are unable to defend Ourselves. Mr. Henry for it. Says that a preparation for Warr is Necessary to obtain peace—That America is not Now in a State of peace—That all the Bulwarks, of Our Safety, of Our Constitn. are thrown down, That We are Now in a State of Nature—That We ought to ask Ourselves the Question should the plans of Nonim[portatio]n & Nonexp[ortatio]n fail of success—in that Case Arms are Necessary, & if then, it is Necessary Now. Arms are a Resource to which We shall be forced, a Resource afforded Us by God & Nature, & why in the Name of both are We to hesitate providing them Now whilst in Our power.

Mr. Rutledge again moving to postpone this and to take it up here after that it is out of Order and is a New Motion.

Mr. Henry corrects him.

Mr. Rutledge again.

Col. Lee in the same Way.

Mr. Duane in support of his first Motion that he is not for Warr, nor are his people.

Mr. Rutledge again to Order.

Mr. Pendleton declares it to be in Order but that it is exceptionable and proposes it to be amended.

Mr. Rutledge junr. against it.

Col Dyar for it at large.

Mr. Low against it.

Col. Bland against it.

Mr. Henry again lengthy & zealous for it.

Mr. Hooper against it as a most impolitic measure at this Time & if pursued will defeat its design. North Carolina has a Militia Law. South Carolina also has such a Law. Virginia has had one for a Century, but N. Carolinas is a Temporary one pass'd at the express desire of the Governor. General Gage is now beseiged, & is dependant on our Lenity. That N. Carolina is able to defend itself.

Mr. Duane again.

Mr. Lynch for it and Lengthy says We have already adopted much the same thing—That all Europe can not subdue it, &c but proposes a different Bill which Col. Lee agrees to.

Mr. Jay says he would be for it were it as innocent as it is wise.

Col. Bland against it. The Motion was again altered & amended and the Question being put was carried Unanimously.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lynch moved respecting the Regulations of Trade or Acts of Charles the Second should be considered as obligatory.

After long debating put off the Question untill Tomorrow & adjd. Supp'd at Evening at Mr. Mifflins.<sup>3</sup>



MS (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Richard Henry Lee's Proposed Resolution, October 3, 1774, which was intended to strengthen James Duane's motion of October 1.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 1:54.

<sup>3</sup> For Tuesday, October 4, 1774, Deane briefly noted in his diary: "am ill, kept my chamber. No Resolution pass'd in Congress."

## Richard Henry Lee's Proposed Resolution

[October 3, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Resolved That as we find the reason declared in the preamble to the Acts of Parliament for raising a Revenue in America to be for "supporting the Civil Government Administration of Justice and for protecting defending and securing" the Colonies, The Congress recommend it to the Colonies where it is not already done, to provide a constitutional honorable, and compitent support for the purposes of Government and Administration of Justice. And since it is quite unreasonable that the Mother Country should be at the expence of maintaining Standing Armies in North America for its defence and that Administration may be convinced that this is unnecessary and improper as North America is able, willing, and under Providence determined to Protect Defend and Secure itself, The Congress do most earnestly recommend it to the several Colonies that a Militia be forthwith appointed and well disciplined And that they be well provided with Ammunition and Proper Arms.

MS (PPAmP) . In the hand of Richard Henry Lee and endorsed by Lee: "Motion made in Congress Oct. 1774 by R.H.L. to apprise the pub. of danger & to put the Colonies in a State of [ . . . ]"

<sup>1</sup> Silas Deane's Diary, October 3, 1774, makes it clear that Lee offered this motion as an amendment to James Duane's proposed resolution of October 1. Lee's attempt to strengthen Congress' commitment to military defense was opposed by a majority of the delegates. Instead, Congress passed the milder resolution that is recorded in the journals. *JCC*, 1:54.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 3, 1774]

3rd. The Congress met, considered the Address to the King & adjd.

MS (RHi) .

## Samuel Ward to Joseph Wanton

Sir,

Philadelphia, October 3. 1774.

We should with Pleasure have communicated to you the Proceedings of the Congress from Time to Time, but the Resolution to let Nothing transpire without express Direction would not admit it; but we may with Propriety, we believe, observe that from the Resolutions unanimously come into by the Congress upon the Resolves of the County of Suffolk, which were immediately published with those Resolves, some Estimate may be formed of the general Sentiments of the Congress.

We take this early Opportunity of acquainting Your Honor,<sup>1</sup> that a Non-Importation from Great-Britain and Ireland is agreed upon, to take Place the first Day of December next, and a general Non-Exportation on the tenth Day of September next. Non-Exportation of several Commodities to different Parts, to commence immediately or very soon, is under Consideration, and we think will probably be resolved upon.

Whenever any Measures are adopted, the Communication of which will either give Pleasure to the Colony, or promote its Interest, we shall (the Moment we are at Liberty) give you the earliest Intelligence of them.

The Magnitude of the Subjects before the Congress, the peculiar Circumstances of Delicacy and Intricacy in which they are involved, the Danger of taking a false Step in a Matter of such vast Importance, and the Necessity of adopting of every proper Measure, cannot fail to lengthen the Session. What has been done we hope will be honoured with the Approbation of the Colony. Much still remains to be done, and however striking the Ideas of our Friends and Connexions at Home may be after a long Absence, we shall chearfully continue here as long as the Service of our Country requires it, and we hope faithfully to exert our utmost Endeavours in this arduous Undertaking for the common Good of America. We are, with great Regard Your Honor's most obedient, and most humble Servants.

Sam. Ward

P.S. When the above was wrote Mr. Hopkins was expected in Town but not being yet returned & the Vessel ready to sail I am forced to write singly.

RC (R-Ar) . In a clerical hand, with signature and postscript by Ward.

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Wanton (1705-80), Newport merchant, was governor of Rhode Island from May 1769 to October 1775, when he was ousted from office by the Rhode Island Assembly for his loyalist attitudes and behavior. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 10:15-16. For a detailed account of Wanton's last year in office, see David S. Lovejoy, *Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760-1776* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1958), pp. 170-84.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Tuesday. Oct. 4.

Dined with Mr. Alexander Wilcox, with all the Delegates from N. York, and several other Gentlemen. This Evening General Lee came to my Lodgings and shewed me an Address from the C[ongress] to the People of Canada which he had.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:147.

<sup>1</sup>Charles Lee (1731–82), former British army officer who settled in Virginia in 1773; appointed major-general in the Continental Army, June 1775. *DAB*. Congress did not appoint a committee to draft an address to “the people of Quebec” until October 21. *JCC*, 1:101.

## Thomas Cushing to Deborah Cushing

My Dear

Philadelphia October 4th 1774

I have received your kind favors of the 19th & 21st September. I have wrote Dr Cooper twice & design soon to write Dr Chauncey. Give my best respects to both of them. I have communicated your several Agreeable Letters to the Farmer<sup>1</sup> & his Lady, to Mr Mifflin & Mr Thompson and their Ladies & others, they all are extreemly pleased with them & admire them for the patriotic, calm & undaunted spirit they breath. The Farmer says, if it was Customary to chose Women into the Assembly, he should be heartily for choosing you Speaker of the House as they all wish to see you here. Mr Mifflin & Mr Charles Thompson were chosen yesterday members for this City and Mr John Dickerson was chosen on Saturday last Member for the County.<sup>2</sup> A good sign that the people are hearty in the Cause of Liberty. I wish I could write you any politicks, [*but*] as I am enjoined to Secrecy must refrain. It is currently reported in the city that the Congress have Voted that no goods shall be imported from Great Britain & Ireland after the first Day of December next, and that none Imported after that Day shall be used or consumed and that the Congress have also Voted that no Goods or Merchandise shall after the 10th Day of September next be Exported from the Colonies to Great Britain Ireland or the West Indies unless our Grievances shall be redressed before that time, and I do not deny it or Contradict these reports.<sup>3</sup>

Was it not for the Concern we were under for the People of Boston & the Massachusetts we should Spend our Time here very Agreeably. We Sett in Congress from nine oClock in the Morning to three, some times four in the afternoon, We then dine with the nobles in Philadelphia, with seldom less than Ten, Twelve or fifteen in Company & after that spend the Evening very Agreeably. I have just seen a

letter from London dated 4 of August Which Informs that a Man of War, which left Boston on the sixth of July, had brought them such Intelligence of the Conduct of General Gage as had thrown them into Confusion & Consternation, as they apprehended the Consequence of it would be a Civil Warr & that they were under great apprehensions that it had Commenced before that time. I am in good health & hope this finds you in the same agreeable situation. I remain in haste yr affectionate Husband,

Thomas Cushing

RC (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> John Dickinson.

<sup>2</sup> These men were elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly. See John Adams' Diary, October 1 and 3, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Cushing is referring to the nonimportation resolution of September 27 and the nonexportation resolution of September 30. Cushing was a member of the committee appointed on September 30 "to bring in a plan for carrying into effect, the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation resolved on." *JCC*, 1:43, 51-53.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 4, 1774]

4th. Met & gave Instruction to the Comee. for addressing &c.

MS (RHi) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Wednesday Octr. 5th.

Dined with Dr. Cadwallador, in Company with Governor Hamilton, Gen. Lee, Mr. Henry, Mr. Pendleton, Mr. De Hart, and many others—Mr. Maese and others. Spent the Evening at Home with Mr. McDougal, and Mr. Sherman—in sad and solemn Consultation about the Miseries and Distresses of our dear Town of Boston.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:147.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[October 5, 1774]

Wednesday Octo 5th. Attended in Congress. A Lettr, or petition, from Mr. Goddard respecting the post Office was read. Ordered, to lye on the Table. And the Motion of Yesterday taken up.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Read



in favor of the Motion that some declaration ought to be made in the pacific Way.

That the Regulations, of Trade, for the present ought to be pass'd over. It is better for the present to Temporize.

Col. Dyer, for altering the Motion—but appears very confused.

Maj. Sullivan, that the Motion is not sufficiently explicit but that We ought to Speak out. Proposes an amendment. Mr. Lynch against the whole Clause, as 1763 will leave some of the worst Acts in force—the Rice being enumerated—The Hatt Act—The Act for extending Land in America to the payment of Debts—The Act of Wm & Mary, & the 5th of George 2d. extend the power of jurisdictn. of Admiralty invidiously. The Greivance of the Crown appointing Councillors to act as Legislators, in the respective Colonies, are he says all of them Greivances to be remonstrated against.

Mr. Adams jun. for the Motion. Says it does not imply, that We are to submit to all preceeding Acts—but that We shall by such repeal be in the State We were in in 1763 as to harmony.

Mr. Low complains, that the Motion is not sufficiently explicit, that We ought to speakout, complains of being misapprehended, & of being in a suspicious point of Light.

Col. Lee answers, and is at large for the Motion.

Col. Dyer again, (quite on one side of the Question).

Mr. Adams senr. for the Amendment in part but proposes another.

Mr. Cushing strangely against it.

Mr. Lynch for it.

Mr. Jay, for the last amendment to appearance at first, but finally means to confound every thing. Mr. Henry answers him and is severe on Mr. Jay.

Mr. Rutledge senr. against the Whole of the Motion, & thinks it ought to be totally rejected as Admiralty Courts were extended before the Year 1763, which are the most enormous of any Whatever, and that he will never be easy while that extension remains as it in effect is destroying all privileges in the destruction of Trial by Juries.

Mr. Henry & Mr. Rutledge dispute about the meaning of an Act of Parliament.

Mr. Cushing in support of his Motion.

Mr. Mifflin in support of the same.

Mr. Jay up against the Motion.

Mr. Sherman, up on Acct. of taking up the Greivances at large, & dropping the Motion.

Mr. Read explains himself as to some Expressions in his Speech.

Mr. Johnson, lengthy & in favor of the Motion.

Col. Lee makes a New Motion for an Amendment in the Instructions to the Committee—reads it and it is seconded.

Mr. Payne, rather against the Motion, that We should be more explicit.

Mr. Low joins him.

Mr. Cushing, rather severe on the subject against New York.

Mr. Low answers him.

Mr. Adams, senr. replies.

Question call'd for. Mr. Jay rises to make Observations, and To Slip it by, asserting that the Amendmt. was just the same as the Motion. Col. Lee very severe & lengthy in his Reply.

Mr. Rutledge jr., makes a New Motion and gets it seconded by Mr. Jay.

Mr. Chace, prefers the first amendment—but is for forming Resolutions against all Acts of Parliament, & then to propose modes of Opposition.

Mr. Biddle, against being confined to the Year 1763.

Mr. Duane against including the Canada Bill in the Petition to the King.

Col. Lee answers him respecting the Canada Bill.

Mr. Lynch, in answer to Mr. Chace. The Question put the Amendment Carried 6. to 5. Colonies. Pennsylvania divided & was not counted.

Colonies Stood thus

N. Hampshire	for	New York	No	Phila: divided
Massachusetts	for	New Jersey	No	
Rhode Island	do.	3 Counties	No	
Connecticut	do.	Maryland	No	
Virginia	do.	S. Carolina	No	
N. Carolina	do.			
	6		5	12

Mr. Adams, moves to bring on the Motion for Nonimportation<sup>2</sup> of Flaxseed.

Mr. Galloway against the Motion, unless other Articles are Now enumerated otherways it will not be a fair Method of proceeding.

Mr. Mifflin, says it is proper We first should say what Articles ought, or are Necessary to be prohibited.

Mr. Adams up again.

Majr. Sullivan against stopping the Article of Lumber.

Mr. Mifflin observes that Boards are as good for the Shipping of Sugar as Staves by making Boxes.

Col. Lee thinks that it is best to let, the Non Exp[ortatio]n agreement will be rested best on the general footing on Which it Now stands (viz) on the first of Sepr. next.

Gov. Ward speaking for it.

Col. Dyer against it without other Articles.

S. Deane, asks that all Articles, that are to lye under Nonex [portatio]n, be at once enumerated that We may know at once what can be sacrificed.

Mr. Galloway, Flaxseed can be had from Germany as cheap tho. not perhaps so good.

Mr. Adams, to put off the Question untill tomorrow morning. Seconded.

Mr. Pain, spoke about the impropriety of using the word sacrifice &[c].

Mr. Lynch, for the Motion.

Mr. Gadsden, after much talk, Moved, that from & after the 10th Sept. 1774<sup>3</sup> no remittances to be made to G Brittain.

Seconded by Govr. Ward.

Adjd. at Three o Clock.

MS (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> See final version of this motion, *JCC*, 1:54-55.

<sup>2</sup> Although Deane clearly wrote "Nonimportation," the motion under discussion concerned nonexportation of flaxseed and other specific articles to particular places. See Deane's Diary, October 1, and Samuel Ward to Joseph Wanton, October 3, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Although Deane wrote 1774, the Association as finally adopted specified that nonexportation would be implemented September 10, 1775. *JCC*, 1:77.

## Robert Treat Paine's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[October 5, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

[ ]<sup>2</sup> in the W. Indies, in Plantations & Debts, Amounts to Many millions Stg., all of which will be Either Tottally Lost, or greatly Reduced by a Suspension of our Trade with them.

3. Stopping the Exportation of Flaxseed to Ireland will Ruin the Irish Linnen Manufacture Which Employs more than 500,000 Persons for all the Wisdom of Engld. & Ireland United cant Sow the flax Lands of Ireland without the American Seed, of which the Annual Exportation is abt. 34000 hhds of 7 bushels Each, which Soves abt. 100,000 Acres of Flax. We have advice that the whole of the Last Years Seed is Sold there, Very Small Supplyes can be obtain'd from Holland or Else Where, & that little very unfit for Sowing the Land, but allowing that Seed might be obtain'd Sufficient to Sow one third of their Lands (which I apprehend far beyound the Truth) in that case they must dismiss above 300,000 People from Employment, & of course put them on Immediate Starving, or making their way as they can to all the Granaries of Provisions within their Reach, for a Starving Multitude cant be Quieted but by feeding or killing them. These distresses will light on Ireland first, but they will Soon Reach

England, for the funds or Stock which Support the Irish Linnen Manufacture Lie principally in England. Half the Linen Manufactur'd. in Ireland is due to the merchants in England before it is made, & very many people in England & many members of the Brittish Parliamt. own Estates in Ireland, & of Course must Immediately feel these Effects, & not the Immediate Effects only, but more distant ones also for the merchts. will not be able to Supply their Customers in foreign Markets, which must of Course be Supplyd. by the Dutch & French, & thereby Turn the Channel of that Commerce into those foreign hands, which the English have been these thirty Years past Struggling to Wrest from them, & which will not be Easily Recoverd. if it Shod. ever be Lost. The Same may be Observd. of the Sugar Trade, for the French, Dutch, Spaniards & Portuguese will Immediately Supply those foreign Markets, which have hitherto Received the English Exports. And as there is a great, tho not always visible Connexion between all the Several Branches of Trade in any Nation, 'tis Impossible to determine how far an obstruction of those great Branches, may Affect all the Rest, and as the Publick Funds of the English Nation are most Intimately connected with its Commerce, no one can foresee how far they may be Affected by Such grand Obstructions over & above the Immediate Reduction of one Tenth Part of the National Revenue.

I humbly propose that these great Suspensions of our Trade be Seriously & early adopted, with a firm Resolution to Continue them forever If the B. P. Refuse to repeal *all* Sd. Acts, for I am clearly of opinion, that it is far better for English America to be forever deprived of those great Branches of Trade, than Submit to the Endless Miseries & Curses of a foreign Legislation but I cant think there is any danger that a Repeal of Sd. Acts will be delay'd after the B. P. are made acquainted with these Resolutions of America for if the Obstinate madness of a headstrong Ministry Shod. be persevering, yet the combind. force of the Starving Manufacturers of Ireland & Engd., the distresses of the Irish & West India Merchts. who must be breaking not here & there a house, but by Whole Streets at a time, & the distracted State of the Publick funds, will all conspire so strongly to Remove the fatal Evil, that no Influence of any Ministry can withstand the Argument. They can indeed have no time to deliberate for If the Acts are not repeal'd time eno for advice to Reach America by the Middle of next Feby, it will be Impossible to Convey the American Flaxseed to Ireland in Season for the Next Seed time & So the Irish Linen Manufacture must be ruind. or at Least Suspended for one year, & the Distresses of the W. Indies will soon be Infinite & Ruinous, if not releived Speedily by Supplies from N. America, but if these Measures Shod. not produce an Immediate Repeal I dare Say the accumulating distresses of a Little time will bring the Parliamt. to



their senses & Most Effectually do the business. Indeed I freely confess I cannot beleive that the Whole Senate of G. B. can possibly Incurr the Ruin of the Nation & Sacrifice the Most Important Intrrests of it, to a Wretched Parliamentary Pride in Supporting a few acts of their own Which no one of them can pretend to Justify on the principles of Justice or Policy, & which Every Individual of them is heartily sorry were Ever Enacted.

But it may be objected that 'tis Cruel, to distress the Manufacturers of Ireland & G. Brittain, & the Creoles & Negroes of the W. Indies, who have not injured us. I answer, I Propose to Supply the W. Indies with Every necessary, Except Staves, heading & hoops 'till the first of Decr. Next, 'till which time Neither they Nor the English or Irish Manufacturers will Suffer from our Resolutions, & Then it will be with the B. P. to Say how Long they Shall Suffer, or whither Any at all, So if there is any Cruelty in the Case, it will Lie at their door & not at ours. I will Just add a Word or two on the Sufferings of the Americans themselves from these Measures, which I think Not Quite Intollerable, & may be Reduced Principly to the following heads

1. They will *Suffer* themselves to grow Rich by a Disuse of the fopperies & Superfluities Imported from G. Brittain, none of which are of Essential use, & most of which much worse than Nothing.

2. They will *Suffer* themselves to grow wise & virtuous & healthy by a disuse of the Intoxicating Poisons & needless Luxuries Imported from the W. Indies, for I am Clearly of Opinion tho' Some things Imported from G. B. & the W. Indies may be calld. usefull, yet Taking all our Importations together, it wd. be better for America to pay for them all, & then Sink them, than to bring them ashore, & use them in the way that is become Customary.

3. They will *Suffer* themselves to grow Ingenious & Industrious in Manufacturing their own Necessaries, of which they have Raw Materials Eno.

4. The American Merchts. will *Suffer* themselves to grow Rich by Purchasing Raw Materials & Setting people to manufacture them, for the Merchts. will get much more Trade & more profit in this way, than by Importing the Manufacture ready finishd.

5. The Farmers who Raise flaxseed, few of whom Raise more than half a Doz bushels, must *Suffer* Indeed the Loss of Perhaps one third, or one half its Value by keeping it at home, for it is worth Something to feed Cattle or to Make oyl, & for this Loss they are to be paid in the Liberties of themselves & their Posterity, which I think is no bad bargain.

6. But Whatever the Americans may Suffer, it is very Evident their Sufferings will be much Less by Resolutions that will force a speedy & Total Redress of our Grievances, than by Weak, Puny & Partial Resolutions, whose operation will be Slow, & Effects Doubt-

full. America Ought not to Leave it Problematicall whether they will Ever put up with the Loss of their Liberties or not. When our Important all is in Question, to use Weak & doubtfull Argts. is to give up the Cause or at Least to Weaken the Confidence of all our friends & add Great Sp[iri]t to our Enemies, whereas on the other hand Measures Sufficiently Spirited & Extensive, will discourage & dishearten the Proudest of our Oppressors, & Strengthen the hearts of our Suffering Brethern in Boston on Whose Resolution & Perseverance, the great cause of American Liberty much Depends, for if they Shd. Yeild the point, I dont know where the Next Stand might be Expected to be made.

MS (NN). In the hand of Robert Treat Paine.

<sup>1</sup> Although this MS is undated, it seems certain that Paine delivered this speech on October 5 near the end of the debate on a motion for the immediate nonexportation of flaxseed—at which time, according to Silas Deane's diary, "Mr. Pain, spoke about the impropriety of using the word sacrifice &c." This debate had its origin in the delegates' discussion of "the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights," a discussion which had led to the adoption on September 30 of a resolution prohibiting all exports to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies effective September 10, 1775. *JCC*, 1:51–52. In the aftermath of this decision, Congress also had resolved on October 1 to prepare "a loyal address" to the king and the following week intermittently debated instructions for the committee appointed to prepare the "address" in the midst of the continuing debate on "means." It was in this context that a motion had been made on October 1 for the immediate suspension of the export of some select items, of which flaxseed for Ireland was deemed the most important. The motion "for instant Nonexportation of Flaxseed" was subsequently postponed to Monday, October 3, but as the debate on Monday and Tuesday again focused on instructions for the committee to prepare the address to the king, it was not until Wednesday October 5 that attention returned to nonexportation, at which time "Mr. Adams," according to Deane, moved "to bring on the Motion for Nonimportation of Flaxseed." Although Deane does not further identify "Mr. Adams" (he often used the terms senior and junior to distinguish Samuel from John), it seems probable from Samuel Adams' interest in Paine's speech and his participation in the debate the following day that it was indeed he who moved to resume debate on "instant Nonexportation" and rose twice subsequently to speak on the subject before the end of the day. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that Paine's notes for this speech are located in the Samuel Adams Papers, NN. For further information on Adams' interest in the subject of economic sanctions against Britain, see Samuel Adams' Notes on Trade, September 27? 1774; and Silas Deane's Diary, October 5, and 6, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Two pages containing the first two points in Paine's speech are missing, but from the remaining text and the context of the debate in Congress on this day it can be surmised that Paine had discussed some of the consequences of halting exports to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies.

## John Sullivan to John Langdon

Sir, Philadelphia, Septem'r [i.e. October] 5th, 1774.

Your favor came safe to hand by Mr. Wharton. Am much obliged for the seasonable hint you have given respecting masts. I should gladly give you an account of our proceedings but am under an obligation of Secrecy. Except with respect to the general non Importation & non Exportation the former to take place on the first of December next, the latter in September following.<sup>1</sup> We have selected those Acts which we determine to have a Repeal of or forever restrain our trade from Great Britain, Ireland & the West Indies; among which Acts is the Canada Bill,<sup>2</sup> in my opinion the most dangerous to American Liberties among the whole train; for when we reflect on the dangerous situation the Colonies were in at the commencement of the Late War with a number of those Canadians on their backs who were assisted by Powerful Indian Nations determined to extirpate the Race of Protestants from America to make way for their own Cursed Religion so Dangerous to the State & favorable to Despotism, & contemplate that by the late Act their Territory is so far extended as to include by far the greater part of North America: that this will be a city of refuge for Roman Catholicks who will ever appear in favor of the Prerogative of the Crown backed by an abandoned Minister, aided by the whole force of Great Britain & assisted by the same Indian Nations, we must suppose our Situation to be Infinitely more Dangerous now than it was then, for while we are engaged with the Canadians on our Frontiers our Seaports must yield to the Ministerial fleet & army & if they once prevail no man must expect safety until he professes that Holy Religion which our Sovereign has been pleased to establish. I am certain that two Gods may as well exist in the universe as those two Religions where the Papists have power to extirpate the professors of the other. We can easily discover the designs of the Act & are determined to Counteract it at all events. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in a few days after this Letter comes to hand & give you a particular account of our proceedings: in the interim I am yours respectfully,

Jno Sullivan

MS not found; text from Alfred Langdon Elwyn, comp., *Letters by Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, and Others, Written before and during the Revolution* (Philadelphia: H. B. Ashmead, 1889), pp. 5-6, and Tr (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> Nonimportation was agreed to September 27 and the nonexportation resolve was adopted September 30. *JCC*, 1:43, 51-53.

<sup>2</sup> The Quebec Act, which became the focus of debate in Congress on October 17. See James Duane's Notes of Debates, October 17, 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 5, 1774]

5th. Met & gave another Instru[ctio]n;<sup>1</sup> considered of non Importation.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 1:54-55.

## John Adams' Notes of Debates

[October 6, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gadsden. There are Numbers of Men who will risque their all. I shudder at the thought of the Blood which will be spilled, and would be glad to avoid it.

Mr. Pendleton. How is the Purchaser to know whether the Molasses, Sugar, or Coffee, has paid the Duty or not? It cant be known. Shant We by this hang out to all the World our Intentions to smuggle?

Don't We complain of these Acts as Grievances, and shant we insist on the Repeal.

But this will give an Advantage to the West Indians and will make it their Interest to oppose our obtaining Redress.

Coll. Dyer. This Subject as every Part of our Deliberations are important. The Q[uestion] is how far to extend the Non Importation of dutiable Articles.

Mr. Chace. I am against the Question before you. What are the Ways and Means of obtaining Redress. In the manner it is penn'd it would not answer the End. How shall the Buyer know whether the Duties have been paid or not.

Our Enemies will think that We mean to strike at the Right of Parliament to lay duties for the Regulation of Trade.

I am one of those who hold the Position, that Parliament has a Right to make Laws for us in some Cases, to regulate the Trade—and in all Cases where the good of the whole Empire requires it.

My Fears were up when We went into the Consideration of a Bill of Rights. I was afraid We should say too little or too much.

It is said this is not a Non Importation Resolution. But it is, for there is no Importation of goods but according to the Law of the Land.

Mr. Linch. I came here to get Redress of Grievances, and to adopt every Means for that End, which could be adopted with a good Conscience.



In my Idea Parliament has no Power to regulate Trade. But these Duties are all for Revenue not for Regulation of Trade.

Many Gentlemen in this Room know how to bring in Goods, sugars and others, without paying Duties.

Will any Gentleman say he will never purchase any Goods untill he is sure, that they were not smuggled.

Mr. Mifflin. We shall Agree I suppose, to a Non Exportation of Lumber to the West Indies. They cannot send their Sugars to England, nor to America. Therefore they cant be benefited.

Mr. Low. Gentlemen have been transported by their Zeal, into Reflections upon an order of Men who deserve it the least of any Men in the Community.

We ought not to deny the just Rights of our Mother Country. We have too much Reason in this Congress, to suspect that Independence is aimed at.

I am for a Resolution against any Tea, Dutch as well as English.

[We] ought to consider the Consequences possible as well as [pro]bable of every Resolution We take and provide ourselves [wit]h a Retreat or Resource.

[Wha]t would be the Consequence of an Adjournment of the [Con]gress for 6 months? or a Recommendation of a [new?] Election of another to meet at the End of 6 Months? [Is it?] possible they may make it criminal, as Treason, [Mi]sprision of Treason, or Felony or a Præmunire? [Bo]th in the Assemblies who choose and in the Mem[ber]s who shall accept the Trust.

[Wou]ld the assemblies or Members be intimidated? [Wou]ld they regard such an Act?<sup>2</sup>

Will, Can the People bear a total Interruption of the [We]st India Trade? Can [they] live without Rum, Sugar, and [Mo]lasses? Will not their Impatience, and Vexation defeat the [Me]asure?

[Thi]s would cutt up the Revenue by the Roots—if Wine, Fruit, [M]olasses and Sugar, were discarded, as well as Tea.

But, a Prohibition of all Exports to the West Indies, will annihilate the Fishery—because, that cannot afford to loose the West India Fish—and this would throw a Multitude of Families in our fishing Towns into the Arms of Famine.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:147–49.

<sup>1</sup> Although the manuscript is undated, Adams' notes apparently pertain to the discussion in Congress that followed Richard Henry Lee's motion of October 6 "to take the Dutied Articles into Consideration." The subject of the debates relates to Lee's motion and the resolve on nonimportation of molasses, coffee, pimento, wines, and indigo adopted by Congress October 6. *JCC*, 1:57; and Silas Deane's *Diary*, October 6, 1774. Adams' diary for this date sheds no light on these debates, stating only: "Dined with Mr. Hodge, Father in Law to Mr. Bayard." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:147.

<sup>2</sup> A long blank space in Adams' manuscript notes follows. The next three paragraphs appear to have been written with a different pen and at a later time. They may simply reflect Adams' personal views, which he set down after completing the preceding account of the debates.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[October 6, 1774]

Octo. 6th. in Congress.

Mr. Gadsden's motion is urged for by Govr. Ward, spoke in fav[or] of by Mr. Ross.<sup>1</sup>

Against it, Rutledge jun.

Against it Mr. Galloway or rather for waving the Question, & taking up the other first.

The previous Question put, pass'd in the Negative Nom[in]e Con[tradictio]ne.

Mr. Lynch moved that each Colony might give in an Acct. of what could be stoppd from each Colony.

Col. Dyer rather objecting but asks for information.

Mr. Mifflin says that 40,000 HHds or 280,000 Bushel are annually shipp'd to Ireland therefore it is of Consequence.

Mr. Jay offers for New York Flaxseed, Iron, Oil, Furrs, Skinns, Potash & Lumber.

Maryland exports Flaxseed very Considerable—Iron also, Lumber also—and raises great Quantities of Flax & Hemp and can raise still more says Mr. Johnson, who is Vs. Non Ex[portatio]n partially.

Mifflin says that Riga is the only place Flaxseed can be had in Europe.

Mr. Crane.

Mr. Lynch.

Col. Dyer on behalf of Connecticut offers the same as Mr. Jay from N. York. Mr. Hooper up Twice on N. Carolina. Mr. Lynch, on the Situation of S. Carolina. Mr. Adams, senr. for leaving Navl. Stores being excluded from the Non Ex[portatio]n Agreemt.

Col. Lee, for the Motion.

Mr. Johnson against & lengthy.

Col. Lee Answers. Mr. Ross follows him in the same Way—Mr. Mifflin in the same Way. Mr. Low the same Way, but is for excluding Ireland.

Mr. Galloway for it but under Restrictions. Col. Lee again for it.

Col. Harrison, says that the Measure cannot be carried into Execution & will defeat the Whole, And fears it is design'd to defeat the Whole; he says he beleives it is.

Mr. Gadsden, as usual.

Question put. Negatived Nem. Con.

Express arrived from Boston & his Lettrs. read.<sup>2</sup> Moved by Col. Lee to take the Dutied Articles into Consideration.<sup>3</sup>

MS (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> Gadsden's motion to withhold remittances to Great Britain. See Deane's Diary, October 5, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 1:55-57.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of nonimportation of dutied articles, see John Adams' Notes of Debates, October 6, 1774.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[October 6, 1774]

Fair. Mr. Revere arrived Express from Boston.<sup>1</sup> Din'd at Mr. [Andrew] Hodge.

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Paul Revere carried a letter of September 29, 1774, from the Boston Committee of Correspondence concerning their protest of Gen. Thomas Gage's fortification of Boston. The letter sparked a three-day debate in Congress and led to the adoption of President Randolph's letter to Gage of October 10. *JCC*, 1:55-62.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 6, 1774]

6th. Met, considered non Impor[tatio]n of some dutied Articles & prohibited it. Non Exportation of particular articles dropped. Recd. Letters by Express from Boston laying before us the dis[tress]ed State of the Town & desiring our Advice. Referred to Morrow.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My dear

Phyladelphia Octr. 7. 1774

I thank you for all your kind favours. I wish I could write to you, much oftener than I do. I wish I could write to you, a Dozen Letters every day. But the Business before me, is so arduous and takes up my Time so entirely, that I cannot write often. I had the Characters and Tempers, the Principles and Views of fifty Gentlemen total Strangers to me to study, and the Trade, Policy, and whole Interest

of a Dozen Provinces, to learn when I came here. I have Multitudes of Pamphlets, News Papers, and private Letters to read. I have numberless Plans of Policy, and many Arguments to consider. I have many Visits to make and receive—much Ceremony to endure, which cannot be avoided, which you know I hate.<sup>1</sup>

There is a great Spirit in the Congress. But our People must be peaceable. Let them exercise every day in the Week, if they Will, the more the better. Let them furnish themselves with Artillery, Arms and Ammunition. Let them follow the Maxim, which you say they have adopted “In Times of Peace, prepare for War.” But let them avoid War, *if possible, if possible* I say.

Mr. Revere will bring you the Doings of the Congress, who are now, all around me debating what Advice to give to Boston and the Massachusetts Bay.<sup>2</sup>

We are all well—hope our Family is so—remember me to them all. I have advised you before to remove my Office from Boston to Braintree. It is now, I think absolutely necessary. Let the best Care be taken of all Books and Papers.

Tell all my Clerks to mind their Books, and study hard—for their Country will stand in need of able Councillors.

I must give you a general Licence to make my Compliments to all my Friends and Acquaintances: I have not Time to name them particularly. I wish they would all write to me—if they leave Letters at Edes and Gills, they will soon be sent to me.

I long to be at home, but I cannot say when. I will never leave the Congress, untill it rises, and when it will rise, I cannot say. And indeed I cannot say but We are better here than any where. We have fine Opportunities here to serve Boston and Massachusetts, by acquainting the whole Continent with the true State of them. Our Residence here greatly serves the Cause.

The Spirit and Principles of Liberty, here, are greatly cherished, by our Presence and Conversation.

The Elections of the last Week in this City, prove this. Mr. Dickenson was chosen almost unanimously a Representative of the County. The Broadbrims<sup>3</sup> began an opposition to your Friend Mr. Mifflin, because he was too warm in the Cause. This instantly alarmed the Friends of Liberty and ended in the Election of Mr. Mifflin, by Eleven hundred Votes out of Thirteen, and in the Election of our Secretary Mr. Charles Thompson to be a Burgess with him. This is considered here as a most compleat and decisive Victory in favour of the American Cause. And it [*is*] said it will change the Ballance in the Legislature here against Mr. Galloway who has been supposed to sit on the Skirts of the American Advocates.<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Mifflin who is a charming Quaker Girl, often enquires kindly after your Health.



Adieu my dear Wife—God bless you and yours. So wishes and  
prays, without ceasing,  
John Adams

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:164–66.

<sup>1</sup> Adams' social obligations dominated parts of his diary. His entry on this day, for example, reads: "Dined with Mr. Thos. Smith, with a large Company, the Virginians and others." For October 8, he wrote: "Dined with Mr. George Clymer—Mr. Dickinson and a large Company again." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:149.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 1:57–58.

<sup>3</sup> Quakers.

<sup>4</sup> Mifflin and Thomson were easily elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and Edward Biddle was elected to replace Galloway as speaker when the new assembly convened October 15. But George Read's account of Biddle's selection suggests that politics played a small role in Galloway's replacement and that the former speaker had not yet been identified as a conspicuous threat to "the American Advocates." *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7148, 7152; and George Read to Gertrude Read, October 16, 1774.

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia Octr. 7. 1774

I have just Time to thank you for your Letters by Mr Revere, and all other of your Favours. The Task which lies upon me here is very arduous. You can form no Conception of it: and I can give you no Idea of it. The Assurances you give me, of the great Dependence of the People, upon the Result of the Deliberations of the Congress, increase my Anxiety. I fear the operations of the Continent will be too Slow, to afford immediate Relief to Boston. What Shall be done for that Town is the most difficult Question We have before Us. The Professions and real Dispositions of the Gentlemen Seem to be the very best. But at this Distance from you We who came from you can Scarcely form an Adequate Idea of your State—much less can Strangers, to whom Words and Descriptions can convey but very Imperfect Notions.

I have taken great Pains to inform the Gentlemen, and to know their Sentiments. The Proposal of Some among you of reassuming the old Charter, is not approved here, at all. The Proposal of Setting up a new Form of Government of our own, is less approved Still. The general opinion Seems to be, as far as I can collect it, that the Courts of Justice Should go on, upon the old Plan, according to the Charter and Laws of the Province. The Govnr cannot remove any of the Judges or Justices, according to the Charter without the Advice of his Council of fifteen, which they will never give, if for no other Reason; because they will never be asked. To this there are two objections, the first that the Inferiour Judges And the Justices, may refuse to Act. Whether they will or not, We at this Distance cannot determine. This if practicable would be the most agreeable to the

Gentlemen here. The other objection is that this will not relieve Boston. This is certain, and there is no Gentleman here who can devise a Method for the Relief of that devoted Town. My Feelings for its Distresses are exquisite. I lie down with it, in my Mind, I dream of it all night, and awake with its ghastly Spectre before my Eyes.

I wish that you and all the rest of our Friends had been more explicit, in your private, confidential Letters to Us, in pointing out what was thought of and what was desired by the People of Boston and the Massachusetts. The Expressions in all your Letters are a little enigmatical—We are left to guess at the Meaning. If it is a secret Hope of any, as I suspect it is, that the Congress will advise to offensive Measures, they will be mistaken. I have had opportunities enough both public and private, to learn with Certainty, the decisive Sentiments of the Delegates and others, upon this Point. They will not at this session vote to raise Men or Money, or Arms or Ammunition. Their Opinions are fixed against Hostilities and Ruptures, except they should become absolutely necessary, and this Necessity they do not yet See. They dread the Thoughts of an Action because, it would make a Wound which could never be healed. It would fix and establish a Rancour, which would descend to the latest Generations. It would render all Hopes of a Reconciliation with Great Britain desperate. It would light up the Flames of War, perhaps through the whole Continent, which might rage for twenty year, and End, in the Subduction of America, as likely as in her Liberation.

In a Letter, which has been received here, in Several, indeed, the Thought is thrown out, of removing the Inhabitants out of Boston. This would be the grandest Movement, imaginable, if it is practicable. But how all their Effects can be removed—how 20,000 People can go out—where they can find Support, I know not. It has always been my opinion, that it was best for every Man Woman and Child, who had an Inclination to go, and could find a Place, to leave the Town. I removed out myself upon this Principle—altho a different Sentiment prevailed generally at that Time.

The Congress will this Day consider, the Case of Boston, and I will write you more particularly in the Evening.<sup>1</sup>

Octr. 9th. Mr Revere will give you all the News. I have this Day been to a Romish Chappell. My Imagination is so full of holy Water, Crossings, Bowings, Kneelings and Genuflections, Images, Paintings, Crucifixes, Velvet, Gold, but above all, the Musick. I am amazed that Luther and Calvin, were ever able to break the Charm and dissolve the Spell. Adieu

John Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> In reaction to a letter from the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Congress voted to support Boston and protest General Gage's fortification of the city, while urging restraint upon the people of Massachusetts. *JCC*, 1:55–62.

## John Adams' Draft Letter to Thomas Gage

Sir

[October 7–8, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

The Delegates from the Several Provinces in North America, now assembled in Congress, beg Leave to address your Excellency upon Subjects of very great Importance, to your own Character to your own Happiness and Peace of Mind, as well to his Majestys Service, and to the Welfare of the Province over which you preside, and of all North America, perhaps of the whole British Empire.

Your Situation sir is very important, it is extremely critical. A Rupture between the Troops under your Command and the Inhabitants of the Province over which you preside, would produce Consequences of the most Serious Nature.—A Wound which could never be healed! It would establish Animosities which no Time could eradicate.

The Province of the Massachusetts Bay are by your own Acknowledgment, generally engaged in a Refusal to comply with the Act of Parliament for altering their Government. We can assure you sir, that this Refusal is agreeable to the sentiments of this whole Continent, and that the People ought and will be Supported in it, by the united Voice and Efforts of America.

We therefore intreat you sir, to desist from the further Fortifications of the Town, that the Jealousies and Apprehensions of the People, may be quieted and that they may not be driven to so desperate a step as that of quitting the Town and throwing themselves on the Charity of their Friends & Neighbours.

*(We assure you Sir that whatever may be the opinion or Advice of your present Council the opposition of the people of the Town of Boston & Province of the Massachusetts Bay is [not]<sup>2</sup> a faction.)*

MS (MHi). In the hand of John Adams. Undated, but bears the heading "To General Gage."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Samuel Adams' draft letter to Gage of this date. Although several passages in the two documents are nearly identical, no other evidence has been found to indicate that John Adams played a direct role in formulating Congress' remonstrance to Gage.

<sup>2</sup> Adams wrote and deleted several words in this space before completing the sentence.

## Samuel Adams' Draft Letter to Thomas Gage

Sir

[October 7–8, 1774]

The Delegates from his Majestys several Colonies of New Hampshire [ ]<sup>1</sup> assembled in general Congress in the City of Philadelphia take the Liberty of addressing you upon Subjects of the last

Importance, to your own Character, Happiness and Peace of Mind to his Majestys Service to the Wellfare of that Province over which you preside and of all North America, and, perhaps, of the whole British Empire.

The Act of the British Parliament for shutting up the Harbour of Boston is universally deemd to be unjust and cruel; and the World now sees with Astonishment & Indignation the Distress which the Inhabitants of that loyal though devoted Town are suffering under the most rigid Execution of it.

There are two other Acts passed in the present Session of Parliament, the one for regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and the other entitled an Act for the more impartial Administration of Justice in the same Province; the former of these Acts was made with the professed Purpose of materially altering the Charter of that Province granted by his Majesties Royal Predecessors King William & Queen Mary for themselves their Heirs &c forever; and both or either of them if put into Execution will shake the Foundations of that free & happy Constitution which is the Birthright of the English Subjects, and totally destroy the inestimable Blessing of Security in Life Liberty and Property.

By your own Acknowledgment, the refusal of the People to yield obedience to these Acts is far from being confin'd to a Faction in the Town of Boston: It is general through the province. And we do now assure your Excellency, that this Refusal is vindicable, in the opinion of this Congress, by the Laws of Reason and Self preservation; and the People ought to be and will be supported in it by the united Voice and Efforts of all America.

We are fully convinced that the Town of Boston and Province of the Massachusetts Bay are suffering in the righteous Cause of America, while they are nobly exerting themselves in the most spirited opposition to those oppressive Acts of Parliament and Measures of Administration which are calculated to annihilate our most sacred & invalueable Rights.

It is with the deepest Concern that we observe, that while this Congress are deliberating on the most effectual Measures for the Restoration of American Liberty and a happy Harmony between the Colonies and the parent State, so essentially necessary to both, your Excellency is erecting Fortifications round the Town of Boston, whereby well grounded Jealousies are excited in the Minds of his Majesties faithful Subjects and apprehensions that all Communication between that Town & the Country will be cut off, or that this Freedom will be enjoyed at the Will of an Army.

Moreover we would express to your Excellency the just Resentment which we feel at the Indignities offered to our worthy fellow Citizens in Boston and the frequent Violations of private property by



the Soldiers under your Command. These Enormities committed by a Standing Army, in our opinion, unlawfully posted there in a time of Peace, are irritating in the greatest Degree, and if not remedied will endanger the involving all America in the Horrors of a civil War! Your Situation Sir is extremely critical. A rupture between the Inhabitants of the Province over which you preside and the Troops under your Command would produce Consequences of the most serious Nature: A Wound which would never be heald! It would probably establish Animosities between Great Britain & the Colonies which time would never eradicate! In order therefore to quiet the Minds & remove the Jealousies of the people, that they may not be driven to such a State of Desparation as to quit the Town & fly for Shelter to their Friends & Countrymen, we intreat you from the Assurance we have of the peaceable Disposition of the Inhabitants to desist from further fortifications of the Town, and to give orders that a free & safe Communication between them & the Country may be restored & continued.

MS (NN). In the hand of Samuel Adams and endorsed by Adams: "This was offered to the Committee of Congress to be reported as a Remonstrance to Genl. Gage."

<sup>1</sup>Nearly two lines left blank for insertion of the other colonies. On October 6, Congress received a letter from the Boston Committee of Correspondence concerning Gage's fortification of Boston. On the seventh, a committee composed of Thomas Lynch, Samuel Adams, and Edmund Pendleton was appointed to prepare a letter to Gage, which according to Secretary Thomson's journal was reported, amended, and adopted on the 10th. *JCC*, 1:55-60. But Samuel Ward noted in his diary that on October 8 the committee reported a draft which was recommitted, and it seems likely that this Samuel Adams draft formed the basis for the letter first reported by the committee. Adams' "Remonstrance," as he termed it, is harshly phrased and makes little attempt to soften the asperity of his charges. From the tone of his letter, it seems clear that the purpose of recommitting the draft reported to Congress was to substitute a milder letter reflecting a conciliatory posture more in keeping with the general mood of Congress. It is possible that the John Adams draft letter of October 7-8 was penned at this time for the purpose of reaching a compromise acceptable to the majority of the delegates. The letter finally adopted by Congress is printed in the *Journals* with the proceedings for the 11th, *JCC*, 1:60-61. The document received by Gage, in the hand of Charles Thomson and signed by Peyton Randolph, is in the Gage Papers, MiU-C.

## Richard Henry Lee's Motion for Quitting the Town of Boston

[October 7-8? 1774]

The Congress are of opinion that it is inconsistent with the honor and safety of a free people to live within the Controul and exposed to the injuries of a Military force not under government of the Civil

Power, and as General Gage has thought proper to take possession of the Town of Boston with an armed force, and is converting that once free City into a Military Garrison The Congress advise from every motive of honor safety and wisdom that the Free Citizens of Boston no longer expose themselves to the dangerous consequences of these Military Manouvres, but quit their Town and find a safe asylum among their hospitable Countrymen, who we doubt not will on this trying occasion, display that virtuous humanity which may be so deservedly exercised<sup>1</sup> towards their brave oppressed Fellow Citizens. And again we earnestly recommend it to all British America that they do from time to time plentifully supply these their distressed and diserving Countrymen.<sup>2</sup>

MS (ViU). In the hand of Richard Henry Lee, and endorsed by Lee: "Motion for Quitting Town of Boston."

<sup>1</sup> Lee wrote "extended" over the word "exercised" but did not line out the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Ford states that this motion was rejected but offers no documentation for the statement. *JCC*, 1:59n.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 7, 1774]

7th. Met, appointed a Comee. to write to Genl. Gage & the Come. of Correspondence. Consider'd the Instructions to be given the Comee.

MS (RHi).

## Samuel Ward to Henry Marchant

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 7th Octr. 1774

A Resolution adopted at the Opening of the Congress to let nothing transpire without particular Permission prevented my earlier writing to You<sup>1</sup> and some other Friends, and as the same Resolution is still in being I can only say that the Congress opened with the celebrated Number of 45 which hath since been augmented to 54 most of whose Names You have seen in the Papers.

Committees for a State of Rights, Greivances and Ways & Means of Redress were immediately appointed; the unanimous Resolutions made upon the Resolves & Request for Advice from the County of Suffolk I doubt not gave You & all the Friends of Liberty the highest Pleasure.<sup>2</sup> The Non Importation & Non Consumption Agree-

ments must have a most happy Tendency. The Non Exportation Agreement had it taken Place earlier would have been in my Opinion of the last Importance but the Instructions of some Colonies would not admit it. I imagine however it will have a good Effect as it stands.

I did expect that an immediate Nonexportation of Flaxseed & some few other Commodities would have taken Place but rather think it will not be adopted at present.

We have many very important Subjects before Us some almost ready to burst into Life others but just in Embrio, the different Forms of Government in the several Colonies, different Educations, Books, & Company naturally occasion the viewing political Objects in a light not always the same but We are very happy in this that the common Good of our Country seems to be the general Aim & upon a proper Discussion of a Subject We are generally very unanimous.

An Express this Day arrived from Boston with an Acct. of the distressed & dangerous Situation in which the Town & Province now are and requesting our Advise. Comee's. have been appointed to prepare a Letter to Genl. Gage to acquaint him that Boston is considered as suffering in the common Cause supported by all America and desiring him to surcease all further Fortifications & remove every Obstruction to a free Communication between the Town and Country and to write to the Comee. of Correspondence<sup>3</sup> the Sentiments of the Congress upon their present Situation.<sup>4</sup>

RC (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Henry Marchant (1741–96), Rhode Island jurist and delegate to Congress, 1777–79, was Ward's nephew and also a member of his colony's Committee of Correspondence. *DAB*. Although the *DAB* describes Marchant's stepmother as one of Ward's daughters, the genealogist of the Ward family has identified her as Ward's sister Isabel (1719–1808). Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg), pp. 212–14.

<sup>2</sup> On September 17 Congress ordered the publication of both the Suffolk Resolves and some supporting congressional resolutions. See the September 17 letters of Peyton Randolph to James Warren, and Charles Thomson to the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

<sup>3</sup> The journals record that the express from Boston arrived on October 6. Ward probably also erred in hinting that two committees were appointed "to prepare a Letter to genl. Gage" and "to write to the Comee. of Correspondence." In his diary entries of October 7 and 8 he mentions only one committee. Congress did appoint a special committee of three on the seventh to draft a letter of remonstrance to Gage, and on the 11th it instructed Peyton Randolph to inform the Boston Committee of Correspondence of Congress' actions; but in all this there is no hint in the journals of the existence of a special committee to write to the Boston committee. *JCC*, 1:55–62.

<sup>4</sup> For the remainder of this letter see Ward to Marchant, October 10, 1774.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[October 8, 1774]

Dind Mr. George Clymer. Congress adjourned this day to 6 oClock P.M. then met & adjo[ur]ned.

MS (MHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 8, 1774]

8th. Met. The Comee. reported a Letter to the Genl.<sup>1</sup> which was recommitted & reported again at 6 o'Clock. Not being a Quorum from some Colonies we adjourned.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Gen. Thomas Gage.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sunday [October 9]

Went to hear Dr. Allison, an Aged Gentleman. It was Sacrament Day and he gave us a sacramental Discourse. This Dr. Allison is a Man of Abilities and Worth, but I hear no Preachers here like ours in Boston, excepting Mr. Duchè. Coombs indeed is a good Speaker, but not an original, but a Copy of Duchè.

The Multiplicity of Business and Ceremonies, and Company that we are perpetually engaged in, prevents my Writing to my Friends in Mass. as I ought, and prevents my recording many Material Things in my Journal.

Phyladelphia with all its Trade, and Wealth, and Regularity is not Boston. The Morals of our People are much better, their Manners are more polite, and agreeable—they are purer English. Our Language is better, our Persons are handsomer, our Spirit is greater, our Laws are wiser, our Religion is superiour, our Education is better. We exceed them in every Thing, but in a Markett, and in charitable public foundations.

Went in the Afternoon to the Romish Chappell<sup>1</sup> and heard a good discourse upon the Duty of Parents to their Children, founded in Justice and Charity. The Scenery and the Musick is so callculated to take in Mankind that I wonder, the Reformation ever succeeded. The Paintings, the Bells, the Candles, the Gold and Silver. Our Sa-



viour on the Cross, over the Altar, at full Length, and all his Wounds a bleeding. The Chanting is exquisitely soft and sweet.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:149–50.

<sup>1</sup>George Washington may have accompanied Adams on this visit. He noted in his diary for this day: "Went to the Presbeterian Meeting in the forenoon and Romish Church in the afternoon." Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick) , 2:167.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia Octr. 9. 1774

I am wearied to Death with the Life I lead. The Business of the Congress is tedious, beyond Expression. This Assembly is like no other that ever existed. Every Man in it is a great Man—an orator, a Critick, a statesman, and therefore every Man upon every Question must shew his oratory, his criticism and his Political Abilities.

The Consequence of this is, that Business is drawn and spun out to an inmeasurable Length. I believe if it was moved and seconded that We should come to a Resolution that Three and two make five We should be entertained with Logick and Rhetorick, Law, History, Politicks and Mathematicks, concerning the Subject for two whole Days, and then We should pass the Resolution unanimously in the Affirmative.

The perpetual Round of feasting too, which we are obliged to submit to, make the Pilgrimage more tedious to me.

This Day I went to Dr. Allisons Meeting in the Forenoon and heard the Dr.—a good Discourse upon the Lords Supper. This is a Presbyterian Meeting. I confess I am not fond of the Presbyterian Meetings in this Town. I had rather go to Church. We have better Sermons, better Prayers, better Speakers, softer, sweeter Musick, and genteeler Company. And I must confess, that the Episcopal Church is quite as agreeable to my Taste as the Presbyterian. They are both Slaves to the Domination of the Priesthood. I like the Congregational Way best—next to that the Independent.

This afternoon, led by Curiosity and good Company I strolled away to Mother Church, or rather Grandmother Church, I mean the Romish Chappell. Heard a good, short, moral Essay upon the Duty of Parents to their Children, founded in Justice and Charity, to take care of their Interests temporal and spiritual. This Afternoons Entertainment was to me, most awfull and affecting. The poor Wretches, fingering their Beads, chanting Latin, not a Word of which they understood, their Pater Nosters and Ave Maria's. Their holy Water—their Crossing themselves perpetually—their Bowing to the Name of Jesus, wherever they hear it—their Bowings, and Kneelings, and Genuflections before the Altar. The Dress of the Priest was rich with

Lace—his Pulpit was Velvet and Gold. The Altar Piece was very rich—little Images and Crucifixes about—Wax Candles lighted up. But how shall I describe the Picture of our Saviour in a Frame of Marble over the Altar at full Length upon the Cross, in the Agonies, and the Blood dropping and streaming from his Wounds.

The Musick consisting of an organ, and a Choir of singers, went all the Afternoon, excepting sermon Time, and the Assembly chanted—most sweetly and exquisitely.

Here is every Thing which can lay hold of the Eye, Ear, and Imagination. Every Thing which can charm and bewitch the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell.

Adieu.

John Adams

RC (MHi) : Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:166-67.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

[October 9, 1774]

I wrote you per James, which I fancy you are this Moment Sunday 10 oClock AM receiving. On seeing him return alone You will be doubtless apprehensive of bad News, but on opening my Letters will be convinced of the Contrary. Just the reverse happened to me yesterday, while in Congress. Our Servant call'd on Me with a Large Letter by the post from J. Webb. I opened it in haste, and with pleasure saw a long Letter inclosed, wrote in Your hand, my heart beat with Joy at the sight, and before I had Time to unfold the Cover suggested to Me that You were Now greatly recover'd, if not, quite well, or You could not write so much, & so well. Mr. Mitchel, and You write so nearly alike that It is not easy to distinguish—in a Word it was a Narration of his Tour to the Northward, agreeable enough at any other Time & not disagreeable in itself then, but in the disappointment it occasioned. I left home, the 22d of last August, it is now the 9th of October—but my Letter by Jemmy will shew You the Situation of my mind, no way releived I can assure You, from its anxiety, by the increasing that, which first Occasioned it—A Total Silence in you, and the Family & consequently an absolute uncertainty as to the State of your Health. I have nothing New to write worth sending this distance. The proceedings of the Congress are carried on slow and I fear will detain Us here through this Month. My kind & affectionate Regards to Hannah, Sally & Jesse &c &c shall add to this if Time & Matter for Writing offer. I am My Dear wishing You Health and felicity. Your Affectionate Husband      Silas Deane

RC (CtHi) .

## George Washington to Robert Mackenzie

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 9th October 1774

Your letter on the 13th ulto.,<sup>1</sup> from Boston, gave me pleasure, as I learnt thereby that you were well, and might be expected at Mount Vernon in your way to or from James river, in the course of the winter.

When I have said this, permit me with the freedom of a friend, (for you know I always esteemed you) to express my sorry at Fortune's placing you in a service, that must fix curses to [*the*] latest posterity upon the diabolical contrivers; and, if success (which by the by is impossible) accompanies it, execrations upon all those who have been instrumental in the execution.

I do not mean by this to insinuate that an officer is not to discharge his duty, even when chance, not choice, has placed him in a disagreeable situation; but I conceive, when you condemn the conduct of the Massachusetts People, you reason from effects, not causes; otherwise you would not wonder at a people who are every day receiving fresh proofs of a Systematic exertion of an arbitrary power, deeply planned to overturn the Laws & Constitution of their Country, & to violate the most essential & valuable rights of mankind, being irritated, & with difficulty restrained from acts of the greatest violence and intemperance. For my own part, I confess to you candidly, that I view things in a very different point of light to the one in which you seem to consider them; and though you are led to believe, by venal men (for such I must take the liberty of calling those new fangled Counsellors which fly to & surround you, & all others, who, for honorary or pecuniary gratifications will lend their aid to overturn the Constitution, & introduce a system of arbitrary Government) altho' you are taught, I say, by discoursing with such men, to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independency & what not; give me leave, my good friend, to tell you, that you are abused—grossly abused; and this I advance with a degree of confidence, & boldness which may claim your belief; having better opportunities of knowing the real sentiments of the people you are among, from the Leaders of them, in opposition to the present measures of Administration, than you have from those whose business it is not to disclose truth, but to misrepresent facts in order to justify as much as possible to the world, their own conduct; for give me leave to add, & I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that Government, or any other upon this Continent, separately, or collectively, to set up for Independency; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights & privileges which are es-

sential to the happiness of every free State, and without which, Life, Liberty & property are rendered totally insecure.

These Sir, being certain consequences which must naturally result from the late acts of Parliament relative to America in general, & the Government of Massachusetts Bay in particular, is it to be wonder'd at, I repeat, that Men who wish to avert the impending blow, should attempt to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence, if it cannot be diverted? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative; & give me leave to add, as my opinion, that more blood will be spilt on this occasion (if the Ministry are determined to push matters to extremity) than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America; and such a vital wound given to the peace of this great Country, as time itself cannot cure or eradicate the remembrance of.

But I have done. I was involuntarily led into a short discussion of this subject by your remarks on the conduct of the Boston People; & your opinion of their wishes to set up for independency. I am as well satisfied, as I can be of my existence, that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace & tranquility, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, & the horrors of civil discord prevented.

I am very glad to hear that my friend Stewart was well when you left London; I have not had a letter from him these five years, nor heard of him, I think, for two. I wish you had mentioned his employment. Poor Mercer! I often hear from him; much cause has he, I fear, to lament his having fallen into the accursed state of attendance & dependance. I remain with very great esteem, Dr. Sir, Your most Obedt. Servt.

G. Washington

LB (DLC) . Addressed: "To Capt. Robert McKenzie."

<sup>1</sup>Mackenzie's letter is in the Washington Papers, DLC, and is printed in Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers; Published by the Society of the Colonial Dames of America*, 5 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898-1902), 5:49-50. Mackenzie, a captain in Washington's Virginia regiment during the French and Indian War, had obtained a lieutenant's commission in the Forty-third Regiment of Foot, which was among the British units stationed at Boston.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Monday. Octr. 10th.

The Deliberations of the Congress, are spun out to an immeasurable Length. There is so much Wit, Sense, Learning, Acuteness, Subtily, Eloquence, &c. among fifty Gentlemen, each of whom has been



habituated to lead and guide in his own Province, that an immensity of Time, is spent unnecessarily.

Johnson of Maryland has a clear and a cool Head, an extensive Knowledge of Trade, as well as Law. He is a deliberating Man, but not a shining orator—His Passions and Imagination dont appear enough for an orator. His Reason and Penetration appear, but not his Rhetoric.

Galloway, Duane, and Johnson, are sensible and learned but cold Speakers. Lee, Henry, and Hooper [are]<sup>1</sup> the orators. Paca is a deliberater too. Chase speaks warmly. Mifflin is a sprightly and spirited Speaker. John Rutledge dont exceed in Learning or oratory, tho he is a rapid Speaker. Young Edward Rutledge is young, and zealous—a little unsteady, and injudicious, but very unnatural and affected as a Speaker. Dyer and Sherman speak often and long, but very heavily and clumsily.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:150.

<sup>1</sup> Adams wrote "and."

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia Octo. 10th 1774

We arrived in this City the 1st of Septr. last, and the Delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, and New York not being come, The Congress was not formed untill the 5th when the Honle. Peyton Randolph Esqr. was unanimously chosen President, and Charles Thompson Esqr. Secretary, a List of the Members We inclose. The mode of Voting in this Congress was First resolved upon, which was that each Colony should have one Voice, but as this was objected To as unequall, an Entry was made on the Journals To prevent its being drawn into precedent in future. Committees were then appointed to state American Rights, and greivances; And of the various Acts of the British Parliament which affect the Trade and Manufactures of these Colonies, on these Subjects The Committees Spent several Days, when The Congress judg'd it necessary, previous to compleating & resolving on these Subjects, to take under Consideration, That of Ways and Means for redress. On the 16th arrived an Express from Boston with Letters to The Delegates and the Suffolk Resolves. These were laid before the Congress and were highly approved of & applauded, as You will see, by the inclosed Paper of the 19th, in which the proceedings of the Congress, thereon, is published at large, by their Order.<sup>2</sup> A general Nonimportation of British Goods & Manufactures or of any Goods from thence, appearing to the Congress one of the means of redress in our power, and which

might probably be adopted, to prevent future difficulties and altercations on this Subject among those who might Now, or for sometime past, had been sending Orders for Goods, The Congress Unanimously came into the inclosed Resolution on the 22d and the same was ordered to be published immediately.<sup>3</sup> Since this a Nonimportation and Non Consumption of Goods, &c from Great Brittain & Ireland from & after the first of December next, has been Unanimously resolved on,<sup>4</sup> but to carry so important a resolution into effect, it is necessary, that every possible precaution should Now be taken, on the one hand to prevent wicked, & desperate Men, from breaking through, & defeating it, either by Fraud, or Force, and on the other to remove as farr as possible every Temptation to, or Necessity for the Violation thereof. For this a Committee, are appointed, who not having as yet compleated their Report, nothing is published particularly on this Subject, more than what, We now are at Liberty, in general to relate.

We have the pleasure of finding the whole Congress, & through them the whole Continent of the same Sentiment, & opinion, of the late proceedings & Acts of the British Parliament, but at the same time confess Our anxiety for greater dispatch of the Business before Us, than it is in Our power, or perhaps in the Nature of the Subject, to effect. An Assembly like this, though it consists, of less than Sixty Members, yet coming from remote Colonies, each of which, has some modes, of transacting public Business, peculiar to itself some particular provincial rights and Interests to guard, & secure, must take some Time, to become so acquainted with each ones situations & connections, as to be able to give an united assent, to the ways & means proposed for effecting, what all are ardently desirous of. In this View Our president, Though a Gentleman of great Worth, & one who fills & supports the Dignity of his Station to Universal acceptance, yet cannot urge Forward matters to an issue with that dispatch, which he might in a different Assembly. Nor considering the great importance of something more than a Majority, an Unanimity would it be safe and prudent—Unanimity being in Our View of the last importance, every one must be heard, even on those points, or Subjects which are in themselves not of the last importance And indeed it often happens that what is of little or No Consequence to one Colony, is of the last To another. We have thus hinted to Your Honor Our general Situation, which hope will Acct. For Our being delayed here beyond the Time which either the Colony or We ourselves expected.

Though Our private Concerns, & Connections, as well as the public expectation, & Interest of the Colony urge Us, to make all possible dispatch, Yet as we find it would not only be of dangerous Consequence, but perhaps impracticable, to attempt pushing Matters, to a decision Faster, than they now come to it in the Course they are,

We Find it most prudent patiently to wait the issue. We shall be able to write You more particularly, in a few Days but could not omit this Opportunity of writing Thus farr, on the subject of Our delegation here.

We take Liberty to inclose the Copy of Lord Dunmore's proclamation on which shall only say it appears in some parts of it very extraordinary, and would occasion much greater Speculations here than it does were it not that few or None save the Proprietors consider themselves interested in the Controversy, & the whole Attention of the public is taken up on more important Subjects.<sup>5</sup> Laurel Hill is about Forty Miles on this Side *Fort Duquesne* alias Fort Pitt and is a range of Mountains running Northerly nearly in a Line with the West Boundary of the province of Maryland, and Cuts off from that province, one whole County, lately erected by the Name of Westmoreland. His Lordship is now in those parts near the Ohio with an Army of Fifteen Hundred Virginians, reducing the Indian Tribes to Subjection or driving them off the Land. We cannot be positive as To The Time of Our Return, but hope to be at New Haven before the rising of the Assembly, and may probably be able to write with greater certainty in Our Next. We are with the greatest respect Your Honors most Obedt. & most Humble. Servts.

Elipht Dyer

Roger Sherman

Silas Deane

[P.S.] Since Writing the above We see the Resolutions of the Congress respecting Suffolk County &c are printed in the Connct. papers therefore judge it Unnecessary to inclose them.

RC (Ct) . Written by Deane and signed by Dyer, Sherman, and Deane.

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. (1710–85), Lebanon, Conn., merchant and political leader, was governor of Connecticut 1769–84. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Resolutions of September 17, 1774, were published in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or, the General Advertiser*, September 19, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 1:41.

<sup>4</sup> Adopted Tuesday, September 27, 1774. *JCC*, 1:43.

<sup>5</sup> Dunmore's proclamation, issued September 17, 1774, reasserted Virginia's jurisdictional claim over Fort Pitt and the country west of Laurel Hill and prohibited execution of the acts of Pennsylvania in this territory. For extracts from this proclamation and a discussion of Virginia's claims to lands in western Pennsylvania, see Robert H. Foster, "The Pennsylvania and Virginia Controversy," *Pa. Archives*, 3d ser. 3:493–95.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 10, 1774]

10th. Met & gave Instructions to the Comee. & approved a Letter to Gage.

MS (RHi).

## Samuel Ward to Henry Marchant

[October 10, 1774]

Octr. 10th. The Commees. reported the Draughts of the Letters which were not approved the next Day.<sup>1</sup> That to the Genl. was adopted and as a foundation for the Answer to the Comee. which the President was desired to write. It was resolved that if the provincial Congress should think it absolutely necessary for the People of Boston to move out of the Town that all America ought to make them Satisfaction and also that the Congress advised them to submit to a Suspension of the Administration of Justice where it could not be peaceably & legally had under the Rules of their present Charter. Neither Time nor Paper will allow any thing more than [this.] I am  
Your most affectionately  
Sam Ward

[P.S.] It was unanimously resolved that all Persons who would take any Place under the new Acts of Parliament for altering the Constitution deserved the abhorrence of all good Men & were to be considered as Enemies to their Country.

RC (RHi). A continuation of Ward to Marchant, October 7, 1774.

<sup>1</sup>That is, October 8. See Ward to Marchant, October 7; and Samuel Ward's Diary, October 8, 1774. It should be pointed out, however, that neither of the draft letters Ward goes on to allude to here is mentioned in the journals. *JCC*, 1:58.

## Samuel Ward to Mary Ward?

My dearest

Philadelphia Octr. 10th. 1774

Your Letter of 28th of last Month was very acceptable, your Observations relative to the Congress and the Town of Boston are just and with you I fear the Dispute must [*be*] decided by the Sword.

The Acct. which You give me of the Pleasure you enjoy in your Aunts & Brother make my Absence less disagreeable to me, the manner in which You speak of your Health & the Idea of its being entirely restored are vastly pleasing for though I have long been trying to view You & every Thing else dearest to Me through the Medium



of Religion [&] Philosophy my fond Heart is sufficiently attached yet. My dearest Kitty you tell Me is unwell yet it is undoubtedly for her Good. Tell her to remember that the supreme Parent of the Universe is a Being of infinite Goodness & Mercy that Judgment is his strange Work and that He is Love & delights in the Communication of Happiness. Tell her to [Pray] to him to pour out her whole Soul before him not [ . . . ] earnest Desire for his divine Direction & Blessing [ . . . ] a firm Confidence in him, let her remember that whatsoever We ask in Faith We shall receive (if it be best for Us) and surely to have our Souls filled with the Knowledge & Love of God with ardent Desires to see & do his Will and such a fixed Determination chearfully to follow him as may enable Us to present our Bodies living Sacrifices holy & acceptable unto God must be at all Times fit & proper for Us. These are the great Objects which her Soul I doubt not is fixed upon, if They were in my Power she knows I should bestow them in a Moment. How much more may She expect every Thing from a Parent whose Goodness endureth for ever & as much exceeds mine as the Light of the meridian Sun does that of the poorest Candle & much more.

We had an Express from Boston giving an Acct. of the distressed & dangerous Situation of the Town & Province. We have wrote to Genl. Gage acquainting him with our Sentiments & desiring him to surcease all further Fortifications & restore a free & uninterrupted Communication between the Town & Country. We have also wrote to the Comee. of Correspondence.

Your Prayers for your native Country & her cruel Parent your Reflections upon the Endearment which Absence creates in Us & your Reflection upon your blessed Sisters & conclusion that our Evening may be equally serene gave me the highest Pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

Tell Debby that Israel came well until I got within fifteen Miles of New York & there I left her. How the Slut<sup>2</sup> came to [market?] following I cant tell. I never mis[sed?]<sup>3</sup>

It is Time the young Stock was on the Beach. I would drive them by Ichabods. The black bull should be fatted the other two year old you may fat or not as is most convenient. The Calves should be in yard after feed with fat Cattle. The Cows should have good Feed or be fed with Stocks. The Sheep should have the Range of the fattening Pasture or the other farm.

RC (RH<sub>i</sub>). RC is unsigned, unaddressed, and torn along the edges, with consequent loss of several key words and phrases.

<sup>1</sup> Although the evidence is inconclusive, it appears that Ward wrote this letter to his daughter Mary (1754–1832). It is virtually certain that he was addressing himself to one of his five surviving daughters, two of whom—Catharine (“Kitty”) and Deborah—are mentioned in the text, and a third—Elizabeth—was, at the age of seven, an unlikely recipient. Of the remainder—Mary and Anna—Ward was

probably writing to the former, since it was not unusual for him to entrust her with chores of the sort mentioned at the end of this letter. On this last point see Samuel Ward to Mary Ward, October 19, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Used here in the sense of "A troublesome or awkward creature." *OED*.

<sup>3</sup> MS torn; remainder of sentence illegible.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Tuesday Octr. 11.

Dined with Mr. McKean in Markett Street, with Mr. Reed, Rodney, Chace, Johnson, Paca, Dr. Morgan, Mr. R. Penn, &c.

Spent the Evening with Mr. Henry at his Lodgings consulting about a Petition to the King.

Henry said he had no public Education. At fifteen he read Virgill and Livy, and has not looked into a Latin Book since. His father left him at that Age, and he has been struggling thro Life ever since. He has high Notions. Talks about exalted Minds, &c. He has a horrid Opinion of Galloway, Jay, and the Rutledges. Their System he says would ruin the Cause of America. He is very impatient to see such Fellows, and not be at Liberty to describe them in their true Colours.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:151.

## James Duane to John Tabor Kempe

Dear Sir.

Philadelphia 11t. Octobr. 1774

This Trade of Patriotism but ill agrees with the profession of a practising Lawyer. I have lost my Clients the Benefit of a Circuit and now despair of doing any thing the ensuing Term; and I shoud be most unhappy did I not rely securely on the Delicacy and Candour of my Brethren who I flatter myself will take no Advantage of an absence unavoidable and occasiond I hope by virtuous Motives. What we have done or shall do at this American Council we are not [*at*] Liberty to communicate; but a few weeks will disclose all to publick View. This perhaps you knew before and yet it is all the Inteligence I can give you.<sup>1</sup>

I am uneasy about an Action in which I am Consel for James De Peyster at the Side of Tim. Hart. No plea is filed, and I am suspicious the plantif may take Advantage of Mr Jay's & my absence. May I be permitt'd to recommend it to you & our Friend S. Jones Care to plead and try it for us if unavoidable. Mr Jay has made a draft of the plea which lies in my office. I came so late from Albany

and was so soon hurried away that I had no time to read it. Mr De Peyster will inform you of his Case which turns upon a single and in my opinion on a very plain point. I do not know of any other Cause in which any advantage will be attempted to be taken of my absence—perhaps not in this; but least that should be the Case be kind enough to order my Clerks to send you all Notic's that may be served and do the best you can for me. I ask this without pain because I feel that I should act the same friendly part to you with the utmost cheerfulness.

This is a lying World. Would you believe that a Report prevails that you have assured the Ministry that if they will furnish you with £100000 you will undertake To buy off all the Patriots in our Province? I have treated it with the contempt it deserves. You are also the author of the Querist [article?] &c<sup>2</sup> and in short a most busy Agent for the ministry. Mr. Watts is charged with advising severe Measures against America and Doctr Cooper with being the most active of all the American Tories. I know both you and they will be quite indifferant about these little Slanders & that they will affect you much less than they have done your Advocate And affectionate humb Sert  
Jas. Duane

[P.S.] Midnight; bad Eyes & a bad pen. Lege si possis.

RC (Sol Feinstone, Washington Crossing, Pa., 1974) .

<sup>1</sup>John Tabor Kempe (1735–91), last royal attorney general of New York, 1759–83, remained loyal to the king after the outbreak of war and did not leave New York for England until after the conclusion of hostilities. Catherine Snell Crary, "The American Dream: John Tabor Kempe's Rise from Poverty to Riches," *WMQ*, 14 (1957) : 176–95.

<sup>2</sup>Doubtless a reference to *The American Querist: or, Some Questions Proposed Relative to the Present Disputes between Great-Britain and Her American Colonies* (New York: James Rivington, 1774) . This pamphlet, once attributed to Myles Cooper 1737–85), president of King's College from 1763 to 1775, is now considered the work of Thomas Bradbury Chandler (1726–90), pastor of St. John's Church in Elizabethtown, N.J. T.R. Adams, *American Independence*, p. 82; *DAB*.

## Richard Henry Lee's Draft Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland

[October 11–18? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

To the People of Great Britain and Ireland

We The Delegates from the english Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina assembled in general Con-

gress at Philadelphia, find with inexpressible concern that his Majesties faithful and loyal Subjects of North America are driven by the hard necessity of their Situation to adopt Measures from which injury may be derived to many of their fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. When the experience of a Century and an half evinces that from the first settlement of these Colonies, their Inhabitants have been most remarkable for steady loyalty, and for an uniform zealous attachment to the interests and commercial Success of the mother Country a candid mind will find no difficulty in believing what is certainly true, that their conduct now results solely from the overruling principles of self preservation, which demands the Protection of their Liberty, the Security of their lives and property; against a lately adopted System of plantation government, repugnant to the english constitution, the faith of Charters, and constant Usage from the first settlement of englishmen in North America: Against which System the Assemblies of the different Colonies have by humble and dutiful petitions frequently but in vain supplicated for relief.

The possession of Liberty and the security of property being of such great and evident importance, so essentially necessary for human happiness, so earnestly contended for and so long enjoyed by Britain from whence we sprung; it is not to be wondered that our Ancestors before they would hazard their lives and venture their private fortunes to explore and settle this distant country, obtained royal charters, securing and confirming to them and their Posterity forever, all the Franchises privileges and immunities of the free people of England they left behind them. It is most certain that nothing but an undeviating attention to their charter rights and a firm reliance on the honor and Justice of the mother country could have sustained them unaided, unassisted as they were, in their slow and perilous advances to settlement through the savage Wilderness. But the industry of human nature being invincible when led by Liberty and a conscious Security of Property, the first Settlers having with fortitude and perseverance surmounted the greatest Difficulties, their Posterity, with the aid of emigrants, at length furnish the mother country an inexhaustible fund of materials for commerce with an almost unlimited demand for british manufactures, and consequently produced employment for several hundred sail of Ships and many thousand Seamen. It is well known how greatly the american Trade has increased the value of Lands in Britain, and what multitudes of People are entirely supported by the american Consumption of british Merchandize. Such immense advantages being derived from the enterprising and successful adventure of our Ancestors, how well we their descendants are entitled to a peaceable Possession of those just rights originally stipulated for by them and to them granted by former Princes, we leave to the determination of all reasonable men.



Soon after the close of the last war, all british America was stricken with amazement and concern, to find the Ministry had adopted a plan for taking the Property of the Colonists from them without the consent of their Representatives, under the Pretence of raising a revenue in America for the purposes of defending and protecting the Colonies, and for supporting the Government and Administration of Justice here, with the further plausible reason of reimbursing Great Britain a part of the Expence incurred by defending the Colonies in the last war. To inforce this unconstitutional and unjust System of Taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our british Ancestors had carefully erected against Arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America;<sup>2</sup> and a variety of Acts of Parliament have been passed depriving the american Subjects of the invaluable Trial by Jury in Cases of Property, by enabling the Prosecutor to carry the defendent into far distant Courts of Admiralty. And as well by a late Statute in the [ ]<sup>3</sup> year of his present Majesty's reign as by an extension of an obsolete and tyrannic Act of King Henry the eighth, the same equitable method of Trial in cases that touch life is likewise taken away from the Colonists, who are to be carried in chains 3000 miles from their native country without evidence or Assistance of friends to be tried by a Jury of strangers. A standing Army with all its oppressive concomitants has been fixed without our consent.

The colony of Massachusetts Bay has had its antient charter subverted, thirty thousand People in the Town of Boston invested by military violence, and the horrid Crime of murder there encouraged by an Act authorising the removal of Offenders from the Justice of the Province and carryed to Great Britain, where distance and expence will surely prevent there being followed. Nor has the fury of administration stopped here, but determined to destroy both the religion & Liberty of british America they have procured an act of the last Session for extending the Province of Canada in such manner as to border on the western frontiers of all the Northern Colonies and there established a despotic Government and the roman catholic Religion, well knowing from the truth of history that this bloody and intollerant religion is at such fatal variance with Protestantism, that the inhabitants of that now greatly extended Country will thereby be well fitted both from civil & religious Principles to carry Slaughter and destruction into the free protestant Colonies whenever they shall be encouraged by a wicked Ministry to do so.<sup>4</sup>

It has been already observed that the ostensible reasons which have been assigned for this Attempt to destroy natural, constitutional, chartered, and antient rights, is for the purpose of raising a revenue to protect and defend the Colonies, to support Government and the Administration of Justice here and to reimburse Great Britain

the Expence of defending the Colonies in the last war. The two former reasons are sufficiently answered by stating the notorious facts, that from the first Settlement of the Colonies until the late War they sustained these Expences themselves and during the Continuance of that war having at their own charge supported [ ]<sup>5</sup> men, in doing which our late & present Sovereigns were so well satisfied, that we had consulted our Zeal for the common cause more than our Ability, that declarations from the throne to this effect abound on the Journals of Parliament, recommending the Justice of reimbursing us, and although Parliament did vote considerable sums for this purpose, yet it is a truth well known that these were chiefly applied to the further support of the war and in consequence did not operate to remove the Burthens created by these zealous and unrestrained Efforts against the common enemy. The royal recommendation to Parliament to reimburse The Colonies is founded upon this clear principle of substantial justice, that wealth, the sinews of war, is withheld from the Colonists by the British acts of Navigation which place them under a monopolized Trade, confining their purchase of european Commodities to the british markets and directs the Disposal of american Products through the same Channel, which in fact obliges the Colonists who consume british Merchandize to the amount of three millions annually, to pay the Taxes of all Manufacturers, Merchants and Seamen concerned in making, selling and transporting the same. In the Acts of Navigation therefore, and not by unconstitutional Taxation, a just and rational Man will search for & find the American assistance of the common cause.

Conclusive as this reasoning is yet the Colonists have given ample testimony in the two last wars of their Zeal and readiness to strain every Nerve in aid of the mother country, whenever called upon to do so in a constitutional manner by royal requisitions to their respective Colony Assemblies. When we contend against being taxed by the british parliament where we are not, and in which from our Distance we cannot be represented, we find ourselves warranted by reason, the english Constitution, by express compacts with our Princes, and by usage as old as the Settlement of these Colonies. We should certainly be Slaves if we were not exempted from such Taxation. Property must become too precarious for the Genius of a free people, which can be taken from them at the will of others who cannot know what Taxes such people can bear, or the easiest mode of raising them; and who are not under those restraints which are the greatest Security against abuse, the Danger of removal at a new election and being themselves affected by every tax imposed on the people. It cannot be necessary for us to prove to a british understanding that liberty is essential to human happiness, and that the safety of property is the security of liberty; every page of english his-

tory proves their generous, brave attachment to these principles, and we should be unworthy of the british Ancestry which is now our boast, if we did not esteem our constitutional liberty far above the possession of Life, disgraced with the Shackles of Slavery.

It grieves us to find that some malignant Spirits in Great Britain charge us with designing independency and wanting to dissolve all connection with the parent State. To such incendiaries, foes to the happiness of both countries, we reply that our whole history from the beginning, our uniform tenor of conduct is directly in the teeth of their assertion. And altho' we cannot help being misrepresented by the Agents of dispotism & avarice, we absolutely and solemnly disavow all thoughts of Disunion from Great Britain and we do profess and declare our steady loyalty to our sovereign Lord king George the third, and our ardent wish to promote the glory happiness and commercial interest of the Mother Country, which would be in eminent danger indeed, if three millions of people already in these Colonies by submitting to Slavery should render themselves fit Instruments to enslave the rest of their fellow subjects; a plan it would seem, in great favor with administration, who design the ruin of American Liberty by establishing Popery and Despotism in Canada, that thereby the people and property of all North America being at Ministerial devotion, may with great effect be applied to subdue that stubborn English Virtue, which heretofore contending for its darling Liberty, has proved the ruin of many wicked Ministers and evil Counsellors, too many of whom have of late years unhappily surrounded the Throne and vitiated the British councils, to the infinite distress and confusion of the whole Empire. Whenever Parliament is pleased to restore us to the state we were in at the conclusion of the last war, by repealing the Acts claiming a right to and establishing the means of raising a revenue in America: and those most oppressive Statutes against the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, because they have bravely contended for their own and American freedom; when the law shall be declared against endangering the life of every American by making him liable to transportation to England for Trial; when the dangerous Quebec Act is no more; these oppressive grievances being removed, we shall think no longer of restraining our Exports and Imports, but intent on promoting the common interest and happiness of the united Empire will be industrious to improve the vast uncultivated territory of North America, and being chiefly engaged in Agriculture, the commodities for exportation, and the consumption of British Manufactures will be continually increasing. But this most desirable connection between Great Britain and the Colonies supported by such a happy intercourse of reciprocal benefits must be interrupted, if the people of America are distressed and ruined by unconstitutional Taxes. Their Liberty and antient rights



being taken away, no encouragement to industry will remain, but ignorance and idleness the constant Attendants on Slavery will overrun this great Continent, hitherto the seat of freedom, virtue, and growing Science.

MS (MH) . In the hand of Richard Henry Lee.

<sup>1</sup> On October 11, Richard Henry Lee, William Livingston, and John Jay were appointed a committee to prepare a draft of both "a memorial to the people of British America" and "an address to the people of Great Britain." *JCC*, 1:62. The committee reported a draft address to the people of Great Britain on October 18, "which was read, and ordered to lie on the table, for the perusal of the members," and on the 19th it was debated by paragraphs, amended, and recommitted "in order that the amendments may be taken in." The amendments having been made as directed, the address was brought in and approved on October 21. *JCC*, 1:75, 81.

Although no draft of the address finally approved by Congress or other contemporary evidence bearing upon the authorship of this document has been found, John Jay was undoubtedly its author. Years later, in response to questions about the work of the committee, Jay unequivocally affirmed his authorship of the address, and no known accounts of the work of Congress have questioned that claim. For a discussion of inquiries directed to Jay and other contemporaries about the work of individual members of the committee, see John Dickinson's Draft Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, October 19–21? 1774. For an imaginative reconstruction of events that may have led up to adoption of the final version, see Frank Monaghan, *John Jay . . .* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1935), p. 61.

The document printed here, although not technically an early version of Congress' address to the people of Great Britain, reflects the thinking of one member of the committee and was undoubtedly perused by the others. It does not appear to have had much influence on Jay's work, although one elaborate passage from Lee's draft, noted below, appears verbatim in the final address. Lee's eight-page draft actually appears to be a fair copy of an expanded version of an earlier five-page draft "Memorial from the Deputies of the several Colonies," bearing the heading "To the Gentlemen Merchants, and Manufacturers of G. Britain Trading with North America." ViU. The latter memorial is printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* 30 (March 1860): 173–75; and nearly 80 percent of it appears in the address printed here, including major portions that are repeated verbatim.

<sup>2</sup> This passage appears verbatim in the final version. *JCC*, 1:85.

<sup>3</sup> MS blank.

<sup>4</sup> This lengthy sentence, containing strong objections to the Quebec Act, represents the only substantive addition to Lee's earlier draft memorial "To the Gentlemen Merchants, and Manufacturers of G. Britain Trading with North America."

<sup>5</sup> MS blank.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[October 11, 1774]

Fine Weather. Dind Mr. [Thomas] McKean. Wrote Wife, Eunice, Dr. Cobb, Mr. Greenleaf by Mr. Revere who sett out this day with an Answer to his Express. This day the Massachusetts Provincial Convention to set at Concord.

MS (MHi) .



## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 11, 1774]

11th. Met, finished the Resolves relative to the Massachusetts & dismd. the Express.

MS (RHi) .

## James Duane's Notes of Debates

Wednesday 12th Oct 1774

*Mr Ward.* On Trade.

1st, Every man is born free and may chuse his own form of Government. 2d, Bound by the compact, by charter between Crown and people. Here no Acts of Parliament can bind. 3d, Colonies obliged by this, acts only by compulsion. 4th, Principle of Protection gives them a right to a compensation, but state the amount and we have overpaid them. 5th, Necessity of the case does not apply, the Colonies distinct command under one head and [under?]<sup>1</sup> one kingdom should not be governed by another. 6th, One Company would not leave it to another to settle the terms. 7th, As to the prudence of the measure,—the Nation and Parliament were corrupt—would any chuse a factor of this character? 8th, Oppressive measures against East Indies. 9th, Giving up this point is yielding all.

*J. Adams.* Approves it—my amendment.

*Mr Lee.* 1st, Ministry may say they  
2d, Slitting mills avoided by this Motion  
offer a proposition.<sup>2</sup>

### External

*Lynch.* If a Right to bind us in one case may in all but we are bound by none. 2d Danger of Parliament's abusing the power for then they must be Judges of the Regulations.

Tr (NN) .

<sup>1</sup> MS reads "one or" before "one kingdom," but this is probably a misreading of "under" by the copyist.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in MS. Presumably Duane's original notes were either damaged or incomplete, or the copyist was simply unable to decipher the section dealing with Richard Henry Lee's remarks.

## New Hampshire Delegates to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir

Philadelphia October 12th 1774

We are now Reviewing our proceedings & hope in a few Days to

be ready to take our Departure. We have Endeavoured a State of American Rights the Infringments of those Rights & pointed out the modes of Redress. In our Last we Informed you of the modes of Redress which were a non Importation Commencing in Decembr next and a non Exportation to Commence in September 1775. We have wrote a Letter to General Gage Desiring him to forbear his fortifications at Boston to forbear Siezing upon private property & to Restore the Communication between Boston & the Country. We have formed an association to be Signed by the Colonists which if Adhered to will doubtless be the means of Saving American Liberties.<sup>1</sup> We have agreed upon an Address to the King but no petition to Parliament. Also we have agreed upon an Address to the Inhabitants of British America & another to the Inhabitants of Great Britain. These perhaps General Gage would Call Manifestos.<sup>2</sup> We have Declared the Acts of parliament made Since 1763 Illegal & void & Every person an Enemy to American Liberties who Attempts to Act under Authority of them. We have approved of the Conduct of the Bostonians & Ingaged to assist them with the united force of America & that in Case they Should be under the fatal necessity of Quitting Boston all America will Contribute to Reimburse them for the Damage they may Sustain by such Removal. We have agreed upon Methods to prevent the violation of the non Importation & non Exportation agreements. We have Recommended Industry & frugality & Ingaged ourselves to Set the Example.

These Sir are the General outlines of what we have Done. Time will not permit us to be more particular. We hope in a few Days to have the pleasure of giving you a more particular Account by word of mouth. In the Interim we are Dear Sir with much Respect your most obedient Servants

Jno Sullivan

Nathel. Folsom

RC (MHi) . Written by Sullivan and signed by Sullivan and Folsom.

<sup>1</sup> The report of "the committee appointed to prepare a plan for carrying into effect, the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement" was read this day. The plan of Association which was embodied in the report was debated intermittently October 15–18 and formally approved the 18th. *JCC*, 1:62–63, 74–75.

<sup>2</sup> Sullivan and Folsom meant that Congress had agreed to prepare such documents, because agreement on the actual addresses was not reached until the final week of proceedings. *JCC*, 1:81, 90, 104.

## Robert Treat Paine's Notes of Debates

[October 12? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

[*Speaker unidentified*]. [*If*] it is to be a Precedent it will now be

too [Cruel?] sitting with Act in force in Massa[chusetts].

Differ[en]t feelings make different Sentiments.

If the Cause be general, the Plan & Relief must be general & we must make the whole Consistent; what shall Boston (where we are attacked) do while Relief is operating. We must raise a Seige as well as Support an Assault.

They have Drawn the Sword & will not retreat, they have began to force measures.

Galloway. At Com[mencement] of last War America in great danger, & they held this up to England & pray'd their Aid. The Colonys disunited, or Stamp Act had never been made.

We may want the Aid of Mother Country but cant expect it with[ou]t they have a Security of Aids.

I think it the proper time to negotiate.

When we were young G B supported us. Wh[e]n grown up we should pay 'em.

We ought to contribute to Common Safety.

We ought to save their Honour.

Rut[ledge]. The Claim of Taxing is founded on the Petitions of Mass., Virg., last War, that there can't be a Union with[ou]t it.

We came here to Settle Rights.

You think Amer. of such importance as to force G. Brittain.

What are our Weapons?

Every one must use what they have.

Boston is now using theirs.

Pend[leton]. Must we not bring the rights of others in View in Settling our own Rights?

We must Acknowledge her Rights or she will not come to a treaty with us.

It is said if we allow the Reg. of Trade it will be abused, but we have had bad Gov., Judges, Repre: must we therefore have none?

I mean Neither to Acknowledge the power nor be Silent, but to Strike out a middle way.

Unless we allow this, they will not treat with us.

Cush[ing]. I should be glad to have a Line & a plan of Union. My plan is our Scituation 1763.

Sull[ivan]. The last Prop[osition] more dangerous than the former, for it will remain on Record. How can we ask for Repeal of the former Acts?

Chase. The former Congress<sup>2</sup> admitted the Right of Parliamt. to regulate Trade. There is a diversity of opinion abt. it.

The Rule that Represent[atio]n is the foundation of Legislation doth not extend to the Colonys. It proves too much, it proves independancy.

Paca. Doth the Rate of Representation tare up the foundation of Dependency?

I am of Opinion of St. Asaph.

If G. B. will not meddle with our internal Polity.

I feel no Reluctance at allowing this Right to Parl:

It is of no Conseq. to me how the Crown became possessed of the Land, the Charters are presumptive Evidence of it. I wd. Ask how we [*or*] any man became entitled to his Land.

The Property of the Land was in the Crown in trust for the Kingdom & therefore the King could not grant away the Land So as to make independant States.

B[ritain] must some how be benefited, or the King could not exercise his power of granting the Land.

Low. I conceive that Right being called in Q[uestion] is the ground of all of our Grievances, and it is sd. the last Congress owned it; & our Provincial dispute was general.

Lynch. Our Application with[ou]t it will be very ineffectual.

Johnson. Non Exp[ortation] of Flaxseed will distress with[ou]t doing good: they will get it elsewhere. They will get Iron else where.

Where do they get the Seed for Oyl?

They will not be able to get Seed for Sowing tho' the Acts are Repealed ergo no good.

The Lumber may be carried to a third place.

MS (MHi). Undated notes, in the hand of Robert Treat Paine, written on separate sheets of paper but inserted in the first volume of Paine's manuscript diary.

<sup>1</sup> The precise date of these notes cannot be established, but they apparently pertain to the extended debates on American rights and grievances that came to a climax on October 12 and 13. They appear as the first four pages of a series of seven, and although the interrelationship of the entire series cannot be clearly established, it seems likely that the notes were written on three separate dates. The remainder of the notes are printed as separate entries under the dates October 13, and October 15–17, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> The Stamp Act Congress.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 12, 1774]

12th. Met, considered the Bill of Rights. (That relative to Statutes & that mentioning our Fathers *⟨bringing over all the R[ights]⟩* having not forfeited by Emigration &c, I did not like.)

MS (RHi).



## Samuel Ward's Notes for a Speech in Congress

Mr. President

[October 12, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

The Question before you is certainly of the utmost Importance, in the Solution of it are involved the Happiness or Misery not only of the present Generation of Americans but of Millions yet unborn. I must therefore beg your Permission to enter largely into the Subject.<sup>2</sup>

The Parliamt. ought not to be allowed the Regulation of our Trade for many Reasons.

1st. Because We having no Voice in their Election they are not our Representa[tive]s & consequently have no Rights to make Laws for Us in any Case whatsoever.

To put this Matter in a clear Point of View it is necessary to recur to the Origin of Parliaments. It is now universally allowed that all good Government is founded in Compact.

Mankind prompted to Society by Nature *<to associate>* & finding they could not procure or enjoy the necessities and Conveniences of Life or defend themselves from Force & Injury in an unconnected separate State *<assembled &>* formed themselves into various *<Countries>* some in one Country, others in another in the Infancy of Society. They directed & managed their own affairs in Person as they thought most for the common Good. In Time *<the larger & larger>* Societies became very extensive & the Members so numerous that they became impracticable to supply the Want of this personal Direction of many public affairs. The Wisdom of our saxon Ancestors devised the best Substitute in the Power of Man to point out which was that the People should appoint & authorize certain Persons in whose Wisdom & Virtue They could confide *<in>* to represent the whole Body of the Nation & in their Behalf to enact in Conjunction with their Chief or King such Laws Rules & Ordinances as would be for the general Good of the Community.

This it will be allowed was the Origin of the english Parliament. The End of their Appointment was to *<Take Care of>* Preservation & Promoting of the Interests & Happiness of whom—of their Constituents undoubtedly & not of the People of France Spain or Holland.<sup>3</sup>

[. . .] of all the Benefits of an extensive & valuable Inheritance [conveyed?] to them from their worthy ancestors who purchased it with their Blood & Trespure & of the Fruits of their own Labours and reduce them to such a miserable State of Vassalage as to be compelled to consume their Lives in the vilest Drudgery & Servitude in Order to acquire Property for their Oppressors who like true Tyrants would allow them no greater Share of the Produce of their own Labours than will be barely sufficient to preserve their miserable Beings in such a State as may qualify them for further Servitude.

## 3rd

[In] any other Country The People who appointed & gave their Delegates the Power which they became possessed of had no Power of making Laws for those Countries themselves [and] therefore could not give any Such to their Representatives or any other Persons. Had the People of *(France)* Spain or Holland or any other Country chosen & empower'd the Persons who compose the brith. Parlt to make Laws & Ordinances for them there is no Doubt but upon every Principle of Law & Equity they ought to be asked [to] obey all Laws made by such their Representatives because the Act & Deed of the Substitute or Representative so far as he pursues the [. . .] but as the People of Spain or Holland have not delegated such Power to the british Parliament, They, should that Parliament attempt to impose Laws upon them, would undoubtedly treat them with the Contempt & Indignity which such usurpation would merit. Upon the same Principles America having never given any such Power to the british Parliament to make Laws for them cannot be under any Obligation in Law Equity or Conscience to submit to Acts of Parliament. Upon this simple Principle of Representation & consequent Legislation Stands the british Constitution & upon this Foundation is the Throne established in the royal House of Hanover. The Minister therefore who tramples upon the Peoples Right of Representation undermines the Constitution & tears up by the Roots the Pillars on which his majesty's Throne is fixed.

But it is said that some of these Acts of Trade were made before the granting of some of the American Charters & consequently those who recd. those Charters were parties to the Acts & are concluded by them.<sup>4</sup> If this proves any Thing it proves too much, that is that they were Parties to & are concluded by all Acts of Parliament made before their Emigration. This would introduce into America the canon Law the payment of tiths [to] the Clergy & innumerable other Laws Statutes & Regulations *(~~&~~ Burdens)* which would soon deprive us of all Liberty & Property & with this manifest Injustice & Partiality that every *(Man)* Freeholder in Britain tho' Party to making a Law & therefore held to obey it while in Force has a Right if he dislikes the Law to instruct his Representative to get it repealed & if he does not do it to remove him & chuse a new Representative, but the American who came from England after making such Laws has no Right to instruct his quondam Representative or to remove him should he refuse to obey his Instructions & appoint another. Consequently as his Power of Appointment his Right of Instructing or *removing* his constitutional Controul of such Representative cease with his Emigration to America, the Duty of Submission or Obedience consequential upon the Enjoyment of these several Rights must cease with them.

But it will be said that having imigrated under Charters from the Crown We brought our Allegiance with Us. The King granted those Charters, to him therefore We owe Allegiance according to the Tenor of those Charters, to him We ever have been & always desire to be faithful Subjects but is there a Word of the Power of Parliament in those Charters? Not one. But it is said We are not to make Laws contrary to the Laws of England it is true but are to make them as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of the Realm considering the Nature & Constitution of the Place & People there. That is in other Words The King gives no Power to depart wholly from the (*english Constitution*) Principles of the Laws of England but being sensible that (*that Constitution in its*) those Laws would not suit the People & Country of America impowers them to make Laws differing from the Laws of England as far as the Nature & Constitution of the Place & People in America required. And that this is the Sense of the King upon this Head is plain. Witness the Massachusetts Act for Division of intestate Estates which 'tho directly repugnant to the common Law of England hath recd. the royal Assent.

But it is said that the Parliament has a Right to regulate Trade by our Acquiescence in their Acts for that Purpose.<sup>5</sup> A man may be compelled by Force to submit to many Injuries for instance Imprisonment of his Person, Deprivation of his Property or the Use of that Property & finding the Time of his Deliverance not come may appear as easy as he can under Oppression but does this give the Invader a Right to continue [. . .] By no Means. The great Grotius justly says Quod ab initio injustum est nullo potest fieri modo aut usu justum aut rectum. That is whatever is originally wrong in its own Nature cannot be sanctified or made right by Repetition & Use.<sup>6</sup> The Moment then the Man has it in his Power he may assert his Freedom & recover Possession of his Estate: Besides several of the Colonies protested against these Acts in their Infancy & the Crown in some Instances so far from claiming parliamentary Jurisdiction requested the Colonies to pass such Acts as were nec[essar]y.

It is said by other Gentlemen that the Parliament has a Right to the Power of regulating our Trade because they have afforded Us Protection.<sup>7</sup> It has been an inviolable Rule with Me never to forget a Kindness and as far as We have recd. Favors let us by all Means make proper Compensation but let us first state the Acct.

Those who first attempted to settle the Colony of Virginia were left by the Parliamt. to their own Fate and perished. Their Successors defended themselves for above a Century.

Those who began the Settlement of New England were unsupported & lost half their Number the first Winter they were in America and the Survivors carried on the Settlement at their own Expence & defended themselves by their own united Force & Bravery from this

Period. The Parliament afforded little or no Protection save the Reputation of the british Navy for many years. The *(Restoration of)* Purchase of Peace to Britain by the Conquest of Cape Breton, added to the commercial Advantages derived from the Colonies, is surely adequate satisfaction for Protection to this Time. During the Peace the Emoluments arising to G. Britain from the American Trade must much overbalance the Expence She was at for their Protec[tio]n. In the last War She was at a very considerable Expence in America [*but*] the Colonies were at a much greater one in Proportion to their Circumstances. A most extensive Country hath been conquered. Upon opening such extensive Views of Settlement the Value of Lands *(and the Value)* that of all real Estate in the old Colonies sunk one half and all the Advantages of the new Territory G. Britain confined to herself.

Again it has been said by one of the greatest Men in the Nation that the Advantages derived to G. Britain from the Trade of the Colonies was 2 millions a year & that this Fund carried her through the last War. Surely Sir this immense Profit & the Property & commercial advantages of such a vast Territory as was conquered from France must be full Compensation for the Protection granted Us in the late War. if this Computation be right the Claim of Regulation upon this footing immediately vanishes.

But it is said She ought to have this Power from the Necessity of the Case, it being absolutely necessary that there should be some supreme Power in every State which has a Right to collect the united Force of the community and direct it in such a Manner as may be for the general Good, & that this Power can be no where so well placed as in G. Britain.<sup>8</sup> That it is necessary that there should be some supreme Legislature in every Community to regulate & direct the public affa[irs] of that Community all Authors Agree, but that it is necessary where twenty separate Governments, which is the Case of the Kings Dominions, are existing that the whole Interest and Power of nineteen should be submitted to Controul *(& under)* the Direction of the twentieth no Author of Credit maintains. And it cannot upon any just Principles be proved to be more necessary for general Good that this should be done than that all the Different Governments in the World should be united under one single Government in order that the whole Force of the World should be [exerted]. The Capacities of human nature are so limited that They are not able to comprehend and adjust the various Interests of such remote & extensive Countries and wrong Information given by those who are near them & interested in their Decisions and want of proper Information from those who are remote together with self Partiality & Prejudice in the Rulers will undoubtedly induce a Sacrifice of the Interests & Happiness of many remote States to that of the one



which is the Seat of Power. That this hath been the unhappy Case of all Countries who were subject to foreign Government all History proves but We need go [*no*] further for Proof of this than to the miserable People of Ireland and the distressed State of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

But is said that as We emigrated from Britain we ought to consider her as a Mother State. I have the highest Idea of parental & filial Connections but the Duties are reciprocal. While she discharges her Duty let Us gratefully do ours but let her not think that because certain Persons who came[. . . .]<sup>9</sup>

I have proved that the Parliament have no Right to regulate our Trade upon any just Principles whatsoever.

I shall now endeavour to prove that the giving them such a Power would be the entire Ruin of America. The People of England formerly a sober frugal industrious & brave People are now immersed in Luxury Riot & Dissipation. The Parliament once a freely elected, a nearly equal Representation & an independent Branch of the Legislature above the Frowns, Flatteries & Bribes of a Minister now first purchase their own Seats of the miserable venal Electors & then sell them & the rest of the People (*for Slaves*) to the Minister. The nation for Ages wholly free from Debt as a Nation is now involved in a Debt of £128 Millions. Bribery Corruption and Pensions swallow the greatest Part of those vast Taxes & Duties paid by the People. Is such a Parliament to be intrusted with the Interests of America? Would you (*commit your property to*) put your all into such Hands? England Ireland & that vast Country in the east Indies subject to the india Compy. are sinking under the Load of Oppression. will you [*be*] like Issachar represented by a strong Ass crouching down under two Burdens too [*heavy for*] your Shoulders to bear & become subject to Tribute? God forbid. Always consider yourselves as a Part of the Kings Dominions. Generously do all you can for your fellow Subjects & be assured that you cannot more effectually serve your King, your Brethren in G Britain & your Country than by preserving your Liberty.<sup>10</sup>

MS (RHi) . In the hand of Samuel Ward on detached sheets of varying size.

<sup>1</sup> James Duane's Notes of Debates for October 12 clearly show that Ward delivered this speech in connection with the discussion that day of Parliament's right to regulate American trade.

<sup>2</sup> At the bottom of this half-sheet, written upside down beneath the preceding sentence, a note fragment appears: "The Volume of Blackstone where the Origin of Parliaments is mentioned & if you could."

<sup>3</sup> Remainder of this sentence and beginning of next paragraph missing.

<sup>4</sup> See James Duane's Propositions before the Committee on Rights, September 7-22, 1774.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently this is a rough paraphrase, both in Latin and in English, of a

“common saying” quoted in Hugo Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis libri tres*, trans. Francis W. Kelsey, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913–25), 2:227.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Joseph Galloway's remarks in John Adams' Notes of Debates, September 28, 1774.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.* and James Duane's Propositions before the Committee on Rights, September 7–22, 1774.

<sup>9</sup> Remainder of sentence missing.

<sup>10</sup> Remainder of MS missing.

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Thursday. Octr. 13.

Dined with Mr. Dickenson with Chase, Paca, Low, Mifflin, Mr. Penn and General Lee, at six o Clock.

From 10 O Clock untill half after four, We were debating, about the Parliamentary Power of regulating Trade. 5 Colonies were for allowing it, 5. against it, and two divided among themselves, i.e. Mass. and Rhode Island.

Mr. Duane has had his Heart sett upon asserting in our Bill of Rights, the Authority of Parliament to regulate the Trade of the Colonies. He is for grounding it on Compact, Acquiescence, Necessity, Protection, not merely on our Consent.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:151–52.

## James Duane's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[October 13? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

I. America at eve of a civil War—much depends on wisdom of Congress. Our fate suspended on a thread. If Boston subdued all's lost.

II. But two subjects of dispute between G. B. and the Colonies.  
a. A Revenue for the support of our own civil establishments.  
b. the regulation of Trade.

(1) As to Revenue the whole amount never more than to about 35,000 and the sums by G. B. to above £ 400,000.

(2) This article provided for by our Resolution to provide a competent and honorable salary for the administration of govt and justice.

b. The right of regulating trade the great point.

1. Its importance to G. B. who must support her title to it at the expense of the last drop of her blood and last farthing of her treasure.

2. good policy of allowing it to her clearly.

(1) will be the best messenger of peace.

(2) It will remove all suspicion that we seek after independence.

3. It is necessary that it should be expressly recognized.

a. Because in the great dispute between Hutchinson and the Massachusetts, it is left doubtful.

b. Because every different house of Assembly must instruct its Agent on this essential point.

c. Because a difference of sentiment will shew our weakness and may end in our disunion.

d. But above all because our Bill of Rights makes this explanation indispensable. Vide—Art—*bound by no Law* without participation in Legislature—and *exclusive Right* of legislation.<sup>2</sup>

e. These totally defeat all Regulations of Trade. Inst: Custom House and exactions there, seizures on shore, writs of assistance &c.

Objections.

Ist. It is said we are not authorised to give up any right and this is setting up a Right for G. B.

Answer.

1. Besides the justice and policy of such a recognition; it is unavoidable when we are considering a right in connection with the parent State.

2. It is giving G. B. no new right: but only acknowledging what she has enjoyed ever since our Colonization.

3. It is agreed on all hands that there must be some supreme controlling power over our trade, and that this can only rest with Parliament.

Objection II. It is said to be too *dangerous*, because on pretence of a Right to regulate Trade, Parliament may raise a Revenue upon us, and otherwise oppress us.

Answer.

1. If we argue against the *use* of power because it may be *abused*, the argument proves too much.

It strikes at all society and all government—but to a state of society confidence is essential.

2. Instance the prerogative of the Crown to call an Assembly. It never may be called—yet we do not deny the prerogative.

II. But here can be no room for apprehension.

They exercise the right and none mean to dispute it. Our interest will be served by admitting it under restrictions (to wit) *that it be conducted bona fide, with a just regard to the interest of the respective members of the Empire excluding every idea of taxation internal and external for the purpose of raising a revenue without our consent.* [ ]<sup>3</sup> our admission cannot injure us.

2. Supposing the power should be abused. Can we not remon-

strate and oppose—shall we be less able hereafter to do our selves justice than at this day?

Objectn. III. That this Proposition is improper in our Bill of Rights; because instead of a privilege it is a burthen.

Answer.

1. It is certainly improper in the order it stands; it ought to follow our claim to exclusive legislation by way of edification and it will then be considered.

Object. IV. It may be said that because we admit the authority of Parliament in this instance, it may be [asserted?], as a proof of their power in all cases.

Answer.

There is a most manifest distinction.

1. In cases of *internal policy and taxation* our legislatures are competent—have enjoyed such jurisdictions. They are secured by Charter—not so with respect to trade.

2. The Parliamentary authority over our trade was co-eval with our settlement, and is considered as a compact.

3. This exhibits a line and fixed rule so much desired for ascertaining that power.

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Although undated, these notes probably formed the basis for Duane's remarks on October 13. John Adams' brief summary of Duane's arguments on this date suggests that Duane's remarks were delivered at this time. John Adams' Diary, October 13, 1774. See also *JCC*, 1:63; and Samuel Ward's Diary, October 13, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph refers to the fourth resolution of the declaration of rights and grievances which was adopted by Congress on October 14. *JCC*, 1:68–69.

<sup>3</sup> MS blank; copyist apparently unable to decipher a sentence from Duane's original MS notes.

## Robert Treat Paine's Notes of Debates

[October 13? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Duane. On regulating Trade.

We are unable to defend our Rights & therefore we must allow them the right.

We must not argue from an abuse agt a Use.

The Parl. have as good a right to regulate as if the Acts were made before we emigrated. It was before some of us did, & the same Rule will hold to Hen 8. ch. 37.

Our Charters say we must make no Laws contrary to Laws of England, but will not the denial of this right be contrary.



What shall I tell our House of Assembly? They must instruct their Agent.

The People of N England must not think of any assistance from other Colonys in fighting.

Nothing but giving up this will stop the Effusion of Blood.

Chase. Can you regulate the Trade with[ou]t meddling to internal Polity? I am agt. Stirring it, but now it is Stirrd I am for allowing it expressly.

Hooper. Colonys are bound by Laws wch dont injure them.

The Duty on wine is bad.

Johnson. I Acknowledge the Right & you may make the terms. Q[uerer] in w[ha]t instance have they been deprived of the Practice?

[*Speaker unidentified*]. Regulation includes protection, & under that Taxes must be raised.

Adams. Allowing the Right on principle of Trade is not dangerous.

MS (MHi) . In the hand of Robert Treat Paine.

<sup>1</sup>The substance of the comments Paine recorded here strongly suggests that they were made during the debate of October 13. See Paine's Notes of Debates, October 12, note 1; and James Duane's Notes for a Speech in Congress, October 13, 1774, note 1.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 13, 1774]

13th. Met, considered of the Right of Parliament to regulate Trade. (Mr. Hopkins for some of the Modes proposed. I was for none.)

MS (RHi) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Fryday. Octr. 14.

Went in the Morning to see Dr. Chevott<sup>1</sup> and his Skelletons and Wax Work—most admirable, exquisite Representations of the whole Animal Æconomy.

Four compleat Skelletons. A Leg with all the Nerves, Veins and Arteries injected with Wax. Two compleat Bodies in Wax, full grown. Waxen Representations of all the Muscles, Tendons &c., of the Head, Brain, Heart, Lungs, Liver, Stomack, Gutts, Cawl-Blad-

der, Testicles. This Exhibition is much more exquisite than that of Dr. Shippen, at the Hospital. The Doctor reads Lectures, for 2 half Jos. a Course, which takes up Four Months. These Wax Works are all of the Drs. own Hands.

Dined with Dr. Morgan, an ingenious Physician and an honest Patriot. He shewed us some curious Paintings upon Silk which he brought from Italy which are Singular in this Country, and some Bones of an Animal of enormous Size, found upon the Banks of the River Ohio. Mr. Middleton, the two Rutledges, Mr. Mifflin and Mr. Wm. Barrell dined with Us. Mrs. Morgan is a sprightly, pretty lady.

In the Evening We were invited to an Interview at Carpenters Hall, with the Quakers and Anabaptists. Mr. Bacchus is come here from Middleborough, with a design to apply to the Congress, for a Redress of the Grievances of the Antipædobaptists in our Province. The Cases from Chelmsford, the Case of Mr. White of Haverhill, the Case of Ashfield and Warwick, were mentioned by Mr. Bacchus.

Old Israel Pemberton was quite rude, and his Rudeness was resented. But the Conference which held till 11 O Clock, I hope will produce good.<sup>2</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:152-54.

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Chovet (1704-90) . *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Backus (1724-1806) and James Manning (1738-91) , Baptist leaders in New England, journeyed to Philadelphia to present their case against religious discrimination by the New England, particularly Massachusetts, governments. Adams described the meeting in greater detail in his autobiography. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 3:311-12. Perhaps the fullest account, chiefly from the Baptist perspective, can be found in Alvah Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times of Rev. Isaac Backus, A.M.* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1858) , pp. 201-31. Backus' diary entry for the meeting is among the testimony quoted by Hovey. Other congressional delegates attending the meeting included Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Kinsey, Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward, Joseph Gallo-way, and Thomas Mifflin.

## John Dickinson's Draft Heads of Grievances and Rights

[October 14? 1774]

MS (MHi) . For the text of this document, see *JCC*, 1:63-71, under the heading "Sullivan's Draught." The MS was reprinted in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* by Worthington C. Ford from John Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States . . .* , ed. Charles Francis Adams, 10 vols. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850-56) , 2:535-41. Charles Francis Adams, who found the document among his grandfather's papers, attributed authorship of the MS to John Sullivan on the basis of his grandfather's autobiographical writings. *Ibid.*, p. 377n; and Adams, *Dairy* (Butterfield) , 3:310n. And Ford,

assuming that the document was "the first draft of the sub-committee's report on violations of rights," reproduced it verbatim from Adams' printed version, retaining even the exact double-column format used in conjunction with the final declaration of rights and grievances adopted by Congress.

Despite the assumptions of Adams and Ford, this MS is in the hand of John Dickinson (see illustration). That Dickinson did not take a seat in Congress until October 17, and that the MS is among the papers of John Adams only deepens the mystery that surrounds the document. Charles Francis Adams correctly identified it as a version of the declaration of rights and grievances, but it is certainly not the first draft of either of the great committees' reports—the report on "rights" or the report on "violations"—which were submitted to Congress on September 22 and 24 respectively. Debate on the two reports originally began September 24, but almost immediately the delegates shifted their attention to "the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of our rights," consideration of which led to adoption of nonimportation and nonexportation, submission of a plan of union, and discussion of the contents of an address to the king. Not until October 12, according to the journals, did Congress resume consideration "of the rights and grievances of these colonies," which were also deliberated the 13th. It may well be that the two original reports were not combined into the form of a single consolidated statement of grievances and rights until shortly before Congress approved the resolutions Thomson entered in the journals under the date October 14.

The appearance of these resolutions under the date October 14 also raises several questions. Since it is clear from Samuel Ward's diary and James Duane's notes of debates that Congress continued on October 15 and 17 to discuss the grievances to be included in their list, it is certain that Thomson could not have written the journal entry for October 14 earlier than the 17th. The fact that John Adams spent all day Sunday, October 16, home "very busy in the necessary Business of putting the Proceedings of the Congress into Order," suggests that he may well have spent the day revising the declaration of rights and grievances. John Adams' Diary, October 16, 1774. If this were the case, it would not be surprising that Dickinson gave Adams this draft "Heads of Grievances and Rights," even if it were not strictly speaking Dickinson's creation and may indeed have been only a copy he was permitted to make from another draft. Of course, if the document did come into Adams' possession in this manner, it would not explain why Dickinson was privy to some of the most intimate matters before Congress when he had not yet been elected as a delegate. But perhaps this possibility is not inconsistent with what is known about The Farmer's extraordinary fame and influence. For other evidence that Dickinson played a more prominent role at the First Continental Congress than has been previously appreciated, see Dickinson's Draft Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, October 19–21? 1774, and his Draft Address to the King, October 22? 1774, two documents whose authorship has long been attributed to other delegates. For a recent assessment of the authorship and publication of the "Bill of Rights" and "List of Grievances," see James H. Hutson, comp. and ed., *A Decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind: Congressional State Papers, 1774–1776* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976), pp. 50–52.

## James Duane's Notes of Debates

Friday 14th October 1774.

On the Resolution for Trade to qualify the [*fourth*] proposition.<sup>1</sup>  
*S. Adams.* Did not think the Claims respecting the internal policy  
 [            ].<sup>2</sup>

5

bring to Conclusion their Counsels on publick Affairs: that any Statute for suspending the Proceedings of any such Assembly is illegal and void: And, that every Resolution of an Assembly within these Colonies, during the present Reign, on Petition of Miskobanona in the Representatives of the People, has been arbitrary, and ~~unjust~~ oppressive.

8. That it is the Right of the Subjects to petition the King; and, that a contemptuous Treatment of such Petitions, has a most pernicious Tendency of such Petitions, has a most pernicious Tendency of such Petitions, <sup>the Resolution in Parliament on the Statute made in the 35<sup>th</sup> Year of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> was arbitrary and void; as one says: 2<sup>nd</sup> That</sup> 9. That any Statute directing the Trial of Colonists to be had in England or elsewhere on Accusation, for Offences committed in the Colonies, is illegal and void.

10. That the three Statutes made in the last Session of Parliament, and declared to have Force within the Province of Massachusetts Bay, <sup>oppresses the People of that Province,</sup> are dangerous to the Liberties of these Colonies, illegal and void.

11. That the Statute made in the same Session, for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec is not only unjust to the People in that Province, but dangerous to the Interests of the Protestant Religion and of these Colonies, and ought to be repealed.

And



*Pendleton*. 1st. [ ]. 2d. 4th Resolution ought not to be altered to Right of Taxation. 3d. Cant found regulation of Trade on the principle of the British Constitution. 4th. Different parts of the [ ] to provide for the omission. 5th. Requesting it should be done by Treaty between Great Britain and the Colony Legislatures. 6th. Why will not Parliament accept of the power they wish. 7th. Necessary to state the Bill of Rights. We have Legislative power and therefore ought.

### Grievances.<sup>3</sup>

*Act 4. G. 3d. c. 15.* Preamble to raise revenue in America on Sugar &c—wine, coffee, pimento, foreign molasses 3d Gallon.

5. *G. 3d. c. 25.* Act to alter rates of postage—recites the Act of Anne for postage and alter rates.

6. *G. 3d. c. 52.* An Act for repealing duties in America and granting further duties. Duties on molasses 1d—coffee 7s pimento 1/2 pound additional silk, silk goods.

7. *G. 3d. c. 46.* Act for draw-back duties in America recites Act.

8. *G. 3d. c. 22.* Act for more easy recovery of [*penalties*] and forfeitures to be sued for and recovered in any Court of Vice Admiralty.

12. *G. 3d. c. 24.* Act for better securing his Majesty's dock yard—against the method of trial. Mr. Lutridge [Rutledge] against the whole. The three Boston Acts shutting up the Port altering administration. The providing quarters for Soldiers in America. Authorizing the Governor to take up [uninhabited houses?]. Act for altering Govt of Quebec. The appointment of Judges, Statute H. 8. c. 2. respecting trials for treason and [misprisons of treasons?].

*Henry.* Considers the Quebec Bill as a capital one.

4. *G. 3d. c. 34.* Respecting Canada—keeping a standing army without the consent of the Legislature of said Colony.

Committee appointed to state in form the Rights, Grievances and mode of redress.<sup>4</sup>

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the fourth resolution of the declaration of rights and grievances adopted by Congress on October 14. *JCC*, 1:68–69.

<sup>2</sup> Copyist left a blank within parentheses and appended a question mark, apparently unable to read this part of Duane's MS notes. The remaining blanks within brackets in this text were left by the copyist in the same manner.

<sup>3</sup> Each of the parliamentary statutes Duane listed under this heading was cited in the declaration of rights and grievances of this date. *JCC*, 1:71–72.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence indicates that although Congress approved the declaration of rights and grievances on the 14th, it could not have been entered into the journals under this date in final form until sometime later. See John Dickinson's Draft Heads of Grievances and Rights, this date.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[October 14, 1774]

Fine weather. This morning visited Dr. Chevot & saw his Anatomical preparations. Dined Dr. [John] Morgan. Evening met at Carpenters Hall at the desire of some Baptists to hear their complaints of Grievances in our Province. Mr. Backus, Dr. Manning & others present.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of this meeting, see John Adams' Diary, this date.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 14, 1774]

14th. Met, pursued the Subject,<sup>1</sup> adopted a Plan founded on Consent.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the declaration of rights and grievances. *JCC*, 1:63-73.

## John Adams' Notes for a Speech in Congress

[October 15-17? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

## CANADA BILL.

Proof of Depth of Abilities, and Wickedness of Heart.  
 Precedent. Lords refusal of perpetual Imprisonment.  
 Prerogative to give any Government to a conquered People.  
 Romish Religion.  
 Feudal Government.  
 Union of feudal Law and Romish Superstition.  
 Knights of Malta. Orders of military Monks.  
 Goths and Vandals—overthrew the roman Empire.  
 Danger to us all. An House on fire.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:154-55.

<sup>1</sup> Although this undated manuscript is located physically just after Adams' notes of debates for September 28, 1774, it appears to fit within the context of the debates of October 15-17, when Duane noted a speech by Adams on the Quebec Act. See James Duane's Notes of Debates, October 15-17? 1774.

## James Duane's Notes of Debates

[October 15–17? 1774]<sup>1</sup>[Jay]<sup>2</sup>

Whether the Quebec Bill shall be an article of grievance which is to operate upon our commercial intercourse with G.B.?

1st. It is dangerous from the religion & arbitrary constitution which it establishes.

2d. From it's excessive magnitude.

3d. From the supposed and probable motives which gave birth to it.

4th. Good policy to complain of it, as meeting the popular clamor in England.

5th. Hence readily agreed to mention it in the petition to the King which will answer good purposes.

But to make it one of the articles which is to operate on our commerce; cannot be consented to by New York for those reasons.

1. We ought in this measure to carry our thoughts to the event—and to consider the justice and policy of every article as if it was that singly on which we stood—for in the event all but that may be rejected.<sup>3</sup>

2. We have three things in this Bill to complain of.

1. The establishment of the Roman [Catholic Religion?].

2d. The institution of an arbitrary government.

3d. The extension of the Colony by excessive limits.

How far it will be *justifiable* in us to resist the progress of this Act and attempt to force its Repeal at the expense of *our commerce*—in the end perhaps of *a civil war*—ought to be duly considered.

1st. If we demand *too much* we weaken our efforts—lose the chance of securing what is *reasonable* and may get *nothing*.

2d. Will it not be said that we go beyond our sphere—and while we contend for an exclusive internal legislature intermeddle with the police of other governmts?

3d. Is it not a disputable point with respect to religion whether more is granted to the Canadians than was solemnly promised by the capitulation?

4th. If government is founded *on consent* is it not disputable whether the new form is not agreeable to the majority of inhabitants?

5th. Is it not disputable whether the *conqueror* has not a right to impose laws on the conquered?

6. Is it probable that in a matter of *some uncertainty at least*, our constituents will be discontented with this part of our Resolution? And unwilling to be under restraints on that account.

*Lee* thinks it the worst grievance.

1. Massacre of Paris: Cruelty of Roman Catholics: No safety.
2. Religion confirmed there: to what end?
3. Lands held by military tenure.
4. Necessary it is urged to establish this Government to keep the old colonies in awe.
5. Doubts whether Canadians pl[ease]d. English Subjects not.
6. Act inconsistent. Gives Ohio for a boundary.

*Lee* in reply to Mr Jay.

1. Precedent a capital argument & this also one.
2. Doubts whether the King can make conquests.<sup>4</sup>
3. Article of Capitulation only indulges the Roman Catholic religion so far as it is permitted by the laws of England.

*McKean.*

1. Magnitude of the law compels us to make a stand.
2. Popular in England.
3. Protestants in Quebec will join us in our opposition.

*Mr Gadsden*

[His remarks not given.]<sup>5</sup>

*J. Adams.*

1. Do op.?(Do oppose) scheme of Wilkendrop.
2. Knights of Malta: feudal system [. . .] less.

*Paine.* Two questions.

1. Whether the repeal of the bill will remove the Act.
2. Whether we should [ ]<sup>6</sup> in opposing it.

*Henry.*

1. If bill in [ ] Catholics, will [ ] which [coud?] be printed? by law of England.
2. Feudal Laws cant exist, because repealed by Statute.

Monday 17th October 1774. Resolved that Quebec Bill be an article of the Grievances, to be stood upon. *I dissented*, but entered unanimously.

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> On October 15 and 17, Congress reconsidered the grievances listed in the declaration of rights and grievances of the 14th. Although the final paragraph of Duane's notes specifically refers to Congress' decision on the 17th to retain the Quebec Act as a grievance in its declaration, it is impossible to determine from the existing evidence if the debates he recorded on this subject took place on the 15th, or the 17th, or both. See the final paragraph of this entry, and Samuel Ward's Diary, October 15, 17, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Duane's notes fail specifically to identify the delegate here who argued against including the Quebec Act in the list of grievances, but a comparison between the arguments adduced to support this position with Richard Henry Lee's "reply to Mr. Jay" below suggests that John Jay was the unidentified delegate.

<sup>3</sup> Copyist wrote "respected," but this may have been a misreading of "rejected."

<sup>4</sup> "Compacts" written above "conquests" in the MS, both followed by a question mark.



<sup>5</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>6</sup> MS blank; left thus by copyist here and below.

## Robert Treat Paine's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[October 15–17? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

Quebec Bill.

The evils of it are the Regulating & training one Colony [. . .] agt. the Rest.

Will the Repealing the Bill help this, will it not exasperate the Catholic? Will it break the feudal system, will it convert them to Protestantism?

Know then; 300 miles, the Proprietors of Tea intitled to damages.

MS (MH<sub>i</sub>) . In the hand of Robert Treat Paine.

<sup>1</sup> For the date of these notes, which appear to pertain to Paine's remarks during the debate over the propriety of including the Quebec Bill as a grievance in the declaration of rights and grievances, see James Duane's Notes of Debates, October 15–17, 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 15, 1774]

15th. Met, considered Grievances.

MS (RH<sub>i</sub>) .

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Sunday. Octr. 16.

Staid at Home all day. Very busy in the necessary Business of putting the Proceedings of the Congress into Order.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MH<sub>i</sub>) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:154.

<sup>1</sup> Although Congress approved the declaration of rights and grievances on October 14, final agreement was not reached on the wording of the declaration until some time later. At the end of his notes of debates for October 14, James Duane recorded: "Committee appointed to state in form the Rights, Grievances and the mode of redress." And from Duane's Notes of Debates, October 15–17? and Samuel Ward's Diary, October 15 and 17, it is clear that Congress continued to debate details of the declaration. It is probable that Adams was a member of the committee Duane referred to on the 14th, for it is certain that he played a key role in writing the statement that became the fourth resolution of the declaration. As

Adams wrote in his "Autobiography"—a somewhat confused account written in 1802 without consulting his diary, notes, or the journals of Congress—the resolution was subjected to repeated criticism. Finally, "the difficult Article was again attacked and defended. Congress rejected all Amendments to it, and the general Sense of the Members was that the Article demanded as little as could be demanded, and conceded as much as could be conceded with Safety, and certainly as little as would be accepted by Great Britain: and that the Country must take its fate, in consequence of it. When Congress had gone through the Articles, I was appointed to put them into form and report a fair Draught for their final Acceptance. This was done and they were finally accepted." While the matter must inevitably remain speculative, it is not unreasonable to assume that the final drafting to which Adams is here referring took place on Sunday, October 16. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:310. For further speculation on the writing of the declaration of rights and grievances, see John Dickinson's Draft Heads of Grievances and Rights, October 14? 1774.

## Silas Deane to Thomas Mumford

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia Octr 16th 1774

I little Thought when I left Home on the 22d of August last That I should be detained, in this City, untill the 16th of October, but so it has happened, that We are even Now but within View, as I may say, of, not The End of Our Business, but of this Sitting of the Congress, for it seems a Matter pretty much concluded on that it will be most prudent to adjourn. It is probable that This Week will go near to close The Affairs immediately before Us, as the General Heads are agreed on, and Committees appointed to make the Draughts. No Resolution of any Consequence, and I dare say, you will judge, some of them so, has been pass'd in the Congress, but with an Unanimous Voice, though they have many of them taken up Days in close, & at Times, warm debate. Three capital, & general Objects were in View From The First—A Bill of American Rights,—A List of American Greivances,—And Measures For Redress. You will easily consider the First the most important Subject that could possibly be taken up by Us, as on the Fixing them rightly, with precision, yet sufficiently explicit, & on a certain, and durable Basis, such as the Reason & Nature of things, the Natural Rights of Mankind, The Rights of British Subjects, in general, and the particular, & local privileges, Rights, & immunities of British American Subjects, considered in degree distinct, yet connected with the Empire at large. On This I say, all the Consistency at least, of Our future proceedings, in America depends, and in a great degree, the peace, & Liberty, of the American Colonies. In doing this, We have proceeded with the Utmost Caution knowing how critical and important an undertaking it was, & how fatal a misstep must be, not to Ourselves only but to all posterity. Consequently the whole British Constitution, its rise, progress, & completion, has been reveiwed minutely,—All the Statutes respecting it, or

affecting the Colonies attended To and considered—when You add to This, The Time necessarily spent as well as Difficulty to be encountered at last, To bring Men, From infancy, habituated to different modes, of Treating Subjects, perfectly to harmonize, You will set down no small portion of Our Time to this Head of Business. Our Greivances You will say are evident To all, and may be enumerated in one Day as well as in a Month,—on second Thought You will perhaps be willing to give Us longer Time on that part:—For a Greivance deserving the Notice of the United Continent must not only be a real, but one so general, That a Stand must be made against it, and Our measures for redress, be persevered in, untill it is removed. To enumerate as greivances, matters of lesser Moment, would be below the dignity, & lessen the weight of this Continental Council, here again, We have recourse To the Statutes, the Usages, & Customs of both Countries to direct Us, as Well as to their, & Our Bill of Rights. The Measures to be pursued for, or mode of obtaining Redress is a delicate, yet important Subject. These Three Subjects have taken up the Cheif of Our Time. We meet at Nine, & set untill half past Three, then adjourn untill the Next Morning, this brings Us to Dinner at Four or afterwards, which being generally in parties, on invitation out, or at Our Lodgings concludes the Day, and though We have sat, now, Six Weeks, We have not had One day's respite. Two Expresses from Boston, have taken up part of Our Time, by one of them I wrote largely, the substance of which You have doubtless seen.<sup>2</sup> The Assembly of this province met Yesterday and chose Mr. Biddle Speaker, and appointed *Mr. Dickinson* an additional Member, to represent this Province in Congress, so that We may expect his Company Tomorrow in *Carpenters Hall*.

This will find You at New Haven, Next Saturday. *Mr. T. Seymour* I hear is a Brother Member. Present my Compliments To him, and Tell him, that *Watson* of Hartford, merits the severest reproof, for printing in his paper the false, & scandalous paragraphs, from *Rivington's Gazette*, respecting the Congress. *Rivington* in private Life is more infamous than *Chartres*, & in public a greater incendiary than *Clodius*, yet this Stupid *Watson*, reprints in the *Connecticut Courant* the improbable Forgeries, of this most superlatively vile, retailer of Scandal.<sup>3</sup> I have repeatedly admonished *Watson*, but to no purpose, a press in his hands, is like firebrands, Arrows, & Death in the hands of a Fool or Madman, and all We have to console Ourselves with, is that his Weakness prevents his doing extensive mischief. *Rivington* is become so detestable every where to the Southward of New York, & even in That City, to all, but a Ministerial Junto, that his Papers are stopp'd Universally, and his Name is used only as a Standard by which to compare whatever is mean, base, servile, & treacherous; yet this Fellow, is one of *Watson's* Authors.

I ask pardon, for saying so much, on this unworthy Subject, but I feel for the honor of the Colony, affected by such rascally publications. Connecticut stands in a reputable, and important point of View, with the other Colonies The more so as We have not been silent on their History, and police, as well as on their other Connections, & their Manners. The Cause of Boston You have already seen is made by Us a Common Cause, & You must not be surprized at a Resolution, of all the Colonies, here represented, made Unanimously, to stand by, & support them to the last with Life, & Fortune, and that Resolution published on the housetop at Westminster. I hope We shall be at New Haven before the Assembly rises. It is quite uncertain whither I shall be able to procure a place for Your Son, as No Mercht. in this City will give any Answer to a Question respecting future Business untill he hears, the Report, of the doings of this Congress, but I have spoke to several kind, & worthy Freinds on the subject, who have promised to make thorough inquiry. I should prefer this City, To any place on the Continent for a Lad to serve his Time in. The Manners are simple, & pure, and their industry and Oeconomy, exceeding any thing to be expected in so populous a City. I mean by simple & pure only comparatively, for here are *Debauchees, Whores, & Rogues* as well as in other places, but not so Numerous. I have spoke for Four places, & may possibly obtain Them, if so I can provide for You and Your Brothers Sons. I am determined to fix a Brother, & Soninlaw of mine here, if possible. I pray that a Regulation of the Connecticut Militia may be attended to in earnest, much, perhaps all Depends on it there & throughout America. I have neither Time, nor Room to write at large, in a Word if You go on making Colonels &c in the Common old Way All is over as to a Militia. While all America is about to exhibit proofs of Virtue, let Those old Field Officers never more than Nominally so, at least sacrifice a Sound to a Reality. Compliments to Freinds.

Yours  
Silas Deane

[P.S.] Shew this to Col. Saltonstall, & others as You please.<sup>4</sup>

RC (Robert J. Sudderth, Jr., Lookout Mountain, Tenn., 1973).

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Mumford (1728–99), Groton, Conn., merchant, representative to the Connecticut Assembly, and agent for the Secret Committee of Congress in 1776. James G. Mumford, *Mumford Memoirs* (Boston: Updike, Merrymount Press, 1900), pp. 142–50.

<sup>2</sup> The Suffolk Resolves, delivered to Congress September 17, and the Boston Committee's September 29 letter expressing alarm at British fortification of Boston, laid before Congress October 6. *JCC*, 1:31, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Deane is probably referring to Rivington's allegation "that the Congress have not yet been able to agree on any point." *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer* . . . , October 6, 1774; and *Connecticut Courant, and Hartford Weekly Intelligencer*, October 10, 1774.

<sup>4</sup> Gurdon Saltonstall, Jr., was Deane's father-in-law.



## George Read to Gertrude Read

My dear Gitty

Phila. 16th Octr. 1774

It is now brot. to Sunday Morning again & no certainty yet of the time I am to return to you.

The Virginians give out that they will go off this day Week, but I doubt the business before us will not be in that State it ought by that time. Mrs. Biddle left this on Friday and that Evening her Husband was made Speaker of the House of Assembly of this Province. I have not seen him since. I am told the Chair went A begging. Galloway was named twice or Thrice to it. John Morton of Chester County once. Mr. Dickinson once. Galloway & Dickinson excused themselves for want of health & unexpectedly A Member for Northampton County got up and prefaced his Motion very well, as it is said, taking Notice of the difficulties the House were under and said that he had A person in his Eye who had both Health and abilities equal to the Service and as soon as he named Mr. Biddle the House were in an Uproar, refused to hear any apology from him & as many as could lay hold of him did and forced him into the Chair—on a unanimous Vote.<sup>1</sup> Tho I am pleased with the distinction that is paid him—I am afraid it will be prejudicial to his Interest. I dined at the Governor's yesterday very agreeably, the Set were Mrs. Elliott from New York, Mr. Gibson & his Wife, Miss Oswald, John Wilcocks & myself—and last night I went to Club with Mr. Hamilton whom I met with at the Coffee house but our Company there was not so sprightly. I am told there are letters in Town from Boston mentioning Genl. Gage's declining State of health, supposed to be owing to uneasiness of Mind & that he is now actually confined to his Bed—most persons who wish for Peace wish his recovery. It is also said that there are some Letters in A Late Vessel from Liverpool mentioning that the American Cause is gaining ground in England & that Hutchinson & Bernard will be made the Scape Goats by the Ministry. I hear of Numbers of Persons having Intermittents so that the Philadelphians must Leave boasting of the healthiness of their Town. Mr. Paca of Anapolis was seized with it yesterday. Jas Allen has it & others I do not now recollect—I have felt nothing of it since you left me. Eating & drinking distress me most. However I was moderate yesterday, the ladies were the Means of it in some Measure and the wine at the Tavern at Night was bad. All are well at Jemmy Read's and send their love to you. I yesterday delivered my resignation in Writing of the Attorney General's Office to the Governor when he told he wou'd Order A Commission to be made out for Jacob Moore as Mr. Rodney had strongly recommended him. Mr. McPherson came to me on Thursday and asked me to go with him to the governor, but I was obliged to decline it—as Moore was the person I had

in View to succeed me tho I have a very favourable opinion of McPherson. Moore very luckily came to Town on Wednesday last. He & his Wife lodge at Mrs. Vining's. I do not know when they will be down. I send [. . .] Trunks of Mrs. Read's with some linnen & there are two Pots of Fish aboard for you. And I am yors. most Affectely.  
Geo. Read

[P.S.] The governor goes to Chester Wednesday afternoon & to your Town next day. We propose to get Mr. Rodney down.

RC (MH).

<sup>1</sup> Read's testimony is in contrast to recent scholarship which suggests that Galloway was ousted from the speakership of the Pennsylvania Assembly by more radical anti-British assemblymen. Benjamin H. Newcomb, *Franklin and Galloway: A Political Partnership* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 258.

## Samuel Adams to Thomas Young

My dear Sir

Philadelphia Octob [17?] 1774

I have receivd your<sup>1</sup> favors of 29th Sept and 11th Instant, the latter of which is just come to hand. The affidavit inclosed confirms the report in Boston about the begining of July, of a Mans being seizd by the Soldiery, put under Guard & finally sent to England. But what Remedy can the poor injurd Fellow obtain in his own Country where *inter Arma silent Leges!* I have written to our Friends to provide themselves without Delay with arms & Ammunition, get well instructed in the military Art, embody themselves & prepare a complete Set of Rules that they may be ready in Case they are called to defend themselves against the violent Attacks of Despotism. Surely the Laws of Self Preservation will warrant it in this Time of Danger & doubtful Expectation. One cannot be certain that a distracted Minister will yield to the Measures taken by the Congress, though they should operate the Ruin of the National Trade, until he shall have made further Efforts to lay America, as he impiously expressd it "prostrate at his Feet."

I believe you will have seen before this reaches you, some further Resolves of the Congress relative to my native Town & Province together with a Letter to Gage.<sup>2</sup> They were sent to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston by Mr Revere who left us a Week ago, and I suppose are or will be publishd in the papers. You will therein see the sense of the Gentlemen here of the Conduct of the General and the "dignified Scoundrels," and of the opposition made to the tyrannical Acts. I think our Countrymen discover the Spirit of Rome or Sparta. I admire in them that Patience which you have often

heard me say is characteristick of the Patriot. I regretted your Removal from Boston when you first informd me of it, but I trust it will be for the publick Advantage. Wherever you may be I am very sure you will improve your ten Talents for the publick Good. I pray God to direct and reward you.

I am with due regard to Mrs Young, affectionately yours  
Saml Adams

FC (NN). Day blank in the MS, but dated the 17th in Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:162–63. Paul Revere, who according to Adams “left us a Week ago,” departed Philadelphia October 11.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Young (1731–77), physician, moved to Boston in 1766, where he quickly became a political intimate of Samuel Adams. Fearing for his safety, Young left Boston for Rhode Island on September 13, 1774, and in the spring of 1775 he moved to Philadelphia. Henry D. Edes, “Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731–1777,” *Transactions of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 11 (1906–07): 2–54.

<sup>2</sup> JCC, 1:59–62.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[October 17, 1774]

Fine day. Mr. John Dickenson appear'd in Congress a Member for Pennsylvania. Dind Ste[phen] Collins.

MS (MHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 17, 1774]

17th. Met, enumerated Grievances, Articles of Non Importation cons[idere]d. Mr. Dickinson joined Us.

MS (RHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 18, 1774]

18th. Met, compleated the Association, read the Memorial to the People of England.

MS (RHi).

## John Dickinson's Draft Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies

[October 19–21? 1774]

To the Inhabitants of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, The Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina,

Brethren,

We, the Delegates nominated and directed by the good People of the Colonies aforesaid, to meet at Philadelphia in the last Month of September, for the purposes respectively mentioned to Us by our Constituents, have in pursuance of the Trusts reposed in Us accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious Consideration, the important Matters recommended to Us as Subjects of our Deliberations.

Our Resolutions thereupon have been *⟨published⟩* communicated to You, and need not here be repeated: But as *⟨our Power was derived from You, and We are of consequence accountable to You⟩* the Situation of public Affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it may be more satisfactory to You to receive Information from Us in a collective Body, than in any other Manner, of those Sentiments, that have been approved upon a full & free Consultation and Discussion in Common Council by the Representatives of so great a Part of America, We esteem ourselves indispensably obliged to add this Address to the Resolutions already published.

In every Case of intended Opposition by a People to their Rulers, or of one State to another, Duty to Almighty God the Creator *⟨and Judge⟩* of all Men and Nations, commands, that a strict and impartial Judgment be formed of all Measures leading to such Consequences, and of the Causes that may have provoked, or may in any degree excuse them; that, neither Affection on the one side, nor Resentment on the other, being permitted to confuse the Understanding, or to prejudice the Integrity of the interested, Reason may be enabled to take a dispassionate View of all *⟨Transactions⟩* Circumstances, and to settle the public Conduct on sure and solid Foundations of Wisdom & Justice.

From Counsels thus tempered and directed arise the best *⟨Expectations⟩* Hopes of Divine Favor, the firmest Encouragements to those concern'd, and the strongest Recommendations to the rest of Mankind.

Our Minds being deeply impress'd with a Sense of these Truths,



We have diligently, deliberately, and calmly enquired into and considered the Proceedings of the legislative and executive powers of Great Britain that have excited so much Uneasiness & apprehension in these Colonies, and also the Behaviour of the Colonies. Upon the whole, so extraordinary and important is the Evidence, that We are reduced of Necessity to the ungrateful alternative of keeping Silence, and betraying the Innocent, or of speaking, and censuring those We wish to revere. In making the Choice of those distressing Difficulties; We prefer the Course dictated by Honesty and a Regard for the Wellfare of our Country.

Soon after the *(Accession of the present King, and the End of the last War, the Conduct of Parliament and Administration towards these Colonies began to change in a most remarkable Manner)* Conclusion of the last War, a memorable Change commenc'd in the *(Conduct)* Treatment of these Colonies. By a Statute made in the fourth Year of the present Reign, *in a Time of profound peace*, alledging the "Expediency of new provisions & Regulations for extending the Commerce between Great Britain and his Majesty's Dominions in America, and the Necessity of raising a Revenue in the said Dominions, for defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same," the Commons of Great Britain undertook to give & grant to his Majesty many heavy Rates & Duties to be paid in these Colonies, the said Statute prescribing a great number of severe penalties & Forfeitures for enforcing its Observance. In two sections of this Act, a remarkable Distinction is made between the Subjects in Great Britain and those in the Colonies. By the one, the Penalties & forfeitures incurr'd *there*, are to be recovered in any of the King's Courts of Record at Westminster or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and by the rest, the Penalties & Forfeitures incurr'd *here*, are to be recovered in any Court of Record or in any Court of Admiralty or Vice admiralty, at the Election of the Informer or prosecutor.

The Inhabitants of these Colonies full of Confidence in the Justice and Kindness of Great Britain had scarcely Time allowed them to receive and animadvert properly on the Nature of this Act, before another, well known by the Name of the *Stamp Act*, past in the fifth Year of this Reign, engaged their whole Attention. By this Statute Parliament in the most explicit manner exercis'd the new power of taxing these Colonies and extended the Jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty & Vice admiralty in the Colonies, to Matters happening *within the Body* of a County, *on Land*, directing the multitude of Penalties & Forfeitures thereby *(impos'd)* inflicted to be recovered in the said Courts *here*, but making the Distinction before mentioned, as to Penalties & Forfeitures to be recovered *elsewhere*.<sup>1</sup>

In the same Year, by another Act another Tax was impos'd on

these Colonies by the establishment of several new Fees, for the Customs.

In the next Year, the Stamp-Act was repealed, not because it was founded on an erroneous principle, but as the repealing Act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be attended with many Inconveniences, and might be productive of Consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial Interests of *(these Kingdoms)* Great Britain."

In the same Year, and by the immediately following Act, it was "declared, that his Majesty in parliament, of Right had Power to bind the People of these Colonies by Statues *in all Cases whatsoever*."

In the same Year, another Act was past for imposing Rates & Duties payable in these Colonies. In this Statute the Commons avoiding the Terms of *giving* and *granting*, "*humbly besought* his Majesty, that it might be enacted" &c. But from a Declaration in the *Preamble* that the Rates & Duties *(were declared to be)* were "*in Lieu*" of several others granted by the Statute first before mentioned, *for raising a Revenue*, and from some other Expressions, it *(plainly)* appears, that these Duties were intended *for that purpose*.

In the next Year, 1767, an Act was made "to enable his Majesty to put the Customs and *other Duties* in America, under the Management of Commissioners" &c And the King thereupon erected the present expensive Board of Commissioners; *(with power to enter & search Houses &c)* for the express purpose "of carrying into Execution the several Laws relating to the *Revenue & Trade in America*."

The people of these Colonies, having after the Repeal of the *Stamp Act*; resign'd themselves to their antient unsuspecting Affections for their parent State, and anxious to avoid any Controversy with her, in Hopes of a favorable Alteration in Sentiments & Measures towards them, did not press their Objections against the above mention'd Statutes made subsequent to that Repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling Causes, a Conduct that really proceeded from generous Motives, were encouraged in the same Year, 1767, to make a bolder Experiment on the Patience of these Colonies.

By a Statute, commonly call'd the *Glass, Paper & Tea Act*, made fifteen months after the Repeal of the *Stamp Act*, the Commons of Great Britain, resumed their former Language & again undertook to "*give and grant* Rates of Duties to be paid in these Colonies," for the express purpose of "*raising a Revenue*, to defray the Charges of the *Administration of Justice*, the support of *Civil Government*, and *defending* the King's Dominions" on this Continent. The Penalties & Forfeitures incurr'd under this Statute are to be recovered *in the same Manner*, with those mentioned in the foregoing Acts.

To this Statute so naturally tending to disturb the Tranquility then universal throughout the Colonies, Parliament, in the same Session added another no less extraordinary.

Ever since the making the present Peace, a standing Army has been kept in these Colonies. From Respect for the Mother Country, the Innovation was not only *(submitted)* tolerated, but the provincial Legislatures generally, made Laws for supplying the Troops, in Conformity to the Acts of Parliament, called the Mutiny Acts, by Which the Modes of quartering & providing for the Troops in America, were directed.

The Assembly of the Province of New York, having passed an Act of this kind, but differing in some Articles, as they judg'd to be just & expedient, from the Directions of the Act of Parliament made in the *fifth* Year of this Reign, the House of Representatives of that Colony was prohibited by a Statute made in the Session last mentioned, from making any Bill, order, Resolution or Vote, except for adjourning or chusing a Speaker, until Provision should be made by the said Assembly for furnishing the Troops within that Province, not only with all such Necessaries as were required by the Statute, *which they were charged with disobeying*; but also with such as were required by two other *subsequent* Statutes, which were declared to be in Force until the twenty fourth Day of March 1769.

These Statutes of the Year 1767, reviv'd the Apprehensions & Discontents that had entirely subsided on the Repeal of the *Stamp Act*, and Amidst *(these Apprehensions and Discontents)* the just Fears & Jealousies thereby occasioned, a Statute was made in the next Year, 1768, to establish Courts of *Admiralty* and *vice admiralty* on a new Model, expressly, for the End of more *effectually* recovering the *Penalties* and *Forfeitures* inflicted by Acts of Parliament framed for the purpose of *raising a Revenue* in America &c.

The immediate Tendency of these Statutes, is to subvert the Right of having a Share in Legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the Money of the Colonists without their Consent; the Right of Trials by Jury, by substituting in their Place Trials in Admiralty & Vice Admiralty Courts, where single Judges preside, holding their commissions during pleasure, *(with Salaries payable out of the Effects condemned by themselves, in place of Trials by Jury)* and unduely to influence the Courts of Common Law by render[ing] the Judges thereof totally dependant on the Crown for their Salaries.

These Statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with an other, will be found not only to form a regular System in which every part has great Force, but also a pertinacious Adherence to that System, for subjugating these Colonies, that are not and from local Circumstances cannot be represented in

⟨*Parliament*⟩ the House of Commons to the uncontrouled and unlimited Power of ⟨*Great Britain*⟩ Parliament, in violation of their undoubted & accustomed Rights and Liberties, in contempt of their well known and grievous Afflictions, their humble and repeated Supplications.

This Conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable, when it is considered, how unprovoked it has been by any Behaviour of these Colonies. From their first Settlement ⟨*to the Time of the Stamp Act*⟩ their bitterest Enemies never fix'd on any of them a Charge of Disloyalty to their Sovereign or of Disaffection to their Mother Country. In the Wars She has carried on, they have exerted themselves, whenever they were required, to give her assistance, & have rendered her Services, which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their Fidelity, Duty, & Usefulness, during the last War, were frequently & affectionately confest by his late Majesty & the present King ⟨*and Parliament repeatedly made them Compensations for those heavy Expences and Exertions of those strenuous Efforts, which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength they had Most fully incur'd*⟩.

The Reproaches of those who are most unfriendly to the Freedom of America, are principally urged against the province of Massachusetts Bay; but, how much without Cause, is proved by the following Declarations of a person, the Truth of whose Evidence in their Favor, will not be questioned.

Governor Bernard in his Speech on the 24th of April 1762, thus addresses the two Houses of Assembly—"The Unanimity & Dispatch, with which You have complied with the *Requisitions of his Majesty* require my particular Acknowledgement, and it gives Me additional Pleasure to observe, that You have therein acted under no other Influence than a due sense of your Duty, both as Members of a general Empire, and as the Body of a particular province."

In another Speech on the 27th of May in the same Year, he says—"Whatever shall be the Event of the War, it must be no small Satisfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. *Every Thing that hath been required of it, hath been complied with*; and the Execution of the powers committed to Me, for raising the provincial Troops, hath been as full and complete as the Grant of them. Never before were Regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the Field, as they have been this Year; the common people seemed to be animated with the Spirit of the General Court, and to vie with them in their Readiness to serve the King.

"The ample provision which has been already made, leaves Me nothing to ask for the immediate Service of the King."<sup>2</sup>

Such was the Conduct of the People of Massachusetts Bay, during



the last War. As to their Behaviour before that Period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great Britain, that not only on every Occasion, they had constantly & chearfully complied with the frequent royal Requisitions—but that chiefly by their vigorous Efforts, Nova Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisburgh in 1745.

Foreign Quarrels being ended, and the domestic Disturbances that quickly succeeded on Account of the Stamp Act, being quieted by its Repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay transmitted an humble Address of Thanks to the King; and soon after pass'd a Bill for granting Compensation to the Sufferers in the Disorders occasioned by that Act.

These Circumstances and the following Extracts from Governor Bernard's Letters in 1768 to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly shew, with what *(respect)* grateful Tenderness they strove to deposite in Oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late Disorders, and with what respectful Reluctance they endeavoured to escape other Subjects of future Controversy. "The House (says the Governor) from the Time of opening the session to this Day, has shewn a Disposition to *avoid* all Dispute with Me; every thing having passed with as much Good humour as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in *addressing* the King, *remonstrating* to the Secretary of State, and *employing* a separate Agent. It is the *importance of this Innovation*, without any Wilfullness of my own, which induces Me to make this Remonstrance, at a Time when I have a fair Prospect of having, *in all other Business*, nothing but good to say of the proceedings of this House." Jan 21. 1768.<sup>3</sup>

"They have acted *in all things*, even in their Remonstrance, *with temper & Moderation*; they have *avoided* some subjects of Dispute, and have laid a Foundation for *removing* some Causes of former Altercation." Jan. 30. 1768.

"I shall make such a prudent & proper use of this Letter, as I hope will perfectly restore the peace & tranquility of this province, for which purpose *considerable steps have been made by the House of Representatives*." Feb. 2. 1768.

The Vindication of the Province of Massachusetts Bay contained in these Letters, will have the greater Force, if it be considered, that they were written several months after the fresh Alarm given to the Colonies, by the Statutes past in the preceding Year. In this Place, it seems proper to take notice of the Insinuation in one of these Statutes, that the Interference of Parliament was *necessary*, to provide for "defraying the Charge of the *Administration of Justice*, the support of *Civil Government*, and *defending* the King's Dominions in America."

As to the two first Articles of Expence, every Colony had made such provision, as by their respective Assembly the best Judges on

such Occasions, was thought expedient, & suitable to their several Circumstances. As to the last, it is well known to all men the least acquainted with American Affairs, that the Colonies established & have always defended themselves, & generally without the least assistance from Great Britain; and, that at the Time of her *taxing* them by the Statutes before mentioned, most of them were labouring under very heavy Debts contracted in the last War. So far were they from sparing their Money, when their Sovereign constitutionally ask'd their aids, that during the Course of that War, Parliament repeatedly made them Compensations for the Expences of those "Strenuous Efforts," which, consulting their Zeal rather than their Strength, they had cheerfully incurr'd.

Severe as the Acts of *Parliament* before mentioned are, yet the Conduct of *Administration* has been equally injurious, and irritating to these devoted Colonies.

(*By an Order of the King, the Authority of*) Under Pretence of governing them so many new Institutions so uniformly rigid & dangerous, have been introduc'd, as could have been expected only from incensed Masters, for collecting the Tribute or rather the Plunder of conquered Provinces.

By an Order of the King, the authority of the Commander in Chief, & under him, of the Brigadiers general, *in time of Peace*, is rendered *supreme* in all the civil Governments in America; and thus an uncontrollable military Power is vested in Officers not known to the Constitution of these Colonies.

A large Body of Troops & a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their Money without their consent. Expensive & oppressive Offices have been multiplied, and the Arts of Corruption industriously practised to divide & destroy.

The Judges of the Admiralty & Vice Admiralty Courts, are empowered to receive their Salaries from the Effects to be condemn'd by themselves; and in the Commission to the Managers of the Customs, they are not required to apply to the Civil Magistrate, for Writs of Assistants, before they break open & enter Houses. (*Salaries have been granted by the Crown to*) Judges of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependant on the Crown for their Commissions (*during Pleasure*) & Salaries (*have been granted by the King out of Money levied upon the People without their Consent*). A Court has been established at Rhode Island for the purpose of taking Colonists to England to be tried.

Humble & (*dutiful*) reasonable Petitions from the Representatives of the People, have been frequently treated with Contempt; And Assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

From (*a single*) some few Instances it will sufficiently appear, on what Justice those Dissolutions have been founded.

The Tranquility of the Colonies having been again disturb'd, as has been mentioned, by the Statutes of the Year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a Letter to Governor Bernard, dated April 22d. 1768, censures the "*presumption*" of the House of Representatives, for "resolving upon a Measure of so inflammatory a Nature *as that of writing to the other Colonies, on the subject of their intended Representations against some late Acts of Parliament.*" then declares, that, "his Majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create *unwarrantable Combinations*, to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional Authority of parliament"—and afterwards adds—"It is *the King's Pleasure*, that as soon as the General Court is again assembled, at the Time prescribed by the Charter, You should require of the House of Representatives, in his Majesty's Name, to *rescind* the Resolution which gave Birth to the circular Letter from the speaker, and to declare their Disapprobation of, and Dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding." "If the new Assembly should refuse to comply with his Majesty's reasonable Expectation, it is the King's Pleasure that You should *immediately* dissolve them."

This Letter being laid before the House, & the Resolutions not being rescinded according to Order, the assembly was dissolv'd. A Letter of a similar Nature was sent to other Governors, to procure Resolutions approving of the Conduct of the (*House of*) Representatives in Massachusetts Bay, to be *rescinded* also; & Houses of Representatives in other Colonies refusing to comply, Assemblies were dissolved.

These Mandates spoke a Language, to which the Ears of English subjects had for several Generations been strangers. The Nature of Assemblies implies a power & Right of *Deliberation*. But these Commands proscribing the Exercise of Judgment on the propriety of the Requisitions made, left to the Assemblies only the Election between the dictated Submission or the threatened Punishment: A Punishment too (*inflicted for*) founded on no other Act, than such, as is deem'd innocent even in Slaves—that of agreeing in *Petitions* for Redress of Grievances that equally affect all.

The hostile & unjustifiable Invasion of the Town of Boston, soon followed these Events in the same Year; tho that Town, the province in which it is situated, & all the Colonies, from Abhorrance of a Contest with their Parent State, permitted the Execution even of those Statutes, against which they so unanimously were complaining, remonstrating, and supplicating.

Administration, (*eager*) determined to Subdue a Spirit of Freedom, which English Ministers should have *rejoiced* to cherish, (*adopted the insidious Measure of combining*) entered into a monopolising Combination with the East India Company, to send to this Continent vast Quantities of Tea, an Article on which Duties were



laid by a Statute, that in a particular Manner attack'd the Liberties of America & which therefore the Inhabitants of these Colonies had resolv'd not to import. The Cargo sent to South Carolina & *New York* was stored, & not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia, & New York, were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston, was destroyed by persons unknown, because the Government there, would not suffer it to be returned.

On the Intelligence of these Transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public spirited Town last mentioned, was singled out for Destruction & it was determined, that the Province it belongs to, should partake of its Fate. In the last session of Parliament therefore, were past the acts for shutting up the Port of Boston, indemnifying the "Murderers" of Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and changing their chartered Constitution of *that Province* Government. To enforce the Acts, that Province is again invaded by a Fleet & Army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficiently to explain them. For tho it is pretended that the Province of Massachusetts Bay has been particularly disrespectful to Great Britain, Yet in truth the Behaviour of the People in other Colonies has been an equal "Opposition to the Authority of Parliament." No Step, however, has been taken against any of those Colonies. This artful behaviour conceals several Designs. It is expected, that the province of Massachusetts Bay will be *transported* irritated into some violent Actions, that may displease the rest of the Continent, or that may *be exaggerated to justify to* induce the People of Great Britain, to approve meditated Vengeance of an imprudent exasperated Ministry.

If the unexampled Temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the Plan, it is hoped, the other Colonies will be so far intimidated, as to desert their *fellow sufferers* Brethren suffering in a Common Cause, and thus disunited, all may be subdued.

To promote these *truly horrid Designs, Machinations,* Designs, another Measure has been pursued. In the Session of Parliament last mentioned, an Act was passed, for changing the Government of Quebec, abolishing the Assembly & trials by Jury, restoring the French Laws, establishing the Roman Catholic Religion, & extending the Limits, of that province so as to comprehend those vast Regions that lye adjoining to the northernly and westernly Boundaries of these Colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary Arrangement flatter themselves, that the Inhabitants depriv'd of Liberty, & *enflamed by* artfully provoked against those of another Religion, will be proper Instruments for assisting in the oppressing of such as differ from them in Government & in Faith.

From the Detail of Facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic Intelligence receiv'd, it is clear beyond a Doubt, that a Reso-



lution is form'd, & is now carrying into Execution, to extinguish the Freedom of these Colonies, *<and reducing them into>* by subjecting them to a despotic Government.

At this unhappy Period, We have been authorized and directed to meet & consult together, for the Wellfare of our common Country. We accepted the important Trust with Diffidence but have endeavoured to discharge it with Integrity. Tho the *<present>* State of these Colonies would certainly justify other Measures, than We have advised, yet weighty Reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted.

In the first place, it appeared to Us *<an Action>* a Conduct becoming the Character these Colonies have ever *<uniformly>* sustained, to perform even in the Face of the unnatural Distresses & imminent Dangers that surround them, every Act of Loyalty; and therefore, We were induced to offer once more to his Majesty, the Petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection which We knew to be so universal among our Countrymen, the People of the Kingdom, from which we derive our Original,<sup>4</sup> We could not *<consent>* forbear to regulate our Steps by an Expectation of *<finding>* receiving full *<Satisfaction>* Conviction, that the Colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that Body subsists the social Band, which We ardently wish *never may* be dissolv'd, and, which *cannot* be dissolved, untill *their* Minds shall become indisputably hostile, or *their* Inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile, to persist in prosecuting with the Powers of the Realm, the destructive Measures already operating against the Colonists; and in either Case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compell'd to renounce every Regard, but that of Self preservation. Notwithstanding the Vehemence, with which Affairs have been impell'd they have not yet reach'd that fatal point. We *<chuse not>* do not incline to accelerate their Motion, already *<alarmingly>* suffici[ently] rapid. We have chosen a method of Opposition, that does not preclude a hearty Reconciliation with our Fellow Citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent Necessity that presses Us to an immediate Interruption of our Commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust, that they will acquit Us of any unkind Intentions towards them, by reflecting, that, We subject ourselves to similar Inconveniences: that, We are *<involved in such>* driven by the Hands of Violence into unexperienced and unexpected public Convulsions: that, We are contending for Freedom, so often contended for by our Ancestors.

The People of England will soon have an Opportunity of declaring their Sentiments concerning our Cause. In their Piety, *<Virtue>* generosity, & Good sense, we repose high Confidence, and cannot,

upon a Review of past Events, be persuaded that they, the Defenders of true Religion, & the Assertors of the *Liberties of* Rights of Mankind, will take part against their affectionate protestant Colonists, in Favor of our open and their own secret Enemies whose Intrigues for several Years past, have been wholly exercis'd in Sapping the Foundations of civil & religious Liberty.

Another Reason that engaged Us to prefer the *present* commercial Mode of opposition, arose from an Assurance that this Mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with Fidelity & Virtue; and that your Conduct will be influenc'd by these laudable Principles cannot be questioned. Your own Salvation, and that of your posterity now depends upon Yourselves. You have already shewn *a due sense of the Blessings for which You are strugglin[g]* that you entertain a proper sense of the Injuries offered to you, & a just sense of the Blessings You are striving to retain. Against the temporary Inconveniences You may suffer from a Stoppage of Trade, You will weigh in the opposite Ballance, the endless Miseries You & your Descendants must endure from an established arbitrary Power. You will not forget the *Glory* Honour of your Country, that must *inevitably* from your Behaviour take its title in the Estimation of the World, to Glory or to shame; and You will, with the deepest Attention reflect, that if the peaceable Mode of Opposition recommended by Us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel & haughty Enemies, from a contemptuous Opinion of your Firmness, insolently predict will be the Case, You must inevitably be *compell[ed]* reduc'd to chuse, either a more dangerous Contest, or a final and infamous Submission.

*We cannot conclude this address* Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your *Affairs* unhappy Condition, must excite your utmost Diligence & Zeal, to give all possible Strength & Energy to the Measures calculated for your Relief. But, We think ourselves bound in Duty, to observe to You, that the schemes agitated against these Colonies have been conducted with such an Excess of Fury, that it appears probable to us, that some other Acts of violence may be committed in the approaching Winter or next Year. We judge it therefore prudent, that You should extend your Views to those Events that may happen and be in every Respect, as well prepared as You can be for every Contingency. Above all Things, we earnestly entreat You with Devotion of Spirit, Penitence of Heart, and Amendment of Life, to humble Yourselves and implore the *Assistance* Favor of Almighty God: & We fervently beseech his divine Goodness to take You into his gracious Protection.

MS (PHi). In the hand of John Dickinson. This 17-page draft, heavily interlined and containing numerous marginal notes that survived in the final memorial adopted October 21, is in the R. R. Logan Collection of Dickinson papers at PHi









(see illustrations). Although authorship of the "Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies" has traditionally been assigned to Richard Henry Lee, this MS demonstrates that Dickinson was the author of the memorial that Congress approved.

No other contemporary evidence bearing upon the authorship of this document has been found. As in the case of nearly all the public papers prepared in committees of Congress, the earliest known accounts pertaining to individual authorship date from the early 19th century. Thus until this collection of Dickinson's papers became available in 1969, historians were forced to rely upon accounts reconstructed from memory by Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and John Jay written during the years 1805 to 1823. It is of particular interest that most of these accounts have a common origin in an 1805 query William Wirt directed to Thomas Jefferson. In response to Wirt's plea for information on Patrick Henry, whose biography Wirt planned to write, Jefferson penned an account which covered some matters that transpired in September and October 1774, although he had not been a delegate to the first Congress. Wirt incorporated Jefferson's comments into his *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia: James Webster, 1817), pp. 108-9, and until recent years these were frequently relied upon by students of the Revolution, notwithstanding the fact that Jefferson had obtained his information at second hand, and because of this stated that he ought not to be quoted on the subject of "the addresses prepared for Congress by Henry and Lee." *PMHB*, 34 (October 1910): 406. When John Adams read Wirt's study of Henry, he immediately wrote to Jay, questioning Wirt's account of the authorship of the various petitions and addresses of Congress. Jay's response, which was vague, apologetic in tone, and based chiefly on the printed journals of Congress, confirmed only that he was the author of the address to the people of Great Britain. William Jay, *The Life of John Jay: with Selections from His Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers*, 2 vols. (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), 2:378-84. But in an account he wrote in 1823 to the grandson of Richard Henry Lee, in answer to a question about Lee's role as a member of "the three leading committees appointed by the Congress of 1774," Jay was more explicit, although he again insisted that his recollection was "not distinct." "It was agreed, in the committee," Jay recalled, "that Mr. Lee should prepare a draught of the proposed memorial [*"to the people of British America"*], which was the first, both in order and importance; and that I should prepare a draught of the proposed address to the people of Great Britain, both of which were done accordingly. On the 18th October, the address to the people of Great Britain was reported to Congress. . . . On the 19th October, the committee reported a draught of a memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies. . . . I have always believed that this memorial was written by Mr. Lee, nor have any reasons to doubt it, come to my knowledge." Richard H. Lee, *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee* . . . , 2 vols. (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1825), 1:271.

That Dickinson did not take his seat in Congress until October 17 only deepens the mystery about when and under what circumstances this document came to be drafted. Since so little time was available to compose such a long draft, one might conclude that Dickinson immediately set to work on his version to offer as an alternate to the committee's original draft when it was reported and ordered to lie on the table October 19. As a consequence of the debate on the memorial on the 20th, he may then have been asked to complete his draft to rescue the delegates from an impasse. In any case, this was undoubtedly the document that was "gone through and debated by paragraphs" and approved the 21st. Whatever the exact circumstances, which must remain conjectural, and notwithstanding the fact that the journals indicate that Lee, Jay, and William Livingston were the sole members of the committee appointed to draft both the address to the people of Great Britain and the memorial to the people of British America, the testimony of this

draft speaks clearly in behalf of Dickinson's authorship of the latter memorial. Whether he built his work upon the committee's reported draft or began fresh to compose an essentially new document cannot be determined, but it is possible that on this point there is a parallel to the joint contributions of Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson in drafting the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking up Arms" the following July, for which see the suggestive comments of Julian P. Boyd in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:190-92.

<sup>1</sup> The last 16 words of this sentence were omitted in the final version. *JCC*, 1:92.

<sup>2</sup> This brief paragraph was omitted in the final version. *JCC*, 1:94.

<sup>3</sup> Footnoted and placed in the margin of MS, as were the dates added at the end of the following two paragraphs.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in the MS and printed "original" in the early editions of *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress*, but the word "origin" was subsequently used in various 1774 printings of the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774*.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 19, 1774]

19th. Met, read the Memorial to the Americans.

MS (RHi).

## John Adams' Diary

1774 Thursday Octr. 20.

Dined with the whole Congress at the City Tavern, at the Invitation of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, the whole House dined with Us, making near 100 Guests in the whole—a most elegant Entertainment.<sup>1</sup> A Sentiment was given, "May the Sword of the Parent never be Stain'd with the Blood of her Children." Two or 3 broadbrims, over against me at Table—one of em said this is not a Toast but a Prayer, come let us join in it—and they took their Glasses accordingly.

MS (MHi). Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:155.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Treat Paine recorded his attendance at this dinner in his diary for this day: "Dind at City Tavern with the Congress, they being Invited by the House of Assembly of this Province, a very Elegant Entertainment." MHi. George Washington's diary account for the 20th is similar: "Dind at the New Tavern with the Pensa. Assembly. Went to the Ball afterwards." Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:168.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 20, 1774]

20th. Met, considered the Memorial and signed the Association.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup>Apparently some delegates signed the association although opposed to it. Joseph Galloway, for example, subsequently protested that he had only reluctantly signed the association. "That he [*i.e.*, *Galloway himself*] signed the association is true. But that he and a number of other delegates did not sign it as their *private act*, or as *binding on themselves or their constituents*, is as true. . . . Otherwise, the congress knew they never would have signed it. And therefore to prevail on them to sign it, it was said it should be done *by order* of the congress; and then it would be that act of a majority, and not of each private person, nor his particular act. That such was the case of a speaker of assembly who signed a bill or other legislative act *by order*, tho' against his judgment, which could not be considered as his private act, but that of the majority who made the order. In consequence of this mode of reasoning, an order was made, and the clause next preceding the delegates names was added to the association in these words, 'the foregoing association on being determined upon by the congress, *was ordered* to be signed by the *several* members thereof, and *thereupon* we have here unto set our *respective* names *accordingly*.' Now, however just this reasoning may be thought, it was the reasoning of the congress; and it was one, among other reasons, which prevailed on the author of the plan [*i.e.*, *his plan of union*] and a number of other delegates to sign the association." Joseph Galloway, *A Reply to an Address to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, 'A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies,' &c.* (New York: James Rivington, 1775), pp. 39–40.

For the opposition of the South Carolina delegates to the Association, four of whom temporarily withdrew from Congress at the prospect that indigo and rice would not be exempted from the nonexportation provision, see their Report to the South Carolina Provincial Congress, January 11, 1775.

## Patrick Henry's Draft Address to the King

[October 21? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

May it please your most excellent Majesty

Graciously to receive the humble & dutifull address of your Majestys most loyal subjects the Representatives of all the American Colonys Situated between Nova Scotia & Georgia now met in general Congress. When we present ourselves before the Throne with hearts deeply impressed with a Sense of that Duty affection & Loyalty which we owe & Cordially tender to the person of your most sacred Majesty, we lament the necessity by which we are compelled to complain of injurys of the most alarming nature. These Complaints are not the Voice of Faction, but the United Sense of North America.

Several Acts & Resolutions of Parliament made since the begining of the year 1763 have violated the dearest rights & most essential privileges which belong to us as freemen & British Subjects. We mean the Acts made for raising a Revenue in America—for extending the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty beyond the ancient limits—The Resolutions of the two houses of Parliamt. & the Act declaring that persons who commit certain Crimes in America shall be tryed beyond the Seas—& The several Acts passed last session of

Parliamt. respecting the Town of Boston & Province of Massachusetts Bay & that for altering the Govermt. & extending the Limits of Canada.<sup>2</sup>

These Acts & proceedings are fraught with mischief & destruction to America. Some of them take from us the power of giving & granting our own money because taxes are thereby imposed for raising a Revenue in America, and as the pretence for such interposition of Parliament is to provide a Fund for supporting the Government & the Administration of Justice therein, & for defending securing & protecting the Colonys, We do assure your Majesty that the Colony assemblys have made or are willing to make ample provision for defraying all the necessary expences of supporting Government & the administration of Justice in their respective Colonys: That our Militia if put upon a proper footing, which we are willing & desirous should be immediately done, would be sufficient for our defense in time of peace. And in case your Majesty should at any time be engaged in war, your Colonies are ready to grant supplies for raising any other forces that may be necessary.<sup>3</sup>

By other Acts & extrajudicial Resolutions the parliament has attempted to take from us the darling privilege of Tryal by Jurys of the Vicinage & to send us far away from our Native Land to encounter a series of sufferings & Distress too great to be borne. How deplorable must be the Condition of that man who seized & shackled in America, must bid adieu to his native Country & embark for a distant one when the pains & sufferings of a tedious Imprisonment will not be alleviated by the assistance of Friends or the hope that Innocence will be acquitted. On the Contrary the unhappy sufferer far removed from the possibility of proving his innocence & from all that can minister to his Necessitys or soften his Distresses must Sink under the accumulated Misery & find no Asylum but in Death.

The Town of Boston & Province of Massachusetts Bay present to our View a most alarming Example of Parliamentary Vengeance. With Greif & astonishment we behold those powers of Government which so long harmonized with America now formed into dangerous Efforts for her destruction! Judge Royal Sir what must be our feelings when we see our fellow subjects of that Town & Colony suffering a Severity of punishment of which the British History gives no Example, & the Annals of Tyranny can scarcely equal. And when we see in the Fate of this our sister Colony that which awaits us, we are filled with the most terrible apprehensions—Apprehensions which are heighten'd & increased almost to Despair, when we turn our Attention to the Quebec Act.

In vain do your Majestys faithfull Subjects look around them for a ground to hope that they or their Posterity can be safe free or happy in the neighbourhood of a Government so much at variance with



the true Spirit of English liberty. The Religion of Rome bloody Idolatrous & strongly inimical to Protestantism will ever stimulate its Votarys to attempts fatal to those who differ from them in Religious & Civil Policy. Strongly impressed with these Sentiments we cheerfully contributed our blood & treasure to the conquest of that country in the late war confident that we should thereby change a dangerous & hostile neighbour into a British Province & strengthen the Protestant interest & the cause of Liberty. Our amazement therefore is indeed extreme to see these well-grounded hopes disappointed, & that Popery & the Laws of France have found Establishment & Patronage in a British Parliament. The local extent assigned for the Operation of this fatal scheme of Government is an additional Circumstance to make it dangerous & alarming to the ancient British Colonys.

Thus encompassed with Injurys apprehensions & Dangers, your faithfull American Subjects look up to your Majesty for Assistance & Relief. We most earnestly entreat you Royal Sire to interpose your Royal Influence to procure us Redress of these our Greivances. We are distressed with the most Poignant feelings, by that prospect which the present System adopted by Parliament holds up to our view. Unworthy submission, or unjust Resistance are Equally far from us & abhorrent to our Ideas. Either would render unfit objects of yr. Majestys Paternal regards—Drive us not to Despair—Urge us not to the last extremity most gracious Sovereign. We can never submit to the Encroachments of the British Parliament. Compell us not therefore to that Situation in which All is Gloom & horror, & from whence no Ray of Peace or Comfort can be discern'd. All we ask is that we may be restored to that State in which America stood at the Close of the last War. We desire no new privileges. Restore us royal Sir our Ancient & indubitable rights & we are contented. We shall then return with Joy & Gladness to that friendly intercourse & mutually beneficial commerce so much to be desired by the mother Country & the Colonys, but which has of late been so unhappily disturbed.

Thus restored to peace & tranquility we shall bless the royal hand that was held forth for our Deliverance. We shall rejoice under the Dominion of a Prince to whom Allegiance Affection & Gratitude shall concur to bind us by their most sacred ties. Your Majestys faithfull Americans will ever be ready to offer their blood & treasure to Support your Majestys illustrious house. And we trust that no length of Time no distance of Situation or change of Circumstances shall ever efface the remembrance of that Signal interposition of yr. Majesty upon which we rely for Deliverance from the wicked Attempts of those Ministers whose Designs are fatal to the true interests of yr. Majesty & destructive to all that is dear to us.

MS (PPL). In the hand of Patrick Henry.

<sup>1</sup> On October 1, 1774, Congress resolved to prepare an address to the king, and for that purpose appointed a committee consisting of Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, Thomas Johnson, Patrick Henry, and John Rutledge. The next week, Congress devoted three days to debating instructions to the committee, but subsequently other matters intruded to dominate the work of the delegates, and another two weeks elapsed before Congress returned to the subject. On October 21 a draft address to the king was read and debated in Congress, but when it met a cool reception the document was recommitted and John Dickinson was added to the committee. On the 24th the enlarged committee reported another draft address, which was "debated by paragraphs . . . approved and ordered to be engrossed" the following day, and two engrossed copies were signed by the delegates on the 26th. *JCC*, 1:53-55, 102-4, 113.

For a discussion of the work of the committee and the date and authorship of the three drafts of the address that survive, see Edwin Wolf 2d, "The Authorship of the 1774 Address to the King Restudied," *WMQ* 22 (April 1965): 194-99. See also Richard Henry Lee's Draft Address to the King, October 21? 1774; and John Dickinson's Draft Address to the King, October 22? 1774.

<sup>2</sup> In the final version transmitted to England, this list of objectionable acts was revised and expanded to a 14-paragraph catalog of grievances. Wolf, "Authorship," pp. 203, 220-21.

<sup>3</sup> The substance of this paragraph is contained in the resolution adopted by Congress October 3. *JCC*, 1:53-54.

## Richard Henry Lee's Draft Address to the King

[October 21? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

May it please your most excellent Majesty

Graciously to permit your dutiful Subjects the Representatives of your loyal People in North America to approach the Throne and humbly to entreat the royal attention to those Grievances, which have for ten years past, with increasing violence threatned danger and ruin to Antient Constitutional Rights which your Majesties faithful Subjects in this western world have long enjoyed under your Majesties royal Progenetors. The history of these Colonies, may it please your Majesty, is one continued proof of unshaken loyalty to their Sovereigns, of unremitting zeal for the glory and prosperity of Great Britain, to which, their active labors have much contributed. No rebellions, no traiterous dissaffections have ever disgraced their story, or disturbed the repose of the Mother Country. These truths may sufficiently prove to your Majesty, that nothing less than imminent dangers and most oppressive Grievances could now move a numerous people of such steady and persevering Loyalty. Such, may it please your Majesty, are certain Acts of your British Parliament passed in the 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th &                      years of your Majesties reign, which destroy every idea of property in your Majesties American dominions, and in many cases deprive the Subject of his antient, equitable, and legal trial by Jury, and unnecessarily endanger his life,

by ordaining its trial in far distant Courts, where want of evidence and assistance of friends may conspire to destroy the most innocent of your Majesties subjects. We say unnecessarily may it please your Majesty, because your Majesties Courts, with compitent Laws, are here open to the punishment of all Offenders who shall dare to commit Treason, or disturb the quiet of Society. It is not to be wondered, may it please your Majesty, that apprehensions of distress and danger do greatly disturb your people in North America, when they see such extensive and unexampled Oppressions fixed by military force on many thousands of your Majesties brave and loyal people of the Massachusetts Bay, without their ever having been called upon to answer, or heard in their defence, repugnant, as they have thought, to the practise of the just in all Ages. Added to these most alarming proceedings, we have the misfortune Great Sir, to see an arbitrary government and the Roman Catholic religion established in Canada, now so extended along the borders of the Colonies, as to comprehend the greater part of North America; a Religion equally destructive of the independency of Princes and the Civil and Religious liberties of Mankind, so fatally fixed on the ruin of Protestants, that the Laws of England have, since the Reformation carefully guarded against its admission into the British dominions. Sensible, may it please your Majesty, that the greatness and glory of the Sovereign are best supported by the freedom and happiness of his people, and devoted as your Majesties faithful American Subjects are to the Protestant succession in the House of Brunswick, and most earnestly wishing to preserve in its greatest purity the excellent Constitution of England as settled at the Revolution, they feel with the deepest affliction that their happiness and security can never exist with those violent and unconstitutional Councils which are ever ready to be suggested by Tory Counsellors whither in or *out* of place, Men, whose principles of Government, however artfully concealed, are at fatal enmity with Revolution principles and the Hanoverian Succession. May we be permitted Most gracious Sovereign to assure your Majesty that no machinations of such Men, or any other of your Majesties Enemies shall ever succeed, if they can be prevented by the fullest exertion of the lives and fortunes of your Majesties loyal and affectionate Subjects in North America. Unpractised in Courts and unused to dissemble, we most humbly pray your Majesty to pardon the freedom with which duty and loyalty to our Sovereign compels us to declare that our apprehensions of danger can never cease so long as the unwise and destructive Councils of the Lords Bute, Mansfield, and North are suffered to approach the Throne.

The grievances of your Majesties faithful American Subjects are with great humility, presented, we hope, for the favorable attention of our Sovereign, the Father of all his People.

MS (ViU) . In the hand of Richard Henry Lee.

<sup>1</sup>For the date of this draft, see Edwin Wolf 2d, "The Authorship of the 1774 Address to the King Restudied," *WMQ* 22 (April 1965): 196-98. See also Patrick Henry's Draft Address to the King, October 21? 1774; and John Dickinson's Draft Address to the King, October 22? 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 21, 1774]

21st. Met, entered into several Resolves. Recommitted the Petition to the King.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup>The second sentence of this entry is located in the MS between Ward's original entry for October 21 and his regular entry for the following day, in such a way as to suggest that Ward actually wrote it on the latter date.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Saturday. Octr. 22.

Dined in the Country, with Mr. Dickinson, with all the Delegates from N. England. Mr. Duane, Mr. Reed, Mr. Livingstone &c.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:155.

## Silas Deane to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir Philadelphia Octo. 22d 1774

The Business lying before the Congress appears so nearly closed, that We doubt not but that We shall be able to leave This City, next Wednesday, or Thursday. All the Capital points are agreed on, & I have the pleasure of assuring Your Honor, that the greatest Unanimity has subsisted through the whole of Our proceedings. Our Resolves, addresses &c, are preparing for the press having already been signed, by each Member of the Congress. But I find in this, like other Assemblies, that the finishing part of Business which being the most critical and requiring the greatest attention, is Too often, left to the close, of the Session, and is of course, ever in danger, of [Suff]ering, through the hurry of the Members. Our President is obliged To leave Us Tomorrow, in order to meet the House of Burgesses of Virginia,<sup>1</sup> and if We can set out on Thursday Next, hope to be in New Haven the Monday Following.



I am with great Truth & regard Your Honor's Most Obedt. &  
most Hume. Servt. Silas Deane

[P.S.] You will excuse my inclosing Mr. Hosmers Letter with Yours,  
the safety of the Conveyance in this way is the Cause.

RC (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> Henry Middleton of South Carolina was chosen to replace Peyton Randolph as president, October 22. Randolph, according to the journals, was "unable to attend, on account of indisposition." *JCC*, 1:102.

## John Dickinson's Draft Address to the King

[October 22? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

To the King

May it please your Majesty,

We your Majesty's faithful Subjects, the Delegates<sup>2</sup> of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, The Counties of New Castle Kent & Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina, in General Congress met, by this, our humble Petition, beg Leave to represent the Grievances of your loyal People in America.

By several Acts of Parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth Years of your Majesty's Reign, Duties are imposed on the Inhabitants of these Colonies, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue, and the Powers of Admiralty Courts are extended beyond their antient Limits, whereby the Property of the said Inhabitants is taken from them without their Consent, the Trial by Jury in many civil Cases is abolish'd, enormous Forfeitures are incurr'd for slight Offences, vexatious Informers are exempted from paying Damages to which they are justly liable, and oppressive Security is required from Owners, before they are allowed to defend their Right.

Resolution of Parlt. th[at] Col[onis]ts may be tried under 35 H. 8.

Another Statute made in the twelfth Year of your Majesty's Reign, directs, that persons charged with committing any Offence therein described in any Place out of the Realm of Great Britain, may be indicted & tried for the same in any Shire or County within the said Realms whereby Inhabitants of these Colonies may in several capital Cases be deprived of a Trial by their Peers of the Vicinage.

In the last Session of Parliament, an Act was past, for blocking up the Port of Boston; another for indemnifying "Murderers" of Colonists in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from legal Punishment, by ordering them to be carried to Great Britain for Trial; a third, for

altering the chartered Constitution of Government in that province; and a fourth, for extending the Limits of Canada, & establishing the Roman Catholic Religion, and an absolute Government on a French model,<sup>3</sup> throughout those vast Regions that border on the westernly and northernly Boundaries of the free, Protestant, English Settlements.<sup>4</sup>

To a Sovereign who “glories in the Name of Briton,” the bare Recital of these Acts will justify the loyal Subjects who fly to the Foot of his Throne, and implore his Clemency for protection from them.

From these Sources too hastily and unkindly opened have flowed these Distresses, Dangers, Fears & Jealousies that overwhelm your Majesty’s dutiful Colonists with Afflictions; and We defy our most inveterate & subtle Enemies to trace the unhappy Differences between Great Britain & these Colonies from an earlier period or from other Causes than We have assigned. Had they proceeded on our Part from a restless Levity of Temper, the unjust Impulses of Ambition, or the artful Suggestions of Seditious Persons, We should merit the opprobrious Terms frequently bestowed upon Us, by those We revere. But so far from promoting Innovations, We have only oppos’d them; and can be charged with no other Crime, than that of receiving Injuries, and being sensible of them.

Had Almighty God been pleased to give Us our Existence in a Land of Slavery, the Sense of our Condition might have been mitigated by the Force of Education & Habit.<sup>5</sup> But Thanks be to his adorable Goodness, We were Born the Heirs of Freedom, and ever enjoyed our Right under the Auspices of your royal Ancestors, whose Family was seated on the British Throne, to secure a pious & gallant Nation from the Popery and Despotism, meditated by a superstitious, and inexorable Tyrant. Your Majesty justly rejoices, We are confident, that your Title to the Crown is thus founded on the Title of your People to Liberty; and therefore, We doubt not, but your royal Wisdom must approve the Sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the Blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that Compact, that elevated the illustrious House of Brunswick to the Dignity it now possesses.

The Apprehensions of being degraded into a State of Servitude from the preeminent Rank of English Freemen, while our Minds retain the strongest Love of Liberty, and clearly foresee the Miseries preparing for our Posterity, excite Emotions in our Breasts which tho We cannot describe, We should not wish to conceal.<sup>6</sup> By giving this faithful Information, We do all in our Power to promote the great Objects of your royal Cares, the Tranquility of your Government and the Wellfare of your People.

Our Duty to your Majesty, and Regard for the Preservation of

ourselves and our Posterity, the primary Obligations of Nature & of Society, command Us to entreat your royal Attention; and as Your Majesty enjoys the signal Distinction of reigning over Freeman, and therefore of being acquainted with their Language, We cannot apprehend our Address will be displeasing.<sup>7</sup> Your royal Indignation will rather fall, We hope, on those designing and dangerous Men, who<sup>8</sup> for several Years past incessantly employed to dissolve the Bonds of Society by<sup>9</sup> prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of Oppression, have at Length compell'd Us by the Force of accumulated Injuries too numerous & too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's Repose by our Complaints.

These Sentiments are extorted from Hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty's Service; yet so greatly have We been misrepresented, that a Necessity has been alledged of taxing Us,<sup>10</sup> to defray the Charge of the Administration of Justice, the support of Civil Government, and the Defence & Protection & Security of the Colonies. But We beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that such adequate Provision has been made for defraying the two first Articles of Expences as has been judged by the Legislatures of the several Colonies just & suitable to their respective Circumstances; and for the Defence Protection & Security of the Colonies, their Militias if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in Time of Peace; and in Case of War, your faithful Colonists will be ready and willing as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their Loyalty to your Majesty by exerting their most strenuous Efforts in granting Supplies and raising Forces. Knowing, that no Subjects in the British Dominions exceed them in affectionate Attachment to your Majesty's person, Family, & Government, they too dearly prize the Privilege of expressing that Attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the Prince who receives them and to the People that gives them, ever to resign it to any Body of Men upon Earth.

Had they been permitted to enjoy in Quiet the Inheritance left them by their Forefathers, they would now have been peaceably, & cheerfully & usefully employed in recommending themselves by every Testimony of Devotion to your Majesty, & of veneration to their Parent State;<sup>11</sup> and tho now exposed to unexpected & unnatural Scenes of Distress by a Contention with that Nation in whose parental Guidance on all important affairs they have hitherto with filial Reverence constantly and implicitly trusted, and therefore they can derive no Instruction in their present unhappy Circumstances from any former Experience, and however successful their Enemies may be in bringing upon them fresh Censures and Misfortunes, yet no human Power can deprive them of the encouraging Consciousness, that they have acted as became free and honest Men and *(whatever*

*Censures*) or Misfortunes the artifices of their Enemies may bring upon them, they cannot be deprived of a encouraging Consciousness, that they have acted as became free and honest Men; and therefore they doubt not, but the Purity of their Intention and the Integrity of their Conduct will justify them at that grand Tribunal, before which all Mankind must submit to Judgment.

Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's faithful subjects, presume not to request any Diminution of the Prerogative, nor the Grant of any new Right in our Favor. Your Majesty's Authority is essential to the due Government of the Colonies; and if the Grievances We suffer by Means of the several Statutes before mentioned are redress'd, We are well assured, that the former Harmony between Great Britain & the Colonies, so necessary to the Happiness of both, and so ardently wish'd for by the latter, will be restored. We therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, to use your royal Authority & Recommendation to procure our Relief.<sup>12</sup>

That your Majesty may enjoy every Felicity, thro a long & glorious Reign, over loyal & happy Subjects, and that your Descendants may inherit your Prosperity & Dominions, till Time shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere & fervent Prayer.<sup>13</sup>

We only ask for Peace, Liberty, and Safety. We presume not to solicit any Diminution of the Prerogative, nor the Grant of any new Right in our Favor. The royal Authority and our subordinate Connection with Great Britain, We shall always carefully & zealously endeavour to support & maintain.<sup>14</sup>

Permit Us then, Gracious Sovereign, in the Name of all your faithful People in America, with the utmost Humility to implore You, for the Honor of Almighty God, whose pure Religion our Enemies are undermining; for your Glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your Subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the Interests of your Family, depending on an adherence to the Principles that enthroned it; for the Safety & Welfare of your Kingdoms & Dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable Dangers & Distresses; that your Majesty as the loving Father of your People connected by the same Bands of Law, Loyalty, Faith, and Blood, tho dwelling in various Countries, will not suffer the transcendent Relation formed by these Tyes to be violated, in uncertain Expectation of Effects, that if attained, never can compensate for the Calamities thro which they must be gained. We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that Your royal Authority and Interposition may be used for our Relief: and that a gracious and a present Answer may be given to this Petition.<sup>15</sup>



<sup>1</sup> For the date of this draft, see Edwin Wolf 2d, "The Authorship of the 1774 Address to the King Restudied," *WMQ* 22 (April 1965): 197–99. See also Patrick Henry's Draft Address to the King, October 21? 1774; and Richard Henry Lee's Draft Address to the King, October 21? 1774.

<sup>2</sup> For Dickinson's recommendation that this be changed to "Freemen," as well as the suggestion that "we," "us," and "our" be used throughout the final version, see Dickinson to Charles Thomson, October 22? 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick Henry's objections to the tone of this paragraph are discussed by Wolf, "Authorship," 210n.62, 211n.63, and 218n.86.

<sup>4</sup> The passage "Standg. army kept up & applied to enforce these Acts by his Ministers" appears in the margin between this and the succeeding paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> "Our creator" was substituted for "Almighty God" and "ignorance" for "Education" in the final version.

<sup>6</sup> The sentence "Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty," was added in the final version.

<sup>7</sup> Changed to "we apprehend the language of freemen can not be displeasing" in the final version.

<sup>8</sup> Added "daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and" in the final version.

<sup>9</sup> Added "abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects and" in the final version.

<sup>10</sup> Changed to "of taking our property from us without our consent" in the final version.

<sup>11</sup> "The state, from which we derive our origin" in the final version.

<sup>12</sup> This entire paragraph was rewritten as it appears in the second paragraph below, beginning "We only ask for Peace. . . ." It survived substantially in that revised form in the final version.

<sup>13</sup> This paragraph became the concluding one of the final version.

<sup>14</sup> Following this paragraph, separated by the space of a half-page, appears the sentence "Trust to her Justice for the Redress of the rest." This was apparently a note for an idea elaborated in the fourth from the last paragraph of the final version. Wolf, "Authorship," pp. 214n.77, 217, and 223–24.

<sup>15</sup> This ends the next to last paragraph of the final version. The passage in Dickinson's draft which follows was expanded and became in the final version the paragraph discussed in note 14 above. "That When our Fears & Jealousies occasioned by the System of Statutes & Regulations, adopted since the Close of the late War, for raising a Revenue in America, extending the Power of Courts of Admiralty and Vice Admiralty, trying persons in Great Britain for offences alledged to be committed in America, affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay, and altering the Government and extending the Limits of Quebec, shall be removed by the Abolishment of that System, the Harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies, so necessary to the Happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual Intercourse, will be immediately restored." For additional notes and passages appearing at the end of Dickinson's draft, see Wolf's explanations, *ibid.*, p. 218.

## John Dickinson to Charles Thomson

Dear Sir,

[October 22? 1774]

Please to propose to Coll. Lee the following Amendments in the Address to the King.

Instead of saying—"Delegates in Congress met"—say—Freemen.

Thus the alternate use of the Words—"We—they—us—they—our—their"—will be avoided.<sup>1</sup>

Instead of—"will justify the loyal Subjects" say must justify, We presume, the loyal Subjects.

Instead of—"We have only refused to submit to them" say—We have only oppos'd them.

Instead of "high Rank" say preeminent Rank.

After these Words towards the Conclusion—"new right in our Favor"—instead of the Words "Your Majesty's Authority is essential to the due Government of the Colonies" &c say The royal Authority, and of any new Right in our Favor. The royal Authority and our subordinate Connection with Great Britain We shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to preserve and maintain.

There are some other Amendments at the latter part, which Haste will not allow Me to mention.

Is it right, to conclude such important Affairs in so great a Hurry. Do let Me know by the Bearer, if the Congress sets today.<sup>2</sup>

FC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> In the opening paragraph of Dickinson's draft of the Address to the King, October 22? 1774. For further explanation of the other suggested amendments, see Edwin Wolf 2d, "The Authorship of the 1774 Address to the King Restudied," *WMQ* 22 (April 1965): 218-19.

<sup>2</sup> Probably October 22. Dickinson was appointed to the committee Friday, October 21. Congress met on Saturday, and the committee reported out a draft address on Monday, October 24. *JCC*, 1:102-3.

## Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

Saturday October 22d 1774<sup>1</sup>

The honble P. Randolph Esqr. being unable to attend the congress on acct. of indisposition, the honble H. Middleton Esqr. was chosen to supply his place as President.

An Address from C. Tully was read & ordered to be on the table.<sup>2</sup>

Ordered that the Journal of the proceedings of the Congress as corrected<sup>3</sup> be printed under the direction of Mr. Biddle Mr. Dickinson & the secretary.

Resolved, as the opinion of this congress that it will be necessary that a congress should be held on the 10th of May next, unless the Redress of grievances, which we have desired, be obtained before that time & we recommend that the same be held at the city of Philadelphia and that all the Colonies in North America chuse deputies as soon as possible to attend such congress.

A letter to the Colonies of St. Johns &c being brought in was read amended & approved & is as follows. Here insert it.

MS (James O. Keene, Birmingham, Mich., 1953. DLC microfilm) .

<sup>1</sup> On October 21 Congress appointed a committee "to revise the minutes of the Congress." *JCC*, 1:101. Thomson then apparently had a clerk make at least two copies of his notes of the proceedings of Congress extending through the October 21st entry. Subsequently Thomson entered his rough notes of the proceedings for October 22, 24, 25, and 26 on one of these copies (from which the present entry is taken), and thereafter added those notes both to a second clerical copy, a fragment of which is now in the New-York Historical Society, and to the manuscript that is designated Thomson's "rough journal" in the Papers of the Continental Congress.

The New-York Historical Society's manuscript consists of two large sheets, folded to give four writing surfaces to each sheet. Entries for October 22, 24, 25, and 26, in Thomson's hand, appear on three of these surfaces, but since the middle pages of the original manuscript are missing the fragmentary October 22d entry follows consecutively upon a partial entry for October 14th. Although the four Thomson entries in this document were undoubtedly written after those in the Keene manuscript, and before Thomson's "rough journal" in the Papers of the Continental Congress, no clear textual evolution can be discerned between the three versions. Variations in the three copies are slight—differences between the New-York Historical Society's copy and the Keene version, printed here and below, are recorded in the footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence and the paragraph preceding are missing in the NHi text.

<sup>3</sup> In the NHi text this sentence reads: "as now corrected be sent to the press and [prin]ted. . . ."

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 22, 1774]

22nd. Met, dismissed the Plan for a Union<sup>1</sup> &c (Mr. Hopkins for the Plan I against it), read several Letters &c.

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> That is, Joseph Galloway's Plan of Union, which apparently was formally rejected by Congress this day. For discussion of the circumstances surrounding this action, see Joseph Galloway's Proposed Resolution, September 28, 1774.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dear Child

Philadelphia 22d Octr. 1774

I have only Time to let you know that I am very well & expect to sett out for home some time next Week.

The Money you mention to have sent Me in your last Letters never came to Hand & if it is but safe it is best for I shall not need it.

I am glad Nancy & Katy have gone to Warwick. May Providence restore their Health if for the best.

We have formed a Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances & for Redress of those Grievances agreed upon a Petition to the King, a non Importation non Exportation & non consumption Agreements, an Address to the People of England, another to those of America, have stigmatized Bernard, Hutchinson & other Wretches in Boston & advised to Resistance & Reprizals in Case any Attempt should be made to sieze & transport any Persons to England for Trial.

Our Proceedings are to be sent to all the Colonies and the West Indies to invite them to join Us.

May God of his infinite Mercy preserve You all. Your most affect. Father  
Sam Ward

[P.S.] I have sent some Goods by Wightman.

RC (RHi). Addressed: "To Mr. Samuel Ward Junr. In Westerly Rhode Island. Please to forward this immediately being matter of consequence."

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Sunday. Octr. 23.

Heard Mr. Piercy, at Mr. Sprouts. He is Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. Comes recommended to Mr. Cary of Charlestown, from her, as a faithful servant of the Lord. No Genius—no Orator.

In the Afternoon I went to the Baptist Church and heard a trans Alleganian—a Preacher, from the back Parts of Virginia, behind the Allegany Mountains. He preached an hour and an half. No Learning—No Grace of Action or Utterance—but an honest Zeal. He told us several good Stories. One was, that he was once preaching in Virginia and said that those Ministers who taught the People that Salvation was to be obtained by good Works, or Obedience, were leading them to ruin. Next Day, he was apprehended, by a Warrant from a Magistrate, for reviling the Clergy of the Church of England. He asked for a Prayer Book and had it. Turned to the 18 or 20th. Article, where the same sentiment is strongly expressed. He read it to the Magistrate. The Magistrate as soon as he heard it, dash'd the Warrant out of his Hand, and said sir you are discharged.

In the Evening I went to the Methodist Meeting and heard Mr. Webb, the old soldier, who first came to America, in the Character of Quarter Master under Gen. Braddock. He is one of the most fluent, eloquent Men I ever heard. He reaches the Imagination and touches the Passions, very well, and expresses himself with great Propriety. The Singing here is very sweet and soft indeed. The first Musick I have heard in any Society, except the Moravians, and once at Church with the organ.



Supped and spent the Remainder of the Evening, at Mr. Jo. Reeds with Coll. Lee, Dr. Shippen, Mr. Cary, Dr. Loring &c.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:156.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Treat Paine, accompanying Adams, recorded in his diary on this day: "Fair. A.M. heard Mr. Peirce Chaplain to Countess of Huntington, at Presbyterian Meeting House in Arch Street. PM heard Mr. Fristo from beyond Alleghany mountains at Baptist Meeting House. Evening heard Mr. Webb at Methodist Meeting House, formerly was officer in the Army. Evening to Mr. Reads." MHi.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Monday. Octr. 24.

In Congress, nibbling and quibbling—as usual.

There is no greater Mortification than to sit with half a dozen Witts, deliberating upon a Petition, Address, or Memorial. These great Witts, these subtle criticks, these refined Genius's, these learned Lawyers, these wise Statesmen, are so fond of shewing their Parts and Powers, as to make their Consultations very tedious.

Young Ned Rutledge is a perfect Bob o' Lincoln—a Swallow—a Sparrow—a Peacock—excessively vain, excessively weak, and excessively variable and unsteady—jejune, inane, and puerile.

Mr. Dickinson is very modest, delicate, and timid.

Spent the Evening at home. Coll. Dyer, Judge Sherman and Coll. Floyd came in and spent the Evening with Mr. Adams and me. Mr. Mifflin and General Lee came in. Lee's Head is running upon his new Plan of a Battallion.

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:156-57.

## John Dickinson's Draft Letter to Quebec

[October 24-26? 1774]<sup>1</sup>

To the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec  
Friends & Fellow Subjects

We the Delegates of the Colonies of New Hampshire &c (mentioning them in order) deputed by the Inhabitants of the said Colonies to represent them in a General Congress at Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best Methods to obtain Redress of our afflicting Grievances, having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious Consideration the State of public Affairs on this Continent, have thought proper to address Your Province as a Member therein deeply interested.

When the Fortune of War after a gallant and glorious Resistance

against superior Numbers had incorporated You with the Body of British Subjects, We rejoiced in the truly valuable Addition both on our own and your Account, expecting, as Courage & Generosity are naturally united, our brave Enemies would become our *(best)* hearty Friends, and that the Divine Being would bless the Dispensations of his overruling Providence to You, by securing to You & your latest posterity, the inestimable advantages of a free British Consitution of Government, which it is the Priviledge of all British Subjects [*to*] enjoy.

These Hopes were confirmed by the Proclamation issued in the Year 1763, plighting the public Faith for your full Enjoyment of those advantages therein solemnly promised.

Little did We imagine, that any succeeding Ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal Authority, as not only to withhold from You the irrevocable Rights to which You were thus justly entitled,<sup>2</sup> Rights purchased from arbitrary Monarchs by our Ancestors, at the Expence of their Blood, but, with a detestable Cunning even to direct the Exercise of those Rights in such an incidious Manner, as might most effectually tend to prejudice You against the proffored Blessings, and incline You to think, that You only rejected a rough Casket belonging to others, while You should throw away inclosed Jewells above all Price, your own legal property, that your base Deceivers might profit by your innocent Error.

But since We have liv'd to see the unexpected Time, when Ministers of this flagitious Temper have dared to violate the most sacred Compacts & obligations, and as You, educated under another Form of Government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable Worth of that Form You are now undoubtedly entitled to, We esteem it our Duty, for the weighty Reasons herein after mentioned, to explain to You, as well We can, the Nature of some of its most important Branches.

"In every human Society," says the celebrated Marquis *Beccaria*, following the steps of the immortal Montesquieu in impressing sentiments of Humanity, "there is an *Effort continually tending* to confer on one Part the height of Power and Happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of Weakness & Misery. The intent of good Laws, is to oppose this Effort, and to diffuse their Influence, *universally, & equally.*"

These few Lines have intensely collected into a small Compass, the *(Principles)* Causes of almost all Civil Discords. Rulers stimulated by the pernicious "Effort," and Subjects, animated by the just "Intent of opposing good Laws against it," have that vast Variety of Dissensions, that fill the Histories of so many Nations. All these Histories demonstrate the Truths of this simple Position, that to live by the Will of one Man or sett of Men, is the production of Misery to

all Men. On the solid Foundation of this Principle, has been rear'd up the Fabrick of the British Constitution, with such a Strength, as for Ages to defy Time, Tyranny, Treachery, internal and foreign Wars: And upon this Model, tho on a smaller Scale, has been form'd the Constitution of each British Colony, and that also, *(by an indissoluble Right vested in you are)* with which by an unalienable Title You have been invested.

The first grand Right under all these, is that, of the People having a Share in *(the Government of themselves, By this, is secured to them)* their own Government by their Representatives chosen by themselves and in Consequence thereof, being ruled by *Laws* which they themselves approve, not by *Edicts of Men* over whom they have no Controul. This is a Bulwark surrounding and *(wholly)* defending their property, which by their honest Cares and Labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their full & free Consent, when they in their Judgment deem it just & necessary to give them for public Services, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal Method, in which it shall be collected.

The Influence of this Right extends still farther. If Money is wanted by Governors who have in any Manner oppressed the People, they may retain it, until their Greivances are redrest, & thus peaceably procure Relief, without trusting to despised Petitions, or disturbing their domestic Tranquility.

The next great Right, is that of Trial by Jury.<sup>3</sup> This provides, that neither Life, Liberty, or property can be taken from the Possessor, until twelve of his Countrymen and Peers, clear of Objections, of his Vicinage, who from that Neighbourhood may reasonably be suppos'd to be acquainted with his Character and the Characters of the Witnesses,<sup>4</sup> upon a fair Trial and full Enquiry, face to face, in open Court, before *(the assembled Country such of)* as many of the People as chuse to attend, shall pass their impartial Sentence upon Oath, against him; a Sentence, that cannot injure him, without injuring their own Reputation, & probably their Interest also, as the Question may turn on Points, that in some Degree concern the general Welfare; and if it does not, their Verdict may form a Precedent, that on a similar Trial of their own, may militate against them.

*(The last Right We shall mention, relates to personal)* Another Right relates merely to the Liberty of the person. If a Subject is seiz'd & imprisoned, tho by Government, he may by Virtue of this Right immediately obtain a writ term'd a Habeas Corpus from a Judge whose sworn Duty it is to grant it, and thereupon *(be brought before him; and it is the Duty of the Judge instantly to discharge him, unless the Commitment is founded on Law.)* procure any illegal Restraint to be inquired into & redress'd.

⟨*The last Right We shall mention*⟩ A fourth Right is that of holding Lands by the Tenure of easy Rents, and not by the Tenure of rigorous and oppressive services frequently forcing the possessors from their Families & their Business to perform what ought to be done in all well regulated States, by Men hired for the Purpose.

The last Right We shall mention, regards the Freedom of the Press. The Importance of this consists, besides the advancement of Truth, Science, Morality & art, in general, in its Diffusion of liberal Sentiments on the administration of Government, its ready Communication of Thoughts between Subjects, & its consequential promotion of Union among them, whereby Oppressive Officers are sham'd or intimidated into a more honourable & just Mode of Conducting Affairs.

These are the invaluable Rights that form a considerable Part of that mild ⟨*and equitable*⟩ System of Government, that sending its equitable Energy thro all Ranks & Classes of Men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the Tenants from the Lords, and all from their Superiors.

These are the Rights without which a people cannot be free & happy, & under the protecting & encouraging virtue of which, these Colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourish'd & increas'd, and which we are with one Mind resolved never to resign but with our Lives.

These are the Rights to which You are also entitled, & ought at this Moment in perfection to ⟨*enjoy*⟩ exercise; and what is offered to You by the late Act of Parliament in their Place? Liberty of Conscience in your Religion? No. God gave it to You; and the temporal Powers with which You have been and are connected firmly stipulated for your Enjoyment of it. If Laws divine and human could secure it against the future despotic Caprices of the wickedest Men, it was secured before. Are the French Laws in civil Cases restored? It seems so. But observe the cautious Kindness of the Ministers who pretend to be your Benefactors. The Words of the Statute are—that those “Laws shall be the Rule until they shall be *varied* or *altered* by any Ordinances of the Governor and Council.” Is the “Certainty & Lenity of the criminal Law of England, & its Benefits & Advantages,” commended in the said Statute, & said to “have been sensibly felt by you” secured to You and your Descendants? No. They too are subjected to arbitrary “*alterations*” by the Governor & Council; and a Power is expressly reserved of appointing “such Courts of *criminal*, civil and *ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction as shall be thought proper.” Such is the precarious Tenure of mere Will by which You hold your Lives & Religion. Have You an Assembly composed of worthy Men elected by Yourselves & in whom You can confide, to make Laws



for You, to watch over your Wellfare, & to direct in what quantity and manner, your Money shall be taken from you? No. The Powers of making Laws for you, are lodg'd in the Governor & Council, all of them dependant upon & removable at the Pleasure of a Minister. Besides, by another late Statute, You are subjected to *Excise Regulations*, the Horror & detestation of all free States, thus wresting your property from You by the most odious of Taxes (*These are the insulting Favors of a Ministry*) and in the very Act altering your Government, and intended to flatter You, it is expressly declared that You "Yourselves within your several Towns & Districts shall not assess, levy, & apply any Rates & Taxes within such Towns & Districts respectively, but for the inferior purposes of *making Roads, & erecting & repairing public Buildings*, or for other *local Conveniences*." Why this degrading Distinction? Ought not the honestly acquired property of Canadians to be as sacred as that of Britons & therefore dependant on their own voluntary Gifts & Grants? Have they not Sense enough to (*manage*) attend to other public Affairs than gathering Stones from one Place, & piling them up in another? Unhappy People! Who are not only injured but insulted; not only Ruin'd by your oppressors but trampled under their Feet; and after all deridingly told, that the whole is for your Good. Nay more! With such a superlative Contempt of your Understanding & Spirit, has an insolent Ministry presumed to think of you our respectable [. . .] fellow subjects, as firmly to persuade themselves, that your Gratitude for the Injuries & Insults they have recently offer'd to You, will engage You to take up arms, & render yourselves the ridicule & Detestation of the World, by becoming poor Tools in their Hands, to assist them in taking that Freedom from Us, which they have treacherously denied to You; the unavoidable Consequence of which Attempt, if successful, would be the Extinction of all hope of You or your posterity being ever restored to Freedom.

What would your Countryman the immortal *Montesquieu*, (*an Honor not only to his Nation but to Human Nature, say, were he living*) have said to such a Plan of Domination? Hear his Words with an Intenseness of Thought suited to the (*Magnitude*) Importance of the Subject. "In a free State, every Man, who is supposed a free Agent ought to be concern'd in his own Government: so the *legislative* should reside in the whole Body of the *People*—or their *Representatives*." "The political Liberty of the subject is a *Tranquility of Mind*, arising from the opinion each person has of his *Safety*. In order to have this Liberty, it is requisite the Government be so constituted, as that one Man need not be afraid of another. When the power of *making* Laws and the power of *executing* them are *united* in the same persons, or in the same Body of Magistrates, *there can be no Liberty*, because Apprehensions may arise, least the

same Monarch or Senate should enact tyrannical Laws, to execute them in a tyrannical Manner." "The Power of *Judging* should be exercised by persons taken from the *Body of the People*, at certain Times of the year, and pursuant to a Form & Manner prescribed by Law (*in order to erect a tribunal that should last only as long as Necessity requires.*")." "There is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive Powers."

Apply these decisive Maxims sanctified by the Authority of a Name which all Europe reveres, to your own State. You have a Governor vested with the *executive* Powers or the Powers of *Administration*. In him and in your Council, is lodg'd the Power of *making Laws*. You have *Judges*, who are to decide every Cause affecting your Lives, Liberty, or property. Here is indeed an Appearance of the several Powers being *separated & distributed* into different Hands for Checks one upon another, the (*sole Method*) only effectual Mode ever invented by the Wit of Man to promote their Freedom & Prosperity. But scorning to be illuded by a tinsel'd Outside, & exerting the natural Sagacity of French men, examine the specious Device, & You will find it to use an Expression of holy Writ, "a painted sepulchre" for burying your Lives, Liberty & property.

Your *Judges*, & your *legislative Council*, as it is called, are dependant on your *Governor*; and he is dependant on [. . .] the Servants of the Crown in Great Britain. The *legislative, executive, & judging* Powers, all move on the nods of a Minister. Priviledges (& every) Immunity lasts no longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble Forms dissolve. What can protect your property from taxing Edicts, & the rapacity of necessitous, & cruel Masters? Your persons from Letters de Cachet, Gaols, Dungeons, & oppressive Services? Your Lives & general Liberty from arbitrary & unfeeling Rulers? We defy You casting your View upon every side, to discover a single Circumstance promising the faintest Hope of Liberty to You, but an entire adoption into the Union of these Colonies.

What advice would the truly great Man before mentioned give You,<sup>5</sup> if he knew, that We your numerous & powerful neighbours (& Friends), animated by a just Love of our invaded Freedoms & united by indissoluble Bonds of Affection & Interest, call'd upon You by every obligation of Regard for Yourselves and your Children, as We now do, to join Us in our righteous Contest, to make Common Cause with Us therein, and take a noble Chance, for emerging from a humiliating Subjection under Governors, Intendants, & military Tyrants, into the firm Rank & Condition of English Freemen, whose Custom it is *deriv'd from their Ancestors*, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable?

His Language would be this—"Seize, my beloved Countrymen the opportunity presented to You by Providence itself. You have been

conquered into Liberty, if you act as you ought. This Work is not of Man. You are a small People, compared to those whose open arms invite You into Fellowship. *(They are at Your Doors. You must inevitably be their Friends or their Enemies. They are at Your Doors. Their Hostility must be incessant, unaltered, not to be guarded against. Great Britain is at a very [great] Distance. Her Fleets & Armies. The Happiness of a People inevitably depend on their ability & their Spirit to assert it wanted to complete striving of)* You may make them your unalterable Friends. For their own Sakes, they never will desert or betray you. The Injuries of Boston, have rous'd every Colony to an Association, from Nova Scotia to Georgia. You are the only Link wanting to complete the bright & strong Chain of Union. Nature *(intended you for the [. . .])* has join'd your Country to theirs. Do You join Your political Interests. Be assured, that the Happiness of a People inevitably depends on their Liberty, & their Spirit to assert it. The value & Extent of the *(Blessin[gs])* advantages tendered to You are immense. Heaven grant, You may not discover them to be Blessings, as the unwise generally do, after they have bid an eternal Adieu." *(Be not alarm'd with false Fears of Differences in religious Sentiments. The united Body of Swiss Cantons is happily composed of Roman Catholic & Protestant States, & defy the World to hurt them.)*

We are too well acquainted with the Liberality of Sentiment distinguishing your Nation, to imagine, that Difference of Religion will prejudice You against a hearty Amity with Us.<sup>6</sup> You know that the transcendent Nature of Freedom elevates those who unite in her Cause, above all such low-minded Infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this Truth. Their union is compos'd of Roman catholic & protestant States, living in the utmost Concord & Peace with one another and thereby enabled ever since they bravely vindicated their Freedoms, to defy and defeat every Tyrant that has invaded them.

We know, there are among You, & among all Societies, Men who prefer their own Interest to the Welfare of their Country. The Temper of such selfish persons renders them incredibly active in opposing all public spirited Measures, from an Expectation of being well rewarded for their sordid Industry, by their Superiors to whom those Measures are displeasing.<sup>7</sup> We doubt not, but these Men will throw in your Way every Objection & Difficulty, their partial Aims can forge or form. But We address the Body of the Canadian People, on a subject of the last Importance, not to one or another Class or Rank among them, but to the whole. You will therefore, We doubt not, be upon your Guard against those, who by their offices & Connections are led to pursue private Interests at the Expence of the general. All their glosses & Calumnies cannot depreciate with sensible & honest



Men, the laudable Cause in which We are already engaged, and request You to share.

This Our Invitation asks You not to commence Acts of Hostility against the Government of our Common Sovereign. It is only that You will consult your own Glory & Welfare, and not suffer Yourself to be enveigled or intimidated by infamous Ministers so far as to become their Instruments, and plunge your Swords into our innocent Bosoms, that ardently wish You every kind of Liberty & Felicity, and will rejoice to embrace You a loving Brethren in one social Band, founded on the generous Principles of equal Liberty, & cemented by such an Exchange of endearing Offices as to render it perpetual. In Order to complete this highly desireable Union, We submit to your Consideration, whether it may not be expedient for You to meet together in your several Towns & Districts & *(chuse Representatives)* elect Deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial Congress, may chuse Delegates to represent your Province in the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia *(in the Province of Pennsylvania)* on the                      Day of                      1775.

In the present Congress beginning on the fifth Day of the last Month, and continued by adjournments to this Day, it has been with universal Pleasure and an unanimous Vote resolved, that You should be invited to accede to our Confederation, which has no other Objects, than the perfect Security of the natural & civil Rights of all the constituent Members according to their respective Circumstances, and the Preservation of a happy & lasting Connection with Great Britain on the great, & salutary & constitutional Principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these Purposes, We have addressed an humble & loyal Petition to his Majesty, praying Relief of our Grievances; and have associated to stop all Importations from Great Britain & Ireland after the first Day of next December, & all Exportations to those Kingdoms & the West Indies, after the tenth Day of next September, unless the said Grievances are redrest.

That Almighty God may incline your Minds to approve our *(just)* equitable & necessary Measures, to add yourselves to Us, to put your Fate whenever You suffer Injuries you are determined to oppose not on the small Force of your single province, but on the consolidated Powers of North America, and may grant to our joint Exertions an Event happy as our Cause is just, is the *(sincere &)* fervent Prayer of Us your sincere & affectionate Friends & Fellow Subjects.

MS (PPL). In the hand of John Dickinson.

<sup>1</sup> Congress resolved to prepare an address to the people of Quebec on October 21 and for that purpose appointed a committee consisting of Thomas Cushing, Richard Henry Lee, and John Dickinson. On October 24 the committee reported a draft, which was debated and recommitted, and on the 26th reported a second



draft, which was "debated by paragraphs and amended, & approved." *JCC*, 1:101, 103, 105. Little is known about the evolution of this document, but since few significant changes are to be found between the draft printed here and the final version, it is probable that this document is essentially the committee's second draft and was written October 24–26. *JCC*, 1:105–13. It is assumed that Dickinson was also the author of the committee's first draft, but whether that earlier version survived through various drafts substantially as originally written cannot be determined, and in the absence of additional tangible evidence further speculation about the circumstances surrounding the committee's work must remain conjectural.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of this paragraph was omitted from the final version.

<sup>3</sup> The word "Press" appears in the margin at this point in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> At the top of the page at this point in the MS, Dickinson penned the following disconnected notes: "The Crim[ina]l Law may be altered by Gov[ernment] & as Bill/now [ . . . ] to thence & Bost[on] Lib[erty]/ Laws of Excise Suff[icient] at last. When We are subdued will they be kinder to You/Invite to a Congress."

<sup>5</sup> "Swiss" appears in the margin.

<sup>6</sup> "Some will strive" appears in the margin.

<sup>7</sup> The remainder of this paragraph was substantially altered in the final version.

## George Read to Gertrude Read

My dear Gitty, Monday Evening 10 O'Clock 24th Octr. 1774

I am still uncertain as to the time of my return home. As I expected, the New England Men declined doing any business on Sunday, & tho we Sat till 4 O'Clock this afternoon, I am well persuaded that our business can by no Means be left 'till Wednesday Evening and even then very doubtful so that I have no prospect of being with you 'till Thursday Evening. Five of the Virginia Gentlemen are gone. The two remaining ones have Power to Act in their Stead.<sup>1</sup> The two objects before us & which we expect to go through tomorrow is an Address to the King and one to the People of Canada. This last was recommitted this Evening in Order to be new modell'd. Your brother George came to Congress this afternoon.<sup>2</sup> All your friends are well. No News but the burning of the Vessel & Tea at Annapolis which I take for granted you will have heard before this comes to hand.<sup>3</sup> We are all well at my lodgings and send our love to you and I am yors. very Affectely.

Geo. Read

RC (MdHi photostat) .

<sup>1</sup> See the Virginia Delegates' letter of authorization to George Washington, October 24, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Gertrude Read was the sister of George Ross. Ross first arrived at Congress on September 14 and was probably in attendance until after October 10. *JCC*, 1:31, 60. He apparently attended the Pennsylvania Assembly October 14–21, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> The brigantine *Peggy Stewart*, carrying a cargo of East India tea, was burned in Annapolis harbor on October 19, 1774. For additional information, see Richard D. Fisher, ed., "The Burning of the 'Peggy Stewart'," *Md. Hist. Magazine* 5 (September 1910): 235–45.

## Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

Monday Octr. 24. 1774

The address to the inhabitants of Quebec being brot. in & read was recommitted.

The address to the King was brot. in & read.<sup>1</sup>

Ordered that the same be taken into consideration tomorrow.

MS (James O. Keene, Birmingham, Mich., 1953. DLC microfilm.)

<sup>1</sup> New-York Historical Society text reads: "The committee to whom the address to the King was recommitted reported a drat. which was read."

## Virginia Delegates to George Washington

Philadelphia Octr. 24th 1774

We Depute Colo George Washington to sign our Names to any of the Proceedings of the Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Benj Harrison

Peyton Randolph

Richard Bland

RC (DLC). Written by Harrison and signed by Harrison, Randolph, and Bland.

<sup>1</sup> Bland, Harrison, and Randolph left Philadelphia October 23 or 24 to attend the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which Randolph was the speaker. On the basis of George Read's letters to his wife of October 16 and 24, Edmund Burnett questionably concluded that they departed the 23d and postdated the present document. Burnett, *Letters*, 1:lxiv. A volume of accounts attributed to Philadelphia cabinetmaker Benjamin Randolph and designated "Philadelphia Ledger, 1768-87," NN, indicates that the account of "Colonel Benjamin Harrison" was credited with a cash payment of £1 10s., October 24, 1774.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 24, 1774]

24th. Met, read recommitted the Letter to Canada, read the Address to the King, gave Directions for prin[tin]g procee[ding]s.

MS (RHi).

## Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

Tuesday Octr. 25. 1774

The address to his Majesty being read & amended was approved.

Ordered that it be engrossed.

Ordered That the address to the King when engrossed be signed by all the members and forwarded to the several colony Agents in order that the same may by them be presented to his Majesty and that the agents be requested to call in the Aid of such noblemen & gentlemen as are esteemed firm friends to American liberty.

Ordered That Mr. Lee & Mr. Jay prepare a letter to the Agents.

Resolved That this congress in their own names and in behalf of all those whom they represent do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honourable & patriotic Advocates of civil & religious liberty who have so generously & powerfully though unsuccessfully espoused and defended the cause of America both in and out of Parliament.

MS (James O. Keene, Birmingham, Mich., 1953. DLC microfilm) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 25, 1774]

25th. Met, appointed Letters to be wrote to Georgia &c, made some Resolves, ordered a piece of Plate for the Secry. £50 Ster.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup>The appearance of the MS suggests that Ward wrote the first section of this entry October 25 but inserted the last clause about the secretary after writing his entry for the 26th. For the manner in which the cost of this gift was defrayed, see Ward's Diary, October 26, 1774, note.

## John Adams' Diary

1774. Wednesday [October 26]

Dined at Home. This Day the Congress finished. Spent the Evening together at the City Tavern—all the Congress and several Gentlemen of the Town.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi) . Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:157.

<sup>1</sup>Adams delayed his departure from Philadelphia until October 28, when he left with the mistaken idea that "it is not very likely that I shall ever see this Part of the World again, but I shall ever retain a most gratefull, pleasing Sense, of the many Civilities I have received, in it." Adams spent Thursday, October 27, visiting about Philadelphia. "Went this Morning with Mr. Tudor to see the Carpenters Hall, and the Library, and to Mr. Barrells and Bradfords, and then to the State House to see the Supream Court sitting. Heard Mr. Wilcox and Mr. Reed argue a Point of Law concerning the Construction of a Will." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:157.

## Thomas Lynch to Ralph Izard

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, October 26, 1774.

On my arrival here, I wrote you<sup>1</sup> the occasion of it. I now have the pleasure of enclosing to you a pamphlet, which contains the result.<sup>2</sup> There remains only an address to the Canadians and the petition to the King, to complete all our works, and these will be soon printed in England; should they reach you abroad, please consider whether their being translated into French and Dutch, may not have a good effect, as we shall want supplies of woollens and other goods from them, in case our mother country, (as it is called,) continues her oppression.

The New England men, continue a behavior truly heroic. Without rashness, or any tumultuous proceedings that belong to mobs, they oppose a steady, manly, cool and regular conduct, neither declining nor precipitating war.

I saw a gentleman a few days ago, who was at Cambridge, when the men who had met to oblige the councillors and judges to resign their offices, received intelligence that Gage was marching his little army to attack them. He declares that this news occasioned not the least appearance of hurry or confusion. The men who were armed, prepared to receive their enemy; the unarmed, hasted home, and brought their arms. Their numbers being but little superior, shows they will not decline an equal combat. If so, where is England to find an army to encounter two hundred thousand of these same New Englanders, besides at least five hundred thousand others, in the rest of America, who have solemnly engaged in the same cause.

I think I mentioned a little speech, made by an Assemblyman, (it is said of Virginia.) "I will raise and support, one thousand men at my expense, as long as you shall want them, and march at their head, wherever you direct." There are many such men in America.<sup>3</sup>

I remember to have heard, that Amherst had told the King, that he would undertake to march five thousand men, from one end of the continent to the other, notwithstanding the opposition of all the inhabitants. If the story is true, his successor seems quite of a contrary opinion. Indeed, if the former took up that idea from the provincials, he will consider an army, formed out of the dregs of the people, as a very different thing from the yeomen of the country, acting voluntarily in the immediate defence of their liberty and property.

I enclose a newspaper, to show the temper of the people of Maryland, as a specimen of that which prevails in all the colonies. In short, I think you may venture to pronounce that America, though most sincerely attached to England and desirous of a perpetual union, will, by force only, be brought to admit of domination; and they may learn from the case of Corsica what force to apply to America,



how it is to be sent here, and how supported when it is. Indeed, the notion is ridiculous and absurd.

These middle colonies were suspected of great lukewarmness, but since we have been here, a great alteration is visible in that matter.

I return this day to Carolina with Mrs. Lynch. With best regards to Mrs. Izard,  
I am, dear sir, &c.

MS not found; reprinted from Ralph Izard, *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina, from the Year 1774 to 1804; with a Short Memoir*, ed. Anne Izard Deas (New York: Charles S. Francis & Co., 1844), pp. 18–21.

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Izard (1742–1804), South Carolina planter, diplomat, and public official; represented South Carolina in Congress, 1782–83. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to a pamphlet, which Congress ordered published October 21, entitled *To the People of Great-Britain, from the Delegates Appointed by the Several English Colonies . . .* (Philadelphia: W. and T. Bradford, 1774). *JCC*, 1:101, 128. Izard received a copy of this pamphlet while he was in Naples in January 1775, but it is not known whether, upon his return to England, he had any role in procuring its publication in the English editions which appeared in this and the following year. Izard, *Correspondence*, pp. 38–39; Paul L. Ford, *Some Materials for a Bibliography of the Official Publications of the Continental Congress, 1774–89* (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1890), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to an apochryphal speech which many of the delegates ascribed to George Washington. See John Adams' Diary, August 29–September 5, 1774, note 4.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[October 26, 1774]

Fair. This day the Congress dissolved.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Paine did not leave Philadelphia until October 28. His diary records little of his final activities, except that on the 27th he was "preparing to return home."

## Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates

Wednesday Octr. 26. 1774

The letter to the agents being brought in debated & amended was approved & is as follows. Here insert it.

The Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec being brot. in was read & approved and is as follows. Here insert it.

Resolved that the address to the inhabitants of Quebec<sup>1</sup> be signed by the President and that the delgates of the province of Pensylvania superintend the translating, printing, publishing & dispersing it and it is recommended by the congress to the delegates of New hampshire,

Massachusetts bay and New York to assist in and forward the dispersion of the said address.

The Address to the King being engrossed & compared was signed at the table by all the members.

Resolved that the thanks of this congress be given to the honourable house of Representatives of the Colony of Pensylvania for their politeness to this congress and that the delegates for this colony be a committee to communicate this resolution to the said honourable house.

Chas. Thomson secy.

MS (James O. Keene, Birmingham, Mich., 1953. DLC microfilm).

<sup>1</sup> The New-York Historical Society text reads: "the Address of the Congress to the people of Canada."

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[October 26, 1774]

26th. Met, signed the Petition to the King, finished the Meml. to Canada & some other Matters and rose.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Ward left Philadelphia October 29. Subsequently he collected expenses for the 72 days he was away from home, August 25–November 4, 1774. See his "Mem[orandum] of Expenses after my Appointment to the Congress June 1774," a booklet bound with Samuel Ward's Diary, RHi; and "Samuel Ward's Account," William R. Staples, ed., *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress* (Providence: Providence Press Co., 1870), pp. 19–20. Stephen Hopkins' claim for 81 days covering the period August 22–November 10, 1774, can also be found in Staples, pp. 18–19.

Ward's list of expenses included the following two items of special interest for a study of the first Congress. "Proportion of the present of plate to the Secretary, £2–16s," and "To the Door Keepers, 12s." Hopkins' list of expenses did not mention the gift of plate to the secretary but contained an item for "the Door Keepers' and Messengers' Bill, 15s." Hopkins did, however, submit the following expense, which was not included in Ward's list: "To the Secretary for papers, £3–10s." Staples, pp. 18, 20.

It thus appears that although Congress had no authority to raise and collect money, the delegates assessed each colony for charges which they apportioned among themselves. However, since the £2–16s Ward paid for the gift to Congress' unsalaried secretary represents approximately one-eighteenth of its price, rather than an equal one-twelfth share, it is difficult to imagine what formula was used to determine Rhode Island's assessment. No evidence has been found to indicate how such costs may have been apportioned. If Rhode Island were assessed other expences at the same one-eighteenth rate, Congress would have paid the door keepers and messengers a total of slightly more than £24, and disbursed about £62–10s through the secretary "for papers," a reference undoubtedly to the expense of printing various publications of Congress. Since it is likely that several such publications were undertaken by printers at their own expense, which they expected to recover through the sale of pamphlet editions of the various papers issued by Congress, the bulk of this outlay was probably to defray the cost of translating and printing the "Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec."

## John Dickinson to Arthur Lee

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia October 27th 1774

Yesterday the Congress broke up. You will immediately know their proceedings from Publications.

Colonists have now taken such Ground, that Great Britain must relax, or inevitably involve herself in a Civil War, likely in all human probability to overwhelm her with a Weight of Calamities, in Comparison of which "*plus quam civilia bella*," the Contentions, between the Houses of York & Lancaster, or the Distractions of the last Century were gentle Misfortunes.

A determined & unanimous Resolution animates this Continent, firmly & faithfully to support the Common Cause, to the utmost Extremity, in this great Sturrggle for the Blessing of Liberty, that alone can render Life worth holding.

I grieve for the Fate of a brave & generous Nation plung'd by a few profligate Men, into such Scenes of unmerited & inglorious Distress. Let her rouse her natural, noble Spirit—be true to herself, & of course be true to Us. Let her not so far adopt the base yet Visionary Schemes of Fools & Knaves, that She may think her Dignity concern'd to maintain the projects of those, whom her Justice commands her to punish.

Give us the Butes, Mansfields, Norths, Bernards & Hutchinsons &c whose Falsehoods and Misrepresentations, have enflamed the People—Call not their Cause, the Cause of Great Britain—Throw all Errors & occasions of Dissatisfaction on their guilty heads. A new Ministry of such a Character, that England & America both can trust, may do great Things; Especially if a considerable Change be made at the next general Election. Why should Nations meet with hostile Eyes, because Villains & Ideots have acted like Villains & Ideots?

I wish for peace ardently; but must say, delightful as it is, it will come more grateful by being unexpected. The first Act of Violence on the Part of Administration in America, or the Attempt to reinforce General Gage this Winter or next Year, will put the whole Continent in arms from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

May God of his infinite Mercy grant a happy Event to these afflicting Agitations.

[P.S.] It is suspected here, that a Design is regularly prosecuted by the Ministry, to make his Majesty dethrone himself, by the Calamities & Convulsions his Reign is likely to bring on his whole People. Please to inform Me, what is thought on this Point in England.

## John Dickinson to Josiah Quincy, Jr.

My dear Sir,

Fairhill Octr. 28th 1774

I should have answer'd your last Letter before You left Boston, if I had not imagined from what You said in it, that You must have sail'd before it could have reach'd that Place.

I now congratulate You on the hearty Union of all America from Nova Scotia to Georgia in the Common Cause. The particulars, You are, no Doubt, acquainted with. The Cóngress broke up the Day before Yesterday; and if it be possible, the Return of the Members into their several Countries, will make the People still more firm. The most peaceable Provinces, are now animated; and a Civil War is unavoidable, unless there be a quick Change of British Measures. The usual Events, no Question, will take place, if that happens—Victories & Defeats. But what will be the *final* Consequence? If she fails, immediate Distress, if not Ruin. If she conquers, Destruction at last. But from the best Judgement I can form, she will not wait long for her Fate. Several European Powers, it is probable, will fall on, as soon as she is entangled with Us. If they should not, what can she effect at 3000 Miles Distance against at least four hundred Thousand Freemen, fighting “*pro aris & Focis*.”

I cannot but pity a brave & generous Nation thus plung'd in Misfortunes by a few worthless persons. But, it may be said, how can she retract with Dignity, in the present Position of Affairs? I answer, *her* Dignity is not at all concern'd, unless it be, to punish those who have abused & betrayed her into Measures inconsistent with her Welfare. Is a Nation bound in Honor to support every mad or villainous Step of a Ministry? It is mean to persist in Errors because *We* have committed them; but what is to be said of those, who talk of asserting *their own* dignity, by vindicating the Errors of *others*?

The present Cause, is that of Bute, Mansfield, North, Bernard, Hutchincon &c not of Great Britain. Let her renounce their detestable projects, which point at her as their ultimate Object, and reconcile herself to her Children, while their Minds are capable of Reconciliation. “Oh! for a warning Voice,” to rouse them to Conviction of this important Truth—that the Reconciliation depends upon the passing Moments—& that the Opportunity will in a short time be as irrevocably past as the Days beyond the Flood. Every Thing may yet be attributed to the *Misrepresentations & Mistakes of Ministers*; and universal Peace be establish'd throughout the British World, only by a general Acknowledgment of this Truth, that—half a dozen Men are Fools or Knaves. If their Character for Ability & Integrity is to be maintain'd by wrecking the whole Empire, Monsr. Voltaire may write an addition to the Chapter on the Subject of little Things producing great Events, that will be very entertaining to *Readers*.



As to your Complaint against an Expression in a late Letter, know, Dear Sir, I wrote in Agonies of Mind for my Brethren in Boston.<sup>1</sup> I trembled, least something might have happened, which I could not only forgive but applaud, but which might have been eagerly & basely seiz'd by others, as a Pretence for deserting them. This was the sense of Men in Philadelphia the most devoted to them. And under this Apprehension, We agreed to make use of the strongest Expressions. May the Father of Mercies bestow every Blessing upon You, is the fervent Prayer of, my dear Sir, your faithful & affectionate Friend

John Dickinson

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Dickinson's letter to Quincy of June 20, 1774, contained a warning: "Nothing can throw us into a pernicious confusion, but one Colony's breaking the line of opposition, by advancing too hastily before the rest. The one which dares to betray the common cause, by rushing forward, contrary to the maxims of discipline established by common sense, and the experience of ages, will inevitably and utterly perish." Quincy's "complaint" was registered in his August 20 letter written from Boston, in which he concluded: "I see no reason to apprehend our advancing before our brethren, unless the plans they should adopt should very evidently be too languid and spiritless to give any rational hopes of safety to us, in our adherence to them." Both letters are printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:434, 725-26.

## Edward Rutledge to Ralph Izard

My Dear Sir:

Chester, October 29, 1774

A moment's leisure gives me an opportunity of communicating to you the business we have transacted, which is briefly this. We have formed a bill of Rights, by which we insist, that no power on earth has a right to intermeddle with our internal polity; but that the Parliament of Great Britain, has, of necessity, a right to regulate trade.

We have framed a list of grievances, and have formed an association, not to import any goods, &c., either from Great Britain or Ireland, until such grievances, as have arisen since the year '63, and are enumerated in such association, shall be redressed. We have further resolved, that, "if a repeal of those laws, by which we are oppressed, does not take place, anterior to the 10th of September next, we will not export any commodity to Great Britain, Ireland or the West Indies, except rice to Europe."<sup>1</sup>

It will take more wisdom than I am master of, to reconcile this plan to reason; for, upon the most mature deliberation, I disapprove of it. I have repeatedly held forth my testimony against it, as inexpedient and weak. I do not mean the bill of Rights; *that* I think well of, and offered it every support in my power: for I hold it as a clear truth, that they have no right to interfere in the regulation of our in-

ternal polity, where we have a power within ourselves that is equal to the exigencies of our affairs; it being as ridiculous to suppose that there could be two complete legislatures, as that there should be two superior beings.

But no good reason can be urged why we should be satisfied with a restoration of such rights only, as have been violated since the year '63, when we have as many others, as clear and indisputable, that will even then be infringed. Nor can any sufficient reason be assigned, why a non-exportation should not be put on foot immediately, or a non-importation delayed, until we are ripe for a non-exportation, as, I suppose, that the more interested the people of Great Britain are in the colonies, the more property they have with us, the more desirous and industrious will they be to obtain a repeal of the oppressive acts. But I was very desirous that both of them should take place at an early day, and think a few months would have put everything to rights again. But to make the matter more absurd, we have come into a resolution not to export indigo. This, I was totally against. I proposed to stop all exportation—nothing short of that would satisfy me. I saw no reason why the inhabitants of this, and the neighboring colonies, should have full liberty to export their wheat and flour to every part of Europe, and that we should be restricted so much in our trade; for under the statute of Charles II., we could not carry rice to any part of the world, except to England and Scotland. It is true that, by some subsequent acts, we had liberty to carry it to other parts, but these were only temporary statutes; and the one which permits it to be carried to the south of Cape Finisterre, will expire with the present session of Parliament. Their commodities, not being enumerated, may be carried to any part of the globe.

It was said, if they were in an advantageous situation, why not allowed the use of it? The answer is ready: because equality is the basis of public virtue. People who are affected but in speculation, and submit to all the hardships attending it, will not shut up their ports, while their neighbors, who are the objects of ministerial vengeance, enjoy, in a great degree, the benefits of commerce. Nor is the fact true, that Great Britain will not be distressed by withholding our trade to other parts of the world, for the wealth which is acquired by such trade, must go to our enemies. But to stop the exportation of indigo, is still more foolish; it is unequal, too, between the different parts of the province. St. Helena, is not well affected; the Georgians are disaffected. How easy will it be for the people, in that part of the province, to carry their commodity to that market. Again: if they give up the planting of indigo, what can they do? They can plant nothing else but provisions, which they can never dispose of, as the West India trade will be at an end.

But why stop; does it pay duty? No. It receives a bounty; it is useful, they say, in dying. Cannot these things be procured from the French? Yes. But if they could not, why shall we distress our own people, for no other purpose, than to oblige the people of England to weave white cloth, instead of blue?

I had much more to say, but have not time. However, this I must add, that, if the acts are not repealed before May, at which time we are to have a new Congress, we shall certainly go much farther: for, submission never can, nor ever shall take place.

Remember me to Mrs. Izard. I am just this moment setting out for Carolina. God bless you!

MS not found; reprinted from Ralph Izard, *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina, from the Year 1774 to 1804; with a Short Memoir*, ed. Anne Izard Deas (New York: Charles S. Francis & Co., 1844), pp. 21–25.

<sup>1</sup> This quotation is an accurate paraphrase of the fourth article of the Association. *JCC*, 1:77.

## Joseph Hewes to James Iredell

[*Philadelphia. October 31, 1774.*] Reports the adjournment of Congress “on Thursday last.”<sup>1</sup> All ranks of people here generally approve their recently published proceedings. “The Germans who compose a large part of the Inhabitants of this province are all on our side. . . . Some of our friends are under apprehension that Administration will endeavour to lay hold of as many Delegates as possible & have them carried to England and tryed as Rebels. This induced the Congress to enter into a resolve in such cases to make reprisal. I have no fears on that head. . . .” He hopes to arrive at Edenton in December.<sup>2</sup>

RC (NcD, Iredell MSS). Endorsed: “Philadelphia 31st Oct. 1774. Jos. Hewes.” The manuscript is badly damaged, but the document’s fragmentary nature was not noted when it was published in Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1857–58), 1:227.

<sup>1</sup> Congress adjourned on Wednesday, October 26.

<sup>2</sup> James Iredell (1751–99), North Carolina statesman and jurist, was at this time collector of the port at Edenton. *DAB*.

## Edward Rutledge to Thomas Bee

[*Philadelphia? October, 1774.*] “I long to tell you<sup>1</sup> what we have done, but am prevented, from silence having been imposed upon us all by consent, the first week in congress; this, however, I may say,

that the province will not be able to account for our conduct until we explain it, though it is justifiable upon the strictest principles of honour and policy. Don't be alarmed; we have done no mischief, though I am sure, if Mr. ——— had had his way, we should. But you may thank your stars you sent prudent men, and I trust that the youngest is not the least so. The gentleman to whom you alluded is, if possible, worse than ever; more violent, more wrong-headed.<sup>2</sup> But I do not mean to censure others; sufficient for me if I pursue a right line, and meet with the approbation of my countrymen."

MS not found; reprinted from extract in John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols. (Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1820–27), 3:13–14.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Bee (1725–1812), lawyer, planter, member of the South Carolina Assembly, was subsequently a delegate to Congress, 1780–82. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

<sup>2</sup> Sanderson believed that Christopher Gadsden was the "gentleman" alluded to here—a hypothesis that seems to be confirmed by Gadsden's remarks in South Carolina Delegates' Report to the South Carolina Provincial Congress, January 11, 1775.

## Joseph Galloway to Thomas Nickleson

*Novr. 1. 1774. Philada.* To the husband of his wife's sister, of Poole, Dorsetshire, concerned primarily with family finances. Concludes: "As to the unfortunate Dispute between The Mother Country & her Colonies, I fear it is now arrived to such an Heighth that It will be with great Difficulty accommodated. Nothing has been wanting on my Part to moderate the Violent Temper of the Warm & indiscreet People here, and bring about a Reconciliation between the two Countries upon Principles of Liberty and Government. But what can one or a few Men do in so Arduous a Task. You will no Doubt see the Resolves of our Congress and their other Proceedings. I cannot say I approve of them, they are too warm & indiscreet and in my Opinion have not pursued the right Path to an Accommodation. All the Violent Parts of them I strenuously opposed from Conscience & Judgment and because I was convinced they must widen the Differences between us."

RC (DLC).

## William Hooper to Mary Hooper

*New York November 7. 1774.* Letter to his mother expressing regret at his inability to visit her in Boston because "the Congress



(which I expected would have finished their business in a month) have set near two so that We have now so far advanced in the season that should I proceed as far as Boston, I must necessarily encounter all the difficulties of your severe Winter in my return home." Is accompanying Joseph Hewes on a business trip in New York, but remains worried about his mother's continuance in Boston. "I am very uneasy lest the present confused state of Boston should tend to impair your health. I wish you were presently removed from there into some situation where in [calm?] retirement you might spend the residue of your days remote from every thing that could give you a moments Sollicitude. Where that place is I know not, the Spirit of Contention hath gone forth & I know no people or Province which is not infected with it. I know the Stand my particular Friends in Boston have taken in the present controversy. I think them wrong, & they will readily condemn me for a contrary conduct. In matters merely speculative let men think for themselves & act [. . .] but when the liberties of mankind are at stake, I have no Epithet too harsh for those who can give a little in aid to sacrifice them. Believe me I am not a licentious demagogue, but think coolly & dispassionately upon the conduct of Government & while I possess one ray of common sense I must most heartily condemn it. A port blocked up—A Government subverted & for what—for the intemperate folly of a rabble. Deluded Men! but eno of politicks." Reveals that he has been "indisposed frequently since I arrived at Philadelphia," and insinuates that somehow this was due to the harsher northern clime, leading him to boast "I am a Southern Man in manners—sentiments principles & Constitution."

RC (MHi) .

## New York Delegates to the Dutchess County Freeholders

Gentlemen,

New York 7th November 1774.

When our common Liberties are invaded, our dearest Rights in Danger, and a whole Continent loudly called upon to defend and secure themselves against high handed Oppression: the Confidence resposed in us as Delegates of your respectable County is a distinguished Honour, which excites our most affectionate Esteem and demands our most grateful Acknowledgments.

While we lament that our Talents are unequal to the most important Trust that ever was conferred, we have the Consolation to assure you that we have endeavoured to discharge the arduous Task

with Zeal and Fidelity, with a fervent Regard to the Interest and Happiness of our Country: and a respectful Attention to what we conceived to be the Sentiments of our numerous Constitutents.

It is with the greatest Satisfaction we reflect that while this Colony has been eminently conspicuous for Loyalty, for their Veneration for the parent State, and for the Support of just Government, it has never failed to exhibit the most solid Proofs of an inviolable Attachment to Constitutional Liberty: From repeated Testimonies of the Fortitude and patriotism of our Countrymen it is not to be questioned but that they will in this perilous Hour, when their Virtue and public Spirit are called forth to a glorious Trial, stand firm to their Engagements, and with unremitting Ardour and inflexible Integrity maintain the Association entered into by their Representatives.

You Gentlemen in particular who have so chearfully and unanimously embraced the Expedient of a Continental Congress and appealed to them for the Redress of your Grievances and the preservation of your Rights, will, we are confident, nobly disdain every sordid Advantage and temporary Convenience incompatible with a plan suggested by their united Councils. You will not hesitate to prefer to every other Consideration, the great purposes of rescuing Americans from the Chains of Despotism, and handing down to your posterity the inestimable Blessings which are only to be enjoyed in a free Government established on the Basis of Constitutional Liberty.

It is our cordial Advice and most earnest Wish that our worthy Constituents of every Rank and Degree may zealously inculcate that Union and Harmony which can alone render tolerable the progress, and ensure the Success of this unhappy and much lamented Conflict with our parent State: A Conflict justified by the principles of self preservation and into which we are innocently plunged by the artful Wiles of an infatuated and tyrannical Ministry! Let us remember that Discord and Faction cannot fail of exposing us to the Contempt of our Enemies and the Reproaches of our Friends: that by overwhelming us in Anarchy and Confusion they must enfeeble and disappoint the best concerted Measures and that Nothing but a Spirit of Benevolence, mutual Forbearance and Liberality to the distressed, can soften the Calamities of this tempestuous Season and maintain that internal Tranquility which is at all Times desireable, but absolutely indispensable in this great Struggle for Freedom.

Unable sooner to present you in one View with the Acts of Congress, it is with Regret that we have thus long been obliged to withhold this mark of Respect, which we owe to our worthy Constituents. The Copy inclosed<sup>1</sup> comprizes every proceeding except the petition to the King which cannot in point of Decorum be made publick until it has been laid before the Throne. The several Resolutions are too clear and explicite to require Illustration, you will therefore

be pleased to be refered to them for the Measures it is expected you will at this momentuous period adopt and religiously observe.

Permit us only to add that the Recommendation of the Committee of Correspondence of this City in Favour of the distressed Inhabitants of the Town of Boston has received additional weight by one of the Resolutions of the Congress. Every Motive of Duty Humanity and Policy requires that we should at such a Juncture contribute to the Relief of a people suffering in a common Cause as the devoted Victims of Ministerial Vengeance; and we flatter ourselves that you will not be backward in setting an Example on this Occasion worthy of Imitation and Applause.

We have the Honour to be with the greatest Esteem Gentlemen  
Your most obliged and most obedient humble Servants.<sup>2</sup>

Phil. Livingston      Isaac Low

John Alsop              Jas. Duane

John Jay

RC (PHC). Written in a clerical hand and signed by Alsop, Duane, Jay, Low, and Philip Livingston. Addressed: "To Zephaniah Platt Esqr., Chairman, and the Freeholders of the County of Dutchess."

<sup>1</sup>This is doubtless a reference to the pamphlet *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia on the 5th of September 1774* . . . (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774). JCC, 1:131.

<sup>2</sup>The New York delegates apparently sent a similar letter to the New York City Committee of Mechanics. A letter of thanks from the Mechanics Committee to the New York delegates, November 18, 1774, and the delegates' undated reply are in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:987.

## Silas Deane to Samuel Adams

Dear Sir

Wethersfeild Novemr. 13th. 1774

I congratulate You on Your safe return and agreeable reception at Boston; but more particularly on the Acct. from Montreal which You doubtless have seen in Holts paper of last Week,<sup>1</sup> this seems like an Omen for good, that while we were preparing our address to the Inhabitants of Quebeck, They Themselves were taking steps to pursue measures for releif but sir have We not been short in Two or three Articles at the Congress. You may remember I hinted at an Address to the inhabitants of the West Indies, & of Ireland, then and the oftener I have thought of it since the more I am confirmed in opinion of the propriety & expediency of such a measure, but it is now Too late, but the following is not, (Viz) To have the whole doings of the Congress, translated into the French, & German Languages. You know there is an ostensible Reason, and a good one for

it—To oblige the French in Canada, & the Germans in Pennsylvania &c. But at the same Time there may be another unnecessary to be publicly mentioned—The effects the Circulating of this Pamphlet in France, & Holland may have, on the Affairs of Great Brittain & on her Connections with those States, especially with her Creditors in the Latter. The sale of the impression would I am perswaded bear the expence of the translation &c. If You think this thought, worth pursuing, a Line to Philadelphia will effect it at once. The people in this Colony You know will pay the most sacred regard To the resolutions of the Congress but I cannot help expressing my apprehensions that the distresses of the people in Boston may increase faster than the supplies from the Country. The hand of Charity soon grows cold, and Too many call that Charity, which is nothing more, than a small part of an immense Debt they justly owe You, for suffering in their Cause. If my apprehensions are groundless You will forgive them on Account of the Cause, from whence they rise, but if otherways, I wish a more particular State of your Situation of Your past, & present sufferings was drawn up and circulated as well to silence those who endeavor to lessen them, in order to prevent, as farr as possible, any thing being done for You, as to stirr up those really well disposed, but too inattentive, to Your situation. Surely it will be false Modesty, to decline even asking, for what the Continent have Unanimously declared Your due. In any thing of this kind, in particular, as well as what more generally affects the great & Common Cause, You know You can command Me, to the utmost of my Narrow Abilities. The object before You, The Town of Boston must naturally engage all Your attention, otherways I would ask, and expect an Answer, whither Your people have any Thoughts of a Western extension. This Claim pursued in the only effectual Way, which is by actual Settlement, would effectually defeat the Quebec Bill, and open perhaps to Us, certainly to Our Posterity, in those fruitful Regions more peaceable retreats, than those We are Now contending for, as Men of Warr, and Armies cannot easily or perhaps possibly penetrate thither. Our People are increasing that Way fast, Two, or Three Thousand strong in fighting Men there already, & may in a few Years extend as farr as Lake *Erie* east End, which will open a most extensive Scene, & that not to very distant Years or Ages, but even in Our Days. But more immediately pressing Scenes demand Our present Attention, yet This, with Me, is one that ought not to be wholly Neglected. I have rambled beyond my intention but it may divert You, therefore make no Apology, but am With Complim[en]ts to Mr. Cushing, Mr. Jno. Adams, & Mr. Payne, Dear sir, Your most Obedt. & Very Hume. servt

Silas Deane

P.S. Having a Moments Leisure, I threw on paper, the outlines of a plan, drawn up sometime since, which is not Now before Me.



## ENCLOSURE

## Loose Thoughts on the Subject of the Western Lands

Fort Detroit, situated between Lake Erie, and Lake Huron is in the same Latitude with Boston, this leads Me to conclude that the dividing Line between the province of Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut will run through the Lake Erie leaving about one third of it in Connecticut. Travellers give a most extraordinary Acct. of the Lands on the Banks of that Lake, & on the Rivers running into it. The pass of Niagara is very much the Key to the Western Lakes if You consider the passage that way as going through the lake Ontario, but the purchase which the Connecticut people have made of the Natives begins on the Western bank of the Delaware and extends West One Hundred & Twenty Miles the width of the Colony. Consequently, it will nearly reach, the South East Corner, of That Lake which is said to be a very fine situation, it certainly must be as good a Stand, as any in America, for the Waters of this Lake, or Streams communicating with it afford Water Carriage, except about Ten Miles by the Falls & rapids quite to Quebec Northward, & with about the same Land Carriage You get into the Waters of the Ohio Southward, and Westward as farr as Travellers have explored, which is more than One Thousand Miles. It is proposed in the Spring as soon as Travelling is any way tolerable, to explore Westward from where Our People are settled, the Country, as farr as to This Lake, and if practicable make a purchase of the Natives, of a Tract of Land, sufficient for a Large Settlement on the Shores Thereof. The purchase of the Natives may be easily effected, and as to having Liberty of the Superintendant, it will hereafter be of no Consequence at all, nor indeed do I consider it of any at present, as it may very easily be made appear that The [foretended?] Treaties & Negotiation, of the late Sir William Johnson with these Tribes was never any thing more than a Covering for an iniquitous, & lucrative traffic in which the Natives, and the Crown, were both of them deluded, & plundered. The Natives never had on their part, the most distant Idea, that the Crown of Great Britain ever assumed a right, to controll them, in the disposal of their property. They are too free, & too jealous a people not To take the alarm, at the least pretensions of this Nature. The presents they annually received, were to Them, & still are, direct proofs To the Contrary, for how could they conceive that the Crown should pay a Subsidy to them for past, & in earnest for future services, and at the same Time exert the last degree of absolute sovereignty over them. But waving this, as quite one side, the immediate object, it is proposed, that on such purchase being made, a Number of Settlers, at least one Thousand strong should instantly

move on to the Land, with every Necessary, for carrying on, and supporting their plantation. Such a Body will be sufficient to Awe the Natives, in case, they are Uneasy, and as to the Government of Quebec, or the Crown of Great Brittain, They will be too remote, to occasion much Difficulty from them, and as to the Natives, it must ever be, the invariable policy, of the Settlers, to Treat Them with such humanity, and hospitality, that it shall be their Interest To be Friendly. It is proposed that One Thousand persons join in this Adventure at first, each of Which, shall advance Twenty shilling, toward defraying the Expences of the adventure. This sum shall be laid out in Goods proper for the Indian Trade & committed to the Care, of Three trusty, able persons to Transport thither in the best manner, & to lay out, in a purchase of the Natives if to be obtained, if Not, the effects, their expences deducted, to be returned to the Subscribers, but the purchase made, each subscriber shall be obliged to send one able bodied Man to settle thereon within One year after or forfeit his Right. The purchase shall if practicable be made half within the Massachusetts & half within the Connecticut Grants, but the Adventurers shall not consider themselves within either, further than meerly for ostensible purposes but they shall form a Government of their Own, as nearly as local Circumstances will admit, similar, to the first Confederations or Common Wealths in these New England Colonies. The Continual accession to this Settlement will soon render it important, even, if No extraordinary pains are taken, to transport Inhabitants thither. But will it not be the very best policy to open Our Doors wide, and use every means, in Our power, to invite the poor, industrious Inhabitants of Scotland, Ireland &c to come in and join Us, and with but little incouragement they will flock over in Numbers, and soon render it important.

This, or some such plan, will most effectually defeat the design of the Quebec Bill, which if not broke thro' & defeated in some shape or other, will be the most fatally mischeivous to the British Colonies of any Bill ever framed by the Ministry, or that may possibly ever enter into their Hearts To conceive of. The extending & fixing Settlements of protestants Westward will not only bring about this wish'd for event, but will be in future Days Our greatest Strength & Security. Another Tier as I may say of Colonies settled back of Us will be, an inexhaustible resource to Us, & render Us humanely speaking invincible though the united Powers of the whole World should attack Us. Look at a Map, & see, the situation of the Countries between 40.° & 45.° through the Continent. This is the New England Inheritance, as fairly secured for them, by their Ancestors, as any one Acre they Now possess, and once well settled with Our People, & their descendants, will give Law, not to North & South America alone, but to the World if they please. This will, & must be the most indepen-

dant Country on the Globe, inland Seas or Lakes, and Rivers extending quite across the Continent in those parallels, and the Western extremity lands Us at the very Door, of the Treasures of the East, and The South. If the Contemplation of these future events give Us pleasure every effort of Ours to ripen them if successful, in degree realizes them. This can hardly be called the pleasure of the imagination only, but rather the pleasure of anticipating great, & important realities, & such as are hastening on, & in the arrival of which, the happiness of Mankind is most deeply interested.

RC (NN) . Enclosure: MS (NN) .

<sup>1</sup> John Holt, publisher of the *New York Journal*, had printed an extract of a letter from Montreal, dated October 9, 1774, discussing resolves adopted at a recent meeting at which Montreal's British inhabitants had stated their abhorrence of the Quebec Act and pledged to struggle to obtain its repeal. *The New York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*, November 10, 1774.

## William Hooper to James Duane

My dear Sir

Philadelphia Nov. 22. 1774

After a cold disagreeable Journey I arrived here on Saturday evening last. I cannot leave this place without expressing my gratitude for the many Civilities I received from yourself & your Friends in New York. It will give me the greatest pleasure to have it in my power hereafter in Carolina or elsewhere to be useful to you or them.

I find no material change in the political System of Philadelphia since I left it. The same patriotick fervor still kindles in the breasts of the Inhabitants and urges them to a strict adherence to the measures which the *Grand Continental Congress* has taught them are to produce the salvation of themselves & their posterity in *time*, and such is the faith of some of these political patients that they are willing to extend the blessed Influence to all Eternity. God bless the Congress! Surely they were inspired!

I have surprized every person with whom I have conversed with the candid representation I have made of the political Creed of the New Yorkers and their firm and steady resolution strictly to adhere to the proceedings of the Congress. They view it as a kind of Change which required the immediate and almighty interposition to effect—they call it miraculous & begin to augur favourably of the cause in which they are embarked from Heaven having thus signally discovered its approbation of it in the conversion & reformation which it has thus worked in your Countrymen. Strange that you have been so flagrantly misrepresented. I am perfectly sincere when I say that

your Province has been cruelly misrepresented—but it is a Consolation to you that it has been by a set of men who would have treated a second Saviour in the same manner if he had encountered the licentiousness of their Religion as their politicks.

I have been informed since I came here that the Pamphlet entitled, *The friendly address to the Americans &c* has thro a mistaken zeal of the people been prevented from being publicly sold in this City;<sup>1</sup> Strange Infatuation that while we contend with enthusiastick ardor for the liberty of the press ourselves that we should with such an intolerating spirit deny it to others. It is a strange freedom that is confined to one side of a Question! Doctrines in politicks that will not bear a freedom of discussion carry with them more than a suspicion of being erroneous, and I am confident that the world will not be so easily gulled in these as in the unquestionable mysteries of Church faith. They will take the freedom to think for themselves, & even to condemn what will not upon a fair dispassionate enquiry stand the test of solid reason & sound Criticism. I do not mean to insinuate that the Pamphlet referred to has merit. I think it the most trifling performance that the publick have yet been insulted with. The Author has wrote to the passions—to inflame & mislead weak minds. He has conjured up the Horrors of a Civil War to affright the timid. It will at once discover the disingenuity of the Author when We find him asserting that the American contention is as to the Quantum of the Taxation not the mode of imposing it. Be that as it will, Neglect would be his greatest punishment. Let him speak in obscurity, Persecution is what he covets. This poor son of the Church is aiming at promotion & he knows the dirty Channels thro which in the present administration it flows. It argues a weak mind to contend with a clergyman, it is a squabble with the other Sex.

Genl Lee has prepared an answer to it which you will soon see.<sup>2</sup> He is on the wing for Maryland whither He is invited to observe the military maneuvers of 500 Militia lately incorporated there. They have destroyed a Cargo of Tea in So. Carolina.

We leave this on Thursday. In Carolina I flatter myself I shall hear from you. Mr Hewes joins me in respectful Compts to yourself & [. . .] Lady & I am Dear Sir With sincere esteem Your most  
Obed Hum Sevt  
Will Hooper

RC (NH).

<sup>1</sup>[Thomas Bradbury Chandler], *A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans on the Subject of Our Political Confusions* . . . (New York: James Rivington, 1774). T. R. Adams, *American Independence*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>Gen. Charles Lee's rejoinder to Chandler was published under the title *Strictures on a Pamphlet, Entitled, A "Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of Our Political Confusions."* (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774). *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.



## Samuel Chase to James Duane

*Annapolis. December 2nd. 1774.* Discusses the detention of an indentured servant. "I shall not fail to communicate any Matter, which may occur here material to the public Cause. We have heard of the unexpected Dissolution of parliament (as foretold by Junius) and believe it to be a ministerial Trick to take the Nation & Opposition by Surprise. We are anxious to hear of General Carlton's Motions in Quebec, is he arming the Canadians or not? Pray inform Me what You can learn from that Quarter, & I sollicit You with freedom to write Me every Intelligence of the least Importance, and be assured that You may communicate with entire Confidence your Thoughts to Me. . . . my most respectful Compliments to your Brethren Jay, Low, & Alsop."

RC (NH). "Duane Correspondence," *Publications of the Southern History Association* 10 (September 1906) : 299-300.

## John Dickinson to Thomas Cushing

Dear Sir,

Fairhill Decr. 11th 1774

I am much oblig'd to You for the Extract You were so kind as to inclose in your late Letter; and heartily rejoice, that I can repay in some Degree the favorable Intelligence it contain'd, by informing You, that, Yesterday our House of Representatives, taking into their Consideration, the Report of the Delegates from this Province, by a Resolve in the strongest Terms, "approv'd of all Resolves & proceedings of the Congress, and recommended to the good People of this province, a strict Attention to and an inviolable Observation of the Matters & Things contained therein." A Ship sailing directly for England, a Copy of the Resolve was immediately transmitted by her.

May God Almighty look down with Mercy upon Us, & bring our righteous Cause to a happy Conclusion. Procrastination is Preservation. States acting on the *Defensive*, should study for Delays. It is a melancholy Employment to peruse those various Instances recorded in History, in which, the best Causes have been ruin'd by an Excess of virtuous Zeal, too hastily to promote them. I ever thought, & think still, that a just Reverence for the Lives of our Countrymen, should determine us at all Events to wait for a Turn of European Affairs, and of British Sentiments. Either of these may save Us [with]out an Effusion of Blood. If at last, the Choice must be the Sword, or Submission, [then] America cannot hesitate.

Please to present my Compliments to your good Family, & to Messrs Adams, Paine, Adams and Hancock. I am Dr. Sir, with great

Truth, your very affectionate & very humble Servant,  
 John Dickinson

RC (PRO: C.O. 5, 118) .

## John Adams to Edward Biddle?

Dear Sir

Braintree Decr. 12. 1774

I received your kind favour 16. Ulto. with great Pleasure last Week at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> I rejoice at the Proofs your City, has given, of her inflexible Attachment to the public cause, and Determination to Support it. There are many Names in your List of Committee Men, which I had not the Pleasure of knowing, but there are Abilities, Virtues, and Spirit enough, in those whom I knew very well, to secure the good Behaviour, of any Committee which could I think be chosen in Your & my beloved City.

The Letter to Quebec, Shall be faithfully & Speedily forwarded. Our Provincial Congress, and the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, have had under Consideration, various Planns, for opening a Communication, with Several Parts of that Province.

You kindly inquire What We are doing or Suffering? You will See, by a Printed Pamphlet, which I will Send you as soon as it is out, what our Provincial Congress, has been doing. I.e. you will see in Part; not all. Our People, thro the Province, are every where learning the military Art—exercising perpetually—So that, I Suppose, if occasion should require, an Army of, Fifteen Thousand Men from this Province alone, might be brought into the Field in one Week.

The Difficulties We Suffer, however for want of Law and Government, are innumerable. A total Stagnation of Law, & Commerce almost. No Man can pay his just Debt, because he can get no Business to do, by which he can earn any Money, and if he has ever So much due to him he cant get a Shilling of it from his Debtors.

We are trying by a Thousand Experiments, the Ingenuity as well as Virtue of our People. The Effects are Such as would divert you. Imagine, 400,000 People, without Government, or Law, forming themselves in Companies, for various Purposes, of Justice, Policy, & War. You must allow for a great deal of the ridiculous, much of the Melancholly, and Some of the Marvellous. I must not be particular, because my Letter, may miscarry.

I have some Times wished, Since my Return, that We had fallen in, totis Viribus, with the Motion, made by Mr Ross and Seconded by Mr Galloway, that this Province Should be left to her own Discretion, with Respect to Government and Justice, as well as Defence.<sup>2</sup> Our Provincial Congress had in Contemplation, Some Sublime Con-

ceptions, which would in that Case have been carried rapidly into Execution.

Your Account of the Generals intended Journey to Maryland gave me great Pleasure. I hope the whole Continent will, provide themselves, at this Time with Arms and Skill. No Country ought ever to be without Either.

The intuitive, the holy, the decisive Spirit, mentioned in a late Phyladelphia Paper, cannot avoid recollecting at this Time, my Friend, that the Grecian Commonwealths, were the most heroic Confederacy, that ever existed. The politest, bravest, & wisest of Men. Their Sculptors, Painters, Architects, Poets, Physicians, Criticks, Historians, Phylosophers, orators, Warriors, and Statesmen, were the brightest ornaments of their whole Species, and Examples for Imitation to all succeeding Generations.

The Period of their Glory, was from the Defeat of Xerxes to the Rise of Alexander.

Let Us not be enslaved, my dear Friend Either by Xerxes, or Alexander.

The Town of Boston, is like Zion in Distress—Seneca's Virtuous Man, Struggling with Adversity. *Spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat Deus*—Suffering amazing Loss, but determined to endure Poverty and Death, rather than betray America and Posterity.

Be pleased to present my most respectfull Compliments and gratefull Acknowledgements, to Mr Dickinson, Thompson &c &c &c I have not Time to name them all—I mean almost the whole City of Philadelphia.

I should have written to you, long before this, If I had not been prevented by an Inflammation in my Eyes, So violent that I have not been able to write, or read. Pray, write me, as often as possible, and let me know, how, the fourth Resolution in our Bill of Rights, is relished and digested, among the Choice Spirits along the Continent. I had more Anxiety about that than all the rest. But I find it is extremely popular here. Our Provincial Congress have approved and adopted it, in Strong Terms. They consider it, as a great Point gained. They think it has placed our Connection with G. B. on its true Principles, and that there is no danger from it to Us, and there is quite as much allowed to her, as Either Justice or Policy require.

FC (MHi). Incomplete draft in the hand of John Adams, unsigned and undressed.

<sup>1</sup> Adams was probably responding to a letter from Edward Biddle, who apparently had recently sent Adams copies of the *Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec* (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774). The document had been printed in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or, the General Advertiser*, November 14, 1774. Just before Congress had adjourned, responsibility for "translating, printing, publishing & dispersing" it had been assigned to the

delegates of Pennsylvania, to be assisted by the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York delegates. Similarly, Biddle—with John Dickinson and Charles Thomson—had previously been appointed to a committee to oversee the printing of the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress*. Biddle, along with Joseph Galloway, had also been a member of the committee to state the rights of the colonies, and Adams' letter implies familiarity with the work of the committee. Since Galloway was certainly not the recipient of the letter, and both Dickinson and Thomson are mentioned in it, Adams must have been writing to Biddle. *JCC*, 1:28, 102, 113, 122; and Adams, *Works* (Adams), 9:348n.

<sup>2</sup>The motion of George Ross is not mentioned in the journals, but it was probably made during the debate on the letter from the Boston Committee of Correspondence, October 7–10, *JCC*, 1:57–60.

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Horatio Gates

Sir. Annapolis 14 Decr. 1774.

Before you left us you engaged my Promise to advise you of any Thing I might think material.<sup>1</sup> I have now the pleasure to inclose you the Resolutions of our provincial Convention from which you will collect our Temper.<sup>2</sup> You must by this Time be confirmed in the sudden Dissolution of the parliament immediately on the Scarborough's getting Home and as some say caused by the Intelligence she carried. This Step from which [. . .] no certain Conclusion can be drawn of the Intention of Government with respect to America is differently spoke of according to the parties Men are engaged in, their [fears?] &c. But we have lately heard this of a Vessel in Potomack that had a very short Passage from Glasgow. She brings Paquets as late as the 27 Oct. They are in Town. I have not seen them but am told Wilks is Ld Mayor, Wilks & Glynn for Midd[lesex], Sawbridge, Bull, Oliver & Haley for London, William Lee for Southwark, and that Mr. Cruger will be in for Bristol. From all the latest Letters I have heard of, the Tide of popular Opinion is changing in favor of America, but I am afraid Governmt. will not be wise enough to remove intirely the Grounds of Jeolesy and Contention, but like Quacks in Politicks endeavour to still the present Clamour by an Adoption of temporary Expedients. The Candidates for London &c. signed a Kind of Test by which they promise their Endeav[ou]rs to shorten parliamts., exclude placemen, repeal the Boston Acts, the Act for Trial in England of those who offend in America, and I think the Quebec Bill, and it is said the Test is running pretty generally through England. If so England may yet enjoy a healthy Constitution and America be restored to her Rights. I shall hope for a virtuous independt. House of Commons & if that is obtained that Branch I trust will not push the Scheme for a Revenue or Systematic Corruption in America.

Mr. Purviance favoured me the other Day with some Extracts of a



Letter to him from the Massachusetts dated 16 Novr. It is a very sensible well wrote Letter. Every Thing was quiet. Genl. Gage assured the Select Men at an Interview that he had no Orders to seize any Body nor intended any Thing hostile, that the Soldiers should not wear Weapons of any Kind but when on Duty and that the greatest Care shd. be taken to prevent any [Trouble?] by them. The Select Men promised to afford the [officers?] & Army what Necessaries & Conveniencies they could. He says further I trust Things will remain as they are until we hear from G. Britain "*which must determine our future Conduct.*" From several other parts of the Letter the Cool thoughtful part are wishing for peace but all [are] preparing for War. The Inhabitants of Boston are formed in Companies, are well armed and have a Magazine. They have one Company of upwards of 60 Men of upwards of 60 Years of Age each, none are exempt but Clergymen and those who are disabled by Infirmities. Great Unanimity and peace and good Order prevail through the province notwithstanding the Suspension of Courts and Law. I congratulate you on the present Appearance of Things. They look towards an honourable peace or successful Opposition. Pray make my Compliments to Mrs. Gates. I am sir, Your most obedt. hble. Servt.

Th. Johnson Junr

RC (NH). .

<sup>1</sup>Horatio Gates (ca. 1728–1806), a retired major in the British Army who had taken up residence in Virginia in 1772, was appointed adjutant general of the Continental Army in June 1775 with the rank of brigadier general. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup>The Maryland Convention met in Annapolis, December 8–12, 1774. The resolutions Johnson enclosed are printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1031–33.

## Samuel Ward to John Dickinson

Dear Sir

Westerly 14th Decr. 1774

The distressed Situation of our Native Country, requiring the United Efforts of All the Colonies; there is a Necessity of frequent Communications between them, that every Colony may be apprized as soon as possible, of the base Designs of Administration, and adopt proper Measures, for the general safety. With this View I entered into Engagements, with several Gentlemen of the late Congress, to transmit to them every Thing of Importance, which occur'd in this Colony: and in return, to receive All interesting Intelligence, from Their several Governments. And, I shall be vastly happy, in opening a Correspondence with You, in the same Manner.

The Letter from Lord Dartmouth,<sup>1</sup> & the Copy of the Kings Order in Council (Copies of which are enclosed) were brought by the Scarborough, recieved by Express on Wednesday Evening last, and next

Morning laid before the Genl. Assembly. They immediately ordered Copies of them to be sent to Mr. Cushing to be communicated to the Provincial Congress. They ordered the Cannon at our Fort, (which was not tenable) to be sent to Providence where it will be safe & ready for service, 200 bbls of Powder and a proportionate quantity of Lead & Flints & several Companies of Light Infantry, Fusiliers, Hunters &c. were established, the Militia was ordered to be disciplined & the Commanding Officers impow'rd to March our Troops to the Assistance of any Sister Colony. The Spirit and Ardor with which All this was done Gave Me the highest pleasure and I hope the Moment the other Colonies receive this intelligence they will proceed in the same spirited Manner. For this Ministry appear to be determined to Commence Hostilities against Us & Unless we are provided with Arms &c. We shall be an easy Prey to them, but if properly Arm'd and disciplined can certainly defend and secure our several Colonies. The Idea of taking up Arms against the parent State is shocking to Us, who still feel the strongest Attachment to our sovereign and the warmest Affection & Veneration for our Brethren in Britain. And may God in his infinite Mercy grant that We may never be driven to that fatal extremity but if We must either become Slaves or fly to Arms I shall not and I hope No American will hesitate one Moment which to chuse. For All the Horrors of a Civil War and even Death itself in any form whatever will be infinitely preferable to Slavery, which in one word comprehends Poverty Misery Infamy and every Species of Ruin & Distruction.

I have inclosed You A Copy of the Resolves of our Genl. Assembly upon the report of their Delegates. The Polite Manner in which the other Gentn. of the Congress are mentioned I hope will be acceptable. The people are Universally satisfied with the proceedings of the Congress, and determined to Adhere to the Association, even the Merchants who suffer most by discontinuing the Slave Trade, Assure Me They shall most punctually conform to that Resolve and the Country in general is vastly pleased with it.

The Other Copy contains the Appointment & Instructions of the new Delegates.<sup>2</sup> The power of Appointing Time & Place I thought Absolutely necessary, for the small Pox and many other Things may make it necessary to change both. The Power of Adjourning is equally necessary for a new Congress cannot be chosen under a considerable Time. Whilst this is doing the public may Suffer almost irreparable Injuries. An Adjournment may prevent any thing of this kind and be Attended with no inconveniences but a trifling Expende.

Some Gentn. were of opinion that if our grievances were redressed Another Congress would be unnecessary but I am of a different opinion, many regulations of Commerce Manufactures &c may be made for the general good of the Colonies. And should the Ministry

be disposed to make any new Attempts upon Us Nothing would so effectually prevent their taking Place as our continuing firmly United & being ever on our Guard. For these Reasons I proposed an Annual Congress.

Upon the whole Our Powers, I think, are very full And I heartily wish that those of all the other Delegates may be so. For the more Uniform and full the Powers of the several Delegates Are, the more Scope they will have for exerting their abilities in the Service of their Country. We may then debate with Freedom, resolve with Wisdom & Unanimity & execute with firmness whatever the Interest & happiness of our Country require. If any Amendments occur to You, be kind enough to favour Me with them & I doubt not but they will be readily Adopted.

I am greived to tell You that the Distresses of those brave People of Boston increase. Many who have hitherto supported themselves are now forced to apply to the Public. May the Colonies Continue their generous Donations & may Heaven grant them a speedy Deliverance.

Please to make my Compliments to the Speaker Mr. Biddle, Mr. Mifflin and the other Gentn. who were Delegates with Us, & to the Secy with my particular thanks for a Journal extraordinary, & present my most respectful regards to Your good Lady. I am with very great Esteem and Regard, Dear Sir Your most obedient humble Servant  
Sam Ward

P.S. I have not had time to communicate this Intelligence to Maryland. If you think best be pleased to do it.

RC (PPL) . FC (RHi) . Endorsed: "Copy To J. Dickinson Esqr. Decbr. 1774." A revealing variation in the FC is duly noted below.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to a circular letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to governors in America, October 19, 1774, enclosing an order in council of the same date which forbade "the Exportation from Great Britain of Gunpowder, or any sort of arms or ammunition." Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853-87), 8:509.

<sup>2</sup> After "Delegates" in FC Ward added and then deleted: "being sensible of the Inconveniences of the [. . .] Instructions of the Gentn. of Virginia . . ." This was a reference to the fact that the convention which elected the Virginia delegates to the First Congress had instructed them to confine their attention to colonial grievances against Great Britain in the period since 1763. Although other delegates also wanted to protest certain British policies adopted before then, the Virginians refused, arguing that they could not follow this course of action because "it had been agreed upon at home, not to go beyond that year [1763], as thereby, the greater odium would be thrown upon the reign of George III., which was so fatal to the peace of America." As a result, Congress had decided on September 24 to consider only those objectionable acts of Parliament which had been passed since 1763. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:689-90; *JCC*, 1:23, 42; South Carolina Delegates' Report to the Provincial Congress, January 11, 1775.

## Samuel Ward to Richard Henry Lee

Dear Sir

Westerly 14th Decr. 1774

As it is of the greatest Importance that every Colony should have the earliest Notice of the hostile Intentions of Administration I have enclosed You Copies of Lord Dartmouths Letter & the Order received with it.<sup>1</sup> Our Genl. Assembly immediately ordered Copies of them to be sent to Mr. Cushing to be communicated to the provincial Congress. They then ordered the Cannon at Fort George (which was not tenable) to be sent to Providence where they will be safe and ready for Service, 200 bbls. of Powder, a proportionate quantity of Lead & Flints & several Pieces of brass Cannon for the Artillery Compy. were order'd to be purchased, a Major General (an officer never before chosen in the Colony) was appointed, several independent Companies of light Infantry Fusiliers, Hunters &c were formed, the Militia was order'd to be disciplined & the Commanding Officers empowered to march the Troops to the Assistance of any Sister Colony. The Spirit & Ardor with which all this was done gave Me ineffable Pleasure and I heartily wish that the other Colonies may proceed in the same spirited Manner for I fear the last Appeal to Heaven must now be made & if We are unprepared We must be undone. The Idea of taking up Arms against Great Britain is shocking but if We must become Slaves or fly to Arms I shall not hesitate one Moment which to chuse for all the Horrors of civil War & even Death itself in every Shape is infinitely preferable to Slavery which in one Word comprehends every Species of Distress Misery Infamy & Ruin.

I have enlosed the Resolve of our Assembly upon the Report of their Delegates. The polite Notice taken of all the Gentn. of the Congress I hope will be acceptable; You may rely upon a most punctual Adherence to the Association in this Colony.

The other Copy contains the Appointment and Instructions of the new Delegates. The Power of appointing Time & Place for holding a Congress I thought absolutely necessary for the small Pox & many other Things may make it inconvenient to sett at Philadelphia. The Power of adjourning is equally necessary for it will take much Time to chuse new Members & in the interim the Public may suffer the greatest Mischiefs & the trifling Expende of Meeting is the only Objection.

It was supposed by some Gentn. that if our Grievances were redressed this Winter there would be no Necessity of another Congress. I am of a different Opinion. Many new Regulations of Commerce Manufactures &c, may be adopted for the general Good of the Colonies and should the Ministry be inclined to make any new Attempts upon Us our being united & on our Guard would be the most probable Means of preventing them. For these Reasons I proposed an an-





Samuel Ward

nual Congress; upon the whole our Powers are full & I wish all the Delegates may have such that being free from all Restraints We may deliberate with Freedom, resolve wisely & execute with Firmness whatever the Necessities of our Country may require.

The Distresses of the Town of Boston increase greatly. Many who have till lately supported themselves are now forced to apply to the public, eighteen or twenty Petitions are sometimes recd. in a Day. May the generous Donations of the Colonies continue until God in Mercy relieves them.

Be kind enough to present my most respectful Compliments to your worthy Colleagues & to your good Lady & Family & ever remember Me as one who is With the greatest Esteem & Regard Dear Sir  
Your most obedient humble Servant Sam: Ward

P.S. Be kind enough to communicate the Order from home to the southern Colonies.

RC (PHC) . Endorsed: "Recd. 24th Feby. 1775."

<sup>1</sup> See Ward to John Dickinson, this date, note 1.

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to James Duane

Sir. Annapo. 16 Decr. 1774

My Time and Attention has been much taken up since I left you with my Business in my Profession and what I think less entertaining Meetings of the People Committees, Conventions, &c. I now inclose you the Proceedgs of the last,<sup>1</sup> and though I do not imagine the Resolutions of the Congress are agreeable to every Individual of our Province yet I believe all are so well convinced of the Necessity of Unanimity that we shall have no Trouble at all to execute the Association or by degrees to go any Length that may be necessary to defend the Rights of America.

We shall probably have no Assembly till the Spring; that may not be the Case with all the Colonies and if a Congress is thought at Home to be unconstitutional or what is more likely the Ministry intend to treat with the several Assemblies seperately to avail themselves of a hoped for Disunion or Differences in the Claims of Right I imagine several Assemblies will be called especially in those Colonies where the People in general are the most strongly attached to the Mother Country. You and I, I believe, thought much alike and were equally distressed on particular Points but as Things are now circumstanced if the Proceedgs of the Congress come before the Assemblies I am afraid a Disapprobation of any Article might be of infinite Mischief to our Cause. I shall be glad of your Sentiments on this truly delicate point and if your Assembly should sit that you'd take the



Thomas Johnson

Trouble to furnish me with your proceedg it may be a Matter of Consequence to be well advised of it. We here fear the sudden Dissolution of the Parliamt. and the Reelection of so many of the old Borough Members will put it much in the power of the Ministry to continue their plan and that their Inclination will be secured by their Attachmt. to their places. We pray for peace but shall be busy in preparing for the worst. I am Sir With great Esteem & Regard Your most obedt Servant  
Th Johnson Junr.

RC (NH). .

<sup>1</sup>The Maryland Convention met in Annapolis December 8-12, 1774, at which time "the Proceedings of the Continental Congress were read, considered, and unanimously approved." *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1031.

## John Adams to James Burgh?

Sir

Braintree Decr. 28. 1774.

I have had the Honour of receiving from you a most *valuable* desirable Present, in two Volumes of Political Disquisitions.<sup>1</sup> The very polite and obliging manner in which this Present was conveyed to me demands my gratefull Acknowledgments. But the Present itself is invaluable.

I cannot but think those Disquisitions, the best Service, that a Citizen, could render to his Country, at this great and dangerous Crisis, when the British Empire Seems ripe for destruction, and tottering on the Brink of a Precipice. If any Thing can possibly open the Eyes of the Nation and excite it to exert itself, it must be such a Sight of its Danger, and of the imperceptible Steps, by which it ascended to it.

I have contributed somewhat to make the Disquisitions more known and attended to in several Parts of America, and they are held in as high Estimation by all my Friends as they are by me. And the more they are read the more eagerly and generally they are Sought for.

We have pleased ourselves in America, with Hopes, that the Publication of these Disquisitions, the Exertions of the other Friends of Virtue and Freedom in England, together with the Union of Sentiment and Conduct of America, which appears by the Proceedings of the Congress of Phyladelphia, would have had their full operation and Effect upon the Nation, during the Fall and Winter, while the People were canvassing for Elections, and that in Spight of Bribery, Some alteration in the House of Commons for the better might have been made. But the Sudden Dissolution of Parliament and the impatient Summons for a new Election, have blasted all these Hopes. We now see plainly, that every Trick and Artifice of Sharpers, Gamblers



and Horse Jockies is to be played off against the Cause of Liberty in England and America: and that no Hopes are to be left for Either but in the Sword.

We are in this Province Sir, at the Brink of a civil War. Our Alva, Gage, with his fifteen Mandamous Councillers, are Shutt up in Boston, afraid to Stir, afraid of their own Shades, protected with a Dozen Regiments of Regular Soldiers, and strong Fortifications, in the Town, but never moving out of it. We have No Council, No House, No Legislature, No Executive. Not a Court of Justice, has Sat Since the Month of September—Not a debt can be recovered, nor a Trespass redressed, nor a Criminal of any kind, brought to Punishment. What the Ministry will do next, is uncertain—inforce the Act for altering our Govt. [it] cannot. All the Regiments upon the Establishment, wd not do it—for Juries will not serve, nor Represent.

Whatever Alva and his Troops may think of it, it has required great Caution and Delicacy in the Conduct of Affairs, to prevent their Destruction. For my own Part I have bent my chief Attention to prevent a Rupture, and to impress my Friends with the Importance of preventing it. Not that I think the Lives of 5 or 10 thousand Men, tho my own should be one of them, would not be very profitably Spent, in obtaining a Restoration of our Liberties. But because I know, that those Lives would never go unrevengeed, and it would be vain ever to hope for a Reconciliation with great Britain afterwards. Britains would not easily forgive the Destruction of their Brethren. I am absolutely certain that New England men never would that of theirs. Nor would any Part of America ever forget or forgive, the destrucion of one New England man in this Cause. The Death of 4 or 5 Persons, the most obscure, and inconsiderable that could have been found upon the Continent, on the 5th March 1770 has never yet been forgiven by any Part of America. What then would be the Consequence of a Battle in which, many Thousands must fall of the best Blood, the best Families, Fortunes, Abilities and moral Characters in the Country?

America, never will Submit to the Claims of Parliament and Administration. New England alone has 200,000 fighting Men. And all in a Militia, established by Law, not exact Soldiers, but all used to Arms.<sup>2</sup>

FC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> James Burgh (1714–75), British academician and political writer, had apparently sent Adams a set of the first two volumes of his work, *Political Disquisitions; or, an Enquiry into Public Errors, Defects and Abuses* . . . , 3 vols. (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1774–75).

<sup>2</sup> The final section of this document is missing.

## James Duane to Samuel Chase

Dear Sir

New Yorke 29<sup>t</sup>. Decembr 1774

I am greatly obliged to you for communicating so early the important Transactions of your provincial Congress. In the publick Letter from the New York Committee to your Committee of Correspondence you will see the Footing on which this delicate Business rests with Us. The Members of our Assembly live so dispersed that I am a Stranger to their *(political Creed)* Feelings at this alarming Crisis, and the Gentlemen of that House who are in Town seem either not to have formed decisive Sentiments or to act on the Reserve till they try the pulses of their Brethren. The time swiftly approaches when they must declare themselves & take a conclusive part and to you or our Friend Mr. Johnson I shall faithfully communicate the result of their deliberations. My Conjectures can give you no useful Information and I am sure they will be readily dispensed with.

The Step you have taken which will be called an Assumption of the Militia into your own hands is certainly of a very serious nature and here it produces great Anxiety.<sup>1</sup> It is observed that it is the first publick Act out of the pale of New England which indicates a preparation for war & denounces its near Approach; & Men make a wide distinction between the calm & deliberate Resolutions of Maryland remote from the Scene of Action, & the Conduct of those who more immediately engaged in it have their passions roused & their Apprehensions stretched to a painful Pitch of Anxiety. You may be assured that the seizing & dismantling Fort William & Mary by the Inhabitants of New Hampshire & removing the Cannon & military Stores to an interior Town in that province occasions far less agitation than the Issue of your Convention.<sup>2</sup> My principal alarm is that those Measures will inflame the Ardor of our Friends in Boston and precipitate an Attack on the King's Troops. It is beyond all doubt with me that this is what is wished for by a vindictive Ministry. In that way they may hope to subdue us by the Strength of their Arms: whereas if we could maintain a pacific and defensive Conduct Success must unquestionably crown our Efforts & reward our Fortitude. What have we to fear but the uncertain issue of War? The Ministry have in my opinion spent their malice in enacting that cruel project of Shutting up the port of Boston. But this brings them very little nearer to the Object they aim at than they were at first setting out. They have cut off its trade & greatly oppressed Individuals: but the province is still at Liberty to pursue its Commerce with the usual vigour and success. They have Blockaded the Harbour with a Fleet & filled the Town with Troops but the generous Contributions of the Colonies and the immense Sums diffused by so great an Armament will upon the whole rescue this devoted people from intolerable Distress.<sup>3</sup> Calami-

tous as is their situation it is in such Events to be preferred to the Horrors and the uncertain issue of a civil war. The other branches of ministerial Tyranny must fall of themselves. A new form of Government cannot be imposed without their own Consent. There can be no Court without Suitors & Jurors: no Legislature without the lower House. The Authors of this despotic plan may threaten, they may redouble their Fleets & Armies & call those of Russia &c, at which I should not be surprized, to their Assistance, but unless we begin the attack or give them Reasons which will satisfy the world; in declaring us to be in Rebellion they will not, they dare not shed one drop of American blood. In the mean time can the people of England suffer patiently the Loss of their trade & all this accumulated Expence? Will they not when they *feel* clamour for a change of Measures? They will!

Let us but act with wisdom and Temper, avoid the Imputation of commencing hostilities & persevere with Virtue and Fortitude in our Association and all will yet be well without recurring to the last Extremity in which Victory itself however decided must be destructive. I think you may rely that the Inhabitants of this province will adhere to the Association with inflexible Integrity. That they will give it all the Time & opportunity to operate that can be desired; & if pacific Measures finally prove ineffecutal that they never will surrender up their Liberties. At the same time as far as my Information extends they are universally of your opinion that the Right of regulating our Trade *bona fide*, as the Basis of an accommodation ought to be ceded in the most express terms. The Maryland Arguments in which you had so great a share on this essential point were unanswerable. They were never attempted to be answered: yet unhappily they produced no Conviction. Tell me then my dear Sir how a plan of Union is to be adopted which will be acceptable in every Colony? You have not I see altered your Opinion; If the Question comes to be proposed to you in your Legislative Capacity do you think you will? If not is it reasonable to expect that this Colony will at once recede from what they have always laid down as a fundamental Principle of their Constitution. For my part I candidly confess that had this cardinal point been properly ascertained on a great occasion I should have been much more happy than I am at present. Finding it would not be yielded in any Terms which could give Satisfaction or even elude Suspicion, I listend to a certain plan<sup>4</sup> which chiefly on that Account made a deep Impression. I have not yet been fortunate enough to hear any objections against it which weigh in my Judgment. I ask the favour of you who were averse to it, & will not determine but on good Grounds to state them. In the mean time suffer me to explain the Light in which it strikes me. The plan is calculated to secure to every Colony its own exclusive internal Legislation & form of Gov-

ernment; Except in matters which respect Great Britain & the Colonies jointly, such for instance as War & Commerce. The new Council were to have no authority; and in all cases the Representatives of the people were to be vested with a complete negative. Thus far we should secure the first & capital Right of all free subjects; to be bound by no Laws without their prior Consent. But why it is said ought the parliament of England to participate in this great Council? I conceive for two Reasons, first that there may be but one supreme head in the State to conduct Events which regard the whole Empire & upon which its very Existence may depend, secondly because it is just that Great Britain should be guarded against all attempts of the Sovereign to unite with one part of the Empire, which must seem to [*be*] the most important, to oppress or injure her. It has been objected that this Plan by introducing these additional Assemblies is repugnant to the Constitution. I answer that Colonization is a new Case unprovided for by the Constitution: & it is therefore necessary to remedy the Defect by a new system founded on general principles of Liberty. It is further objectd that it is highly dangerous & by giving [. . .]<sup>5</sup> may be exposed to corruption; to this it is answered that our Assemblies at present [. . .]<sup>6</sup> prove that there can be no Society without Confidence & that the direction of the Council may be so contrived as effectually to silence the Fears of seduction. You are already master of my sentiments on this plan & I may express my Thoughts with Freedom but I woud not have you to understand that I think it perfect in its present rude form & much less that I am so fond of it as to recommend it to our Assembly for Adoption. This however I must observe that if the right of regulating Trade is to be rejected or pared away to nothing some Plan of Union must be seriously thought of. That our different Assemblies will be called upon by Government for their respective Systems, I make no question: any more than I doubt that delegates even from our Congress woud have been respectfully receivd by Government if they would have suggestd any fit & reasonable Scheme for terminating our unhappy Dissentions amicably. I entreat you my dear Sir and the other delegates appointed for your Colony to take this Subject into serious Consideration. If you cannot approve of something like the above mentioned plan devise one which you will support. Think in Time of the Conditions of Union to which you will accede; & communicate them with Candour. This may be of the most important consequence to this Colony & to the Common Cause. We are among those that are thought most strongly attached to the parent State; & probably from us will first be demanded a System of Union. We therefore stand in need of Information; at least we ought to know the Sentiments of some of the Colonies, and I exclusively have my Eye upon those whose politics I think the most consistent & rational. I am afraid I have tired you



with this long disquisition but remember that you have twice pressed me to communicate my thoughts with Freedom, and I am encouraged from a Sense of duty as well as the Expectation of a rich exchange by expecting from you the same fraternal Candour. I am with great Esteem Dear Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Jas. Duane

FC (NH<sub>i</sub>) . Tr (NH<sub>i</sub>) ; in hand of Samuel W. Jones. Tr (NN: Bancroft Collection) . Illegible and missing words in FC supplied from the two Trs.

<sup>1</sup> Delegates to the Maryland Provincial Convention held at Annapolis December 8–12, 1774, had passed a resolution calling upon all inhabitants of the province between the ages of 16 and 50 to form themselves into militia companies which were designed to replace Maryland's traditional militia system and to provide the revolutionary movement there with reliable military power in the event of an armed conflict with Great Britain. David Curtis Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753–1776* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973) , pp. 156–57.

<sup>2</sup> A large number of Portsmouth inhabitants, prompted by a message from the Boston Committee of Correspondence reporting the coming of British regulars to garrison Fort William and Mary, stormed this stockade on December 14, 1774, and removed approximately 100 barrels of powder from it. The next evening another crowd broke into the fort and made off with about 60 small arms and 16 pieces of cannon. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1041–43, 1069–70.

<sup>3</sup> Duane wrote the last two sentences in the margin of the FC as a substitute for his initial, less charitable view of the effect on Boston of the Boston Port Act: "This in my opinion can have no effective Object on the [ . . . ] Trade of the province and it may be questioned whether the Town itself with the Contributions of the Colonies & the immense Sums diffused by so great a Fleet & Army will upon the whole be very much impoverished."

<sup>4</sup> That is, Galloway's Plan of Union.

<sup>5</sup> FC torn; about six words missing.

<sup>6</sup> FC torn; about three words missing.

## James Duane to Thomas Johnson

My dear Sir

New York 29th Decemr 1774

I have Just finished a long Letter to Mr Chase in Answer to one with which he was pleased to honour me. To avoid Repetition I have requested him to submit it to your Perusal. Addicted like you to a close Attention to the Duties of my profession I have ever avoided both from the want of Inclination & Leisure an active part in politics. Unhappily for my Repose the alarming state of our publick affairs & the Acts of my Countrymen oblige me at once to plunge into the midst of a Tempest which I find myself unable to direct. For the Association I am under no Concern the universal Acquiescence of the people having exceeded my most sanguine Expectation. But the approaching Session of our General assembly gives me the most painful Solitude. The Necessity of maintaining an Union of Sentiment & Conduct with our Sister Colonies on the one hand & on the other the

dread of a civil War which I fear they will think sufficient Care has not been taken to prevent most powerfully operate on their Minds & distract their Councils. I tremble for the Event! If they pursue a Middle path, assume a Resolution to maintain their Rights with Fortitude and at the same time hold up a plan of Accommodation & Union, they must tread upon Thorns, expose themselves to Suspicion & Distrust & perhaps yield up points which their Sister Colonies will not approve. It is a great Misfortune that altho' I have carefully watchd the Temper of the Congress I am myself yet to learn what System will content a Majority of the Colonies; & conscientiously Declare I can give them no New precise Information. It seems it was not a Subject fit to be determin'd by the united Councils of the Colonies & yet as you Justly remark every Colony will too probably be acted upon distinctly, & reduced to the necessity of declaring the Conditions on which they will accede to an Union & close this unnatural Breach which threatens the Empire with a Dissolution.

The people here however misrepresented are sincerely devoted to the Cause of Liberty. And tho' they are ungenerously condemned in other colonies [. . .] they will not suffer the press to be restrain'd, nor a decent Freedom of speech to be controled. These Indulgences in part proceed from a proper sense of Liberty. Under this advantage It is not difficult for a Man of Observation to discern the General Opinion on important & popular subjects. It seems to be agreed here that every pacific & persuasive Expedient ought to be tried before a Recourse to Arms can be Justified; and accordingly the petition to the King as well as the Association are highly approved. Here they conclude we ought to rest till Time is given for the Operation of these Solitary Measures on the Success of which they greatly rely. If we proceed to Extremities the principal Burthen of a War they think will fall upon New England without any effectual Succor from their Neighbours & they cannot be persuaded that undisciplin'd & destitute of competent Artillery Ammunition, or Authority to enforce the Acts of War or [the Means] of defence these Colonies will long be able to maintain a Conflict with the formidable power of Great Britain. And if they should be subdued all is lost, & for an Age we must submit to the imperious Dictates of our Conquerors.

They at the same time consider our Eastern Neighbours as highly irritated, impatient under severe and unmerited Sufferings, and so ready to rush into war that they are constrain'd by no other Consideration than a Respect to the advice of their Sister Colonies. The Enterprize of our New Hampshire Friends against Fort William & Mary; the Seizure of the Cannon & Ammunition, and their removal into an interior Town, which some Construe to be repugnant to the Spirit of that Resolution of the Congress which restrains the Massachusetts from offering Violence to the King's property, they conceive

to be a strong Indication of the Impetuosity of our Eastern Brethren. They therefore conclude it to be impolitic to inflame their Ardour or stimulate them to Action by military preparations in other Colonies. Besides it is apprehended that if such preparations should become general it will afford the ministry an opportunity of representing us as in a State of actual Hostility and of inciting against Us the passions, prejudice & the Vengeance & Resentmt of the whole nation, frustrating all our moderate Councils, and extinguishing every Hope of Accommodation. These seem to be the prevailing Sentiments of a people who have engaged in this Contest with unusual Calmness & Deliberation, and who [ . . . ] it in all its Stages with a fixd & pensive Attention. And under such Impressions you will naturally imagine that they will enter into Measures which may be ascribed to a hostile and unconciliating Spirit with Caution and Reluctance.

But notwithstanding all I have said you may rest fully assured that the most tremendous prospect will never intimidate them into mean Submissions or an unworthy Surrender of an Atom of their Liberties; however great their Attachment to England & Monarchy, & their desire of peace & Tranquillity.

I have endeavored to give you a proof of my Candour and sincere Intention to encourage that friendly Correspondence which at so important a period may be of some Use to the Cause of our Country. The proceedings of our General Assembly shall be faithfully communicated with every Occurrence which may serve to explain the Temper & Views of a Colony whose Situation is upon many Accounts truly critical. I expect the same Friendship on your part & shall study to deserve it.

Be pleased to accept my Thanks for your obliging favour accompanying the Resolves of your provincial Congress & believe me to be with very great Regard Dear Sir Your most obedient hum Servt

J. D.

FC (NHi).

## Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck?

Dear Sir,

Trevois Decembr. 30th 1774

Your obliging Favor of the 17th Instant waited here, untill my Return from the Assembly; I shoud have answerd it sooner had not some particular Engagements which I coud not well postpone, prevented.

You request that I wou'd give you my "Sentiments occasionally on the State of our Public Affairs."<sup>1</sup> Did you consider either the Danger or the Difficulty of the Task? You did not. The Land you live in,

where the Times so well described by Tacitus—"when you may think what you please, and speak what you think," prevail, affords no Ground for the Suspicion. But here, I often mourn to see that Country which ever since its Settlement has been deemed the first in the World for virtuous Liberty; where Agriculture, elegant and beneficial Improvements, Philosophy, and all the liberal Arts and Sciences have been nursed and ripen'd to a Degree of Perfection astonishing to Mankind; where Wisdom and sound Policy dropping from the Lips of venerable Sages have ever sustaind their due Authority, kept the licentious in Awe, & even renderd them Subservient to their own & the Public Welfare; and where Freedom, Peace and Order have always equally triumphed over those Enemies to human Happiness, Oppression and Licentiousness, now governed by the barbarian Rule of ambitious Fools and impolitic Madmen, to whose Fury Candor, Honor, [*and*] Virtue are equally liable to fall a Sacrifice. Nor did you Consider the Difficulty. For while such Scenes of Confusion & Distraction maintain the Ascendant in America; a lawless Power established in most of the Colonies, to which the regular Magistracy of the Constitutional one in some places reluctantly, and in others willingly, submit—the invaluable Liberty of the Press destroyd—America arming in the East and West in Opposition to her Parent State, and that State sending over Fleets and Troops to support her ancient Authority, it seems scarcely in the Power of the wisest of Men to pick out principles upon which Prudence woud justify him in risking his Judgment on Public Affairs. But however these Things may be, seeing you request it, I will not only now, but occasionally, run the Hazard, under a Confidence that my Sentiments, however mistaken or erroneous, will be safe when deposited in the Bosoms of my Friends.<sup>2</sup>

From a View of all the Facts as well before as since the year 1763, I have no Doubt but the Dispute between the two Countries is now near its Crisis, and will be soon settled, more to the Advantage of both than had it been longer postponed. And whether it be determined by Arms or otherwise, Great Britain will never give up her Supreme Authority in any Case or Circumstance whatever. Because a Surrender of it will be a yielding up the Colonies to *themselves*, and casting so many Members out of the Circle of her Jurisdiction, and consequently depriving herself of the Power of deriving, with any kind of Certainty, the least Benefit from them; there being, as yet, Nothing ever invented, in the forms of any Kind of Government, which can give the State the necessary Command over its Members but the Legislative Authority. It is this which cements the Whole together in one Politic Body, and enables that Body to compell every Part of it to act in Concert for the general Good. Nor can she, in my Opinion, upon any good Policy, suffer it to be in the least impaired,



as that would be weakening a System, by a division of its principles and their Operations upon the Preservation of which entire, its whole Strength materially depends. A Conduct of this kind is therefore so inconsistent with the Principles of all Governments, her own Interest and Welfare, and the Power and Dignity she holds among Nations, that I have ever thought it, the greatest of all Absurdities in America to expect it.<sup>3</sup>

But, it seems, America is of a different Opinion, and believes, if I may judge from her Conduct, that G. Britain will yield up the only Principle of Union which can form them into one State; and she has accordingly resolved on the Part she will Act. The Language she hold[s] up to the World is—"That the Colonies are entitled to a *free* and *exclusive* Power of Legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, subject only to the Negative of the Crown." The Parliament is not even to retain the Power of repealing a Law of the Colonies. But, out of their mere Grace & Favor, they "*Consent* to the *Operation* of" [not to the Power of making] "such Acts of Parliament as *are*" [not shall be hereafter] "bona fide restrained to the Regulation of our external Commerce."<sup>4</sup> And yet this is to be done if it be possible to do it, which many will doubt, "for the purpose of Securing the Commercial Advantage of the *whole* Empire to the *Mother Country*, and the Commercial Benefits of its respective Members." But how the Commercial Benefits of the *whole* Empire can be *secured* to the *Mother Country* and at the Same Time to its *American Members*, I think will puzzle a Casuist to determine. Here we have American Claims and Pretensions. Thus the Issue is join'd between the two Countries—The one asserting her Supremacy in all Cases whatever, and the other denying it in all. And the Measures, which the latter seems determin'd to pursue in Maintenance of her Claims, are already carrying into Execution. They are, a Refusal of all Commercial Connection, and if that should not succeed, Opposition to the Exercise of Parliamentary Jurisdiction by Arms, if necessary.

When these Facts shall appear, beyond a Doubt, to the grand Council of the Nation; when they find that the Claims of the Colonies are evidently the Claims of Independency, will it not strike them with the most alarming Apprehensions, and in all Probability induce them to exert their whole Strength to Suppress a Spirit so dangerous to their future Welfare, if not to their Existence as an independant Nation, should their whole Strength be necessary for the Purpose? That she will do this, unless some unforeseen Event shall intervene to prevent it, seems more than probable from her former Conduct, which has been more firm and uniform than many imagined. Before the last War G. Britain seemed little acquainted with the Value and Importance of America. The Intercourse between them during that Period opened her Eyes, and placed the Colonies before them in their most

alluring Forms. And therefore she was determined to preserve an Object which was of such great Consequence to her, and which she had retained at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure. With this View G. Britain has maintained, ever since, at her own Expence, a Military Force in most of the Commercial Cities in America. But it was not her Design to retain America meerly for the sake of expending her own Strength in Protecting her. Her Views were rational and therefore went farther. They were to add Strength & Dignity and a farther security to the British Empire. And therefore she expected that the Colonies, as Members of the State, should, as they certainly ought, contribute their just and reasonable Proportion of Aids, towards those important Ends. She well knew that this was the primary and essential Duty of every Member of a Society. But having found from all the Experience which the last War afforded, that the Colonies neither did, nor were in a Capacity from their Disunion, to comply with this rational Obligation upon any principle of Justice either in respect to themselves or the Mother State, the Parliament passed the Stamp Act. This Act, tis true, was soon after repealed, but that repeal was occasioned more by the State of Parties at that Time at Court, than any Alteration of Sentiment in the British Legislature respecting their Right, or to the Measures taken for that Purpose by America. Of this Truth the Declaratory and sundry other Subsequent Act[s] are full proof. But should any one doubt, after considering these Proofs of a Resolution in the British Government to maintain its Legislative Authority over us at all Adventures let him consider its Conduct in Respect to the Duty on Tea, the Manner of sending that Commodity to the Colonies for Sale, the Plan & firm Measures Concerted and pursued to enforce the Act—The Boston Port Bill—the one for the Alteration of their Government—The Act for trial of American Offenders &c and I think they must remove every Doubt which either Hope or Ignorance or Inattention to the Facts may have raised.

The Parliament is now sitting—The proceedings of the American Congress with the Resolves of all the Provincial Congresses and County Committees are before them. The Spirit of American Independency breathing throughout all of them will be painted in the strongest oratorical Colours, and the Necessity for vigorous and firm Measures to subdue it urged with Success, and Supplies granted to carry them into effectual Execution. Fleets and Troops will cross the Atlantic early in the Spring: the one to take Care of the Ports and Coasts the other to secure the Dependency of the Commercial Cities in America. These purposes effected, the Experience of Ages informs us that the internal Parts of a Country dependant on Commerce for its Health, and in many Respects for the Conveniencies and Comforts of Life cannot hold out long. The Stopage of our Trade,

which, perhaps will be but a small Part of the Business of those Fleets & Troops will alone throw America into Convulsions insupportable. The Merchant without Trade, the Mechanics without Employ, and the Farmer without a Sale for his Produce, will feel a new Distress and one as intolerable as new. They will then, and not before, enquire for themselves into the Cause of their Misfortunes, and that Enquiry in all Probability will lead them to a Submission. But should the Force of the Mother Country be exerted against us, how little will all the threatened Opposition of the American Congress avail? Where are their Fleets or Armies? There are Men, but where their discipline—their Veteran Officers, their Arms or Ammunition, their Money, or their Power to form and enforce the Execution of a Plan of Opposition to the Valour and Strength of one of the most Powerful Nations in the World? All the Art, Sophistry and Heroism of the greatest American Heroes to be found in a late Convention will not be able to sustain the Shock nor raise the Sinking Spirits of the deluded People.

This is only a light shaded Picture of the Distress in which, I have been long apprehensive, the rash and violent Proceedings of the Short-sighted American Politicians woud involve their Country. I have therefore opposed them whenever I met them in my Small sphere of Public Life; and used my utmost Endeavours to prevail on America to pursue a safer and more rational Conduct. The Plan of Negotiation wou'd have been, in my Opinion the Plan of Safety; it woud have led us into the Harbour of Liberty—to a firm & solid Establishment of our Rights, and to an Union with the Mother State upon Principles of permanent Freedom. Nor wou'd it have been a difficult task for the late Congress to have taken this Ground, had their Principles disposed them to an Union with the British Government. The Materials are always at Hand to a Person acquainted with the History of the Colonies—their Connection with G. Britain and the Principles of the English Constitution. The History of the Colonies afford abundant Proof that they are, and can be considered in no other Light than Members of the British Government. The Territory was discovered by Sebastian Cabot, authorised for that Purpose by Henry the 7th, Sovereign Trustee of the English State, under the Great Seal—the Seal of the State—or the Seal of the *King Lords and Commons*.<sup>5</sup> The Intent of the Discovery was to increase the Territory, extend the Commerce and add to the Wealth and Power of the State. The Charters of Settlement have been all granted in the same Manner under the Authority of the *Great Seal* and by the subsequent Kings in their Politic, not private, Capacity, and as the Sovereign Representative of the politic Body of the whole State. In many of them the Purposes before mentioned are declared to be the Objects and Designs of the Grants. There is no Exemption in any of them,



save one, and that is a partial Exemption from the Legislative Authority of the Parliament: and had there been such an Exemption in all of them it would have been an Excess of the Royal Authority & void. The Colonies being thus clearly the Property of the English Government they have been settled by its Subjects chiefly emigrating from its Bowels & owing Allegiance and Obedience to it. During the Infancy of their Settlement and to this Day they have been fostered and Protected under its Guardianship and Power; and have ever Submitted to the Legislative Authority as well in Matters of Internal and external Taxation as internal Police untill the Commencement of the present Dispute.

This is a just Epitome of Facts too well supported by authentic Documents and History to be denied. Upon what Reason or Policy then can the Colonies deny the Authority of the British State, refuse to be represented in its Parliament, and decline to make Proposals of some Kind of a Political Union between the two Countries? Surely upon none. For while we stand upon this Ground the wisest among us are bewildered. All the Attempts which have been made by our greatest Patriots, to settle a Line of Parliamentary Jurisdiction, or to point out an Existing American Constitution have proved unsatisfactory and indeed truly ridiculous, and stand opposed by the following Solemn Truths. That the Territory upon which we are Settled is the Right and Property of the State whose Jurisdiction we deny. That we settled under its Licence and Authority. That the great Design of our Settlement was to increase the Wealth Strength and Dignity of the Nation. That we have been ever Protected by its Wealth and Power. That we are truly Members of the Empire and owe Allegiance to its Supreme Head. And further when we look into the Nature of Civil Society, and trace the Principles upon which all Governments ever were established, we find that none ever did, or can in the Nature of Things, exist, without a Supreme Legislative Authority exercising a complete and full Jurisdiction over every Member and part of it. And Yet such is the Folly, may I not say the Frenzy of America that, in the Face of these glaring Facts and this universally acknowledged Principle, she seems determined to set up for Herself, plunge into Rebellion and subject her People to all the Horrors of a civil War, in which she must be infallibly subdued, rather than Petition for or negotiate an Union with Britain, upon Grounds which would secure to Her the full Rights and Liberties of a Government which is allowed by all Authors to be the most excellent in the World for securing the Happiness of its People.

Here, as a Friend to America, and as a Person interested in her Welfare and deeply Affected with the Prospect of her Distress, I condemn the late Measures as untenable and altogether insupportable. I have ever thought, that a Political Union, between the two



Countries founded on the Principles of the English Constitution, which should secure, to the Mother State a regular and faithful Discharge of the reasonable Duties of the Colonies, and to the Colonies those Antient Rights and that Freedom which their Ancestors enjoyd in Britain, was what America ought to ask and all she ought to desire. To obtain this Union is certainly more the Interest of America than Great Britain.<sup>6</sup> The latter supported her Dignity as a Nation for many centuries before America was known, and yet has immense wealth and Power of her own, and besides is connected with the most Potent States in Europe, whose Interest it wd. be to Support her were the Colonies annihilated. But in what situation are the Colonies without an Union with G. Britain. They are weak in themselves, and many of them hold an Enemy within their own Bowels ready to destroy them. With Respect to each other, they are in a perfect State of Nature, destitute of any Supreme Authority among themselves either to decide their Disputes, or to compel them to act in Concert for their Common Safety. Their different Forms of Government—Productions of Soil—and Views of Commerce, their different Religions—Tempers and private Interests—their Prejudices against, and Jealousies of, each other—all have, and ever will, from the Nature and Reason of things, conspire to create such a Diversity of Interests Inclinations, and Decisions, that they never can unite together even for their own Protection. In this Situation Controversies founded in Interest, Religion or Ambition, will soon embroil their Hands in the Blood of each other, when the Authority of G. Britain ceases to exist over them; or they will become an Easy Prey to every foreign Invader.

You will now enquire how is this Union to be obtained, Since the Parliament will not hear the Petitions of the Colonies? Great Pains have been taken to delude the good People of America into a Belief, that his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament have refused to hear the reasonable Petitions of the Subject and with too much Success.<sup>7</sup> 'Tis true the Parliament has treated with Neglect perhaps Contempt, the American Petitions when they Spoke Nothing but the Language of Independency, when they denied the Authority of the Supreme Legislature, and a Capacity in the Colonies to be represented in Parliament, without proposing any other System of Polity to bring them within the Circle of Members of the State. Should a Child take Umbrage at the Conduct of a Parent, and deny his Authority over him, tell him he was not his father nor would he consider himself as his Child on any Terms, would the Parent Listen to such undutiful Language or would he not immediately exercise his parental Authority to bring his Child to Reason & Duty? But let the Americans take up another Language and Act upon rational Principles and we have Reason to know that we shall be heard and attended to. Let us in our

Petitions tell them that we see the Necessity of a Supreme Legislature over every Member of the State—That we acknowledge, the Colonies are Members of the British Government. But as by our Settling and improving a Desert Wilderness we have greatly increased the Commerce Wealth and Power of the Nation and thereby thrown Ourselves out of the Circle of the Liberties of that Government, we ought in all Equity to be restored to them. That the English Government is founded in Freedom—That this Freedom depends on its particular Constitution, in which it is and ever was essential and fundamental, that the Landed Interest, or the Freeholders of every Part of its Territory should be represented in and participate the Supreme Legislative Authority. That this Privilege it is alone, which distinguishes British Subjects from the Slaves of the most despotic Governments. And therefore that we most ardently desire to be restored to this invaluable Right and all other Privileges of the British State, upon such Grounds as best suit our local Circumstances. A Petition of this kind, so reasonable and just and so well established on the Principles of their own Government, attended with such a Plan of Union as should be wisely digested, and carried to the Parliament by one or more Delegates of each Colony must have been heard and attended to; must have divided the Nation in our Favor, created us innumerable Friends, by whose Weight and Influence and the Rectitude of our Cause we should have obtained a full Redress of our Grievances and a permanent System of Union with the Mother State upon Principles of Liberty and Safety.

Had this Controversy been of the first Impression, I should not be surprized to find the American Politician so much at a Loss for Facts and Principles so often changing their Ground and so bewildered in all their Arguments.<sup>8</sup> But as the Case of America and the dispute thence arising is not Novel in the English Government, I confess I know not whether to attribute the Incertainty—the Fickleness of their Conduct to a total Ignorance of the Merits, or to a Design of throwing off all Political Connections with the Mother State. However this may be, it is most certain that Precedents of the like Dispute and the Remedy by which they were happily reconciled are not wanting. The Principality of Wales, the Palatine of Chester, and the Bishoprick of Durham laboured under the like Grievances and were for many Years bound by the Authority of Parliament without being there represented. Great Discord and Sedition flowed from this slavish Distinction between the Subjects of the same State. The injured Inhabitants of those Districts severally and at distant Periods pursued for their Relief the same Remedy I have before pointed out. The Equity and Justice of their Claims and their Right to participate the supreme Power which held an universal Controul over their Conduct, and Authority to bind them in Matters of so much Importance as

Life Liberty & property were so irresistably solid, that they became upon their several Petitions vested with all the Rights & Liberties of the English Government and particularly with that of a Share in the Legislative Council. When H. 3. conquered Calais and settled it with English Subjects; it was held so inconsistent with English Freedom that the Legislative Authority shoud extend to a Member of the State which held no Share in it, that they were incorporated in the British Government and vested with the same great and important Privilege. These apposite Precedents, affording such solid Grounds of lasting Redress before the Eyes of the the American Politician, what Infatuation could possess them not to pursue them with such variation as best suited the local Circumstances of their Country? However this is not done. And I fear we have foolishly and wantonly lost the only Opportunity Providence will ever lay before us. The fatal Declaration of Independency and the Manifestoes containing the frantic Resolutions of maintaining it by Arms are gone forth, and even sounded in the Ears of the British Lion. He is before this Time roused—and unless the Mercy & Nobility of his Nature shoud mingle Liberty with his Power, into what ineffable Misery and Distress must America be involved.

Thus I have, in Haste given you my Sentiments in the Abstract. Shoud they in any Degree contribute to your Amusement or that of any of our Friends it will give me Pleasure.

Beleive me, always, with unfeigned Esteem, Dear Sir, your obliged  
and most Obedient Servant  
Jos. Galloway

RC (NH*i*) .

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Samuel Verplanck of January 14, 1775, Galloway mentioned his recent "letter on Public Affairs." On a trip to New York in November, apparently undertaken to test sentiment in support of his plan of union, Galloway had visited Verplanck. Subsequently the two men exchanged a series of letters which spanned the period December 7, 1774–August 17, 1775. This letter is probably Galloway's second of that series. "Some Letters of Joseph Galloway, 1774–1775," *PMHB*, 21 (1897): 477–84.

<sup>2</sup> Shortly after he wrote this letter, Galloway began composing a pamphlet which James Rivington published at the end of February 1775. The substance of this paragraph to Verplanck is repeated and elaborated in his opening paragraph of *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain, and the Colonies: with a Plan of Accommodation, on Constitutional Principles* (New York: James Rivington, 1775).

<sup>3</sup> Galloway's discussion of the "supreme legislative authority" begins on page 4 of his *Candid Examination*.

<sup>4</sup> Brackets in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 11ff of *Candid Examination* for an elaboration of this point.

<sup>6</sup> Galloway developed this subject in pp. 43–48 of his *Candid Examination*.

<sup>7</sup> On this point, see pp. 49–50 of Galloway's *Candid Examination*.

<sup>8</sup> The substance of this paragraph was repeated in pp. 58–59 of his *Candid Examination*.

## Silas Deane to Patrick Henry

*Wethersfield in Connecticut, January 2d, 1775.* Nothing has been heard to predict the fate of Boston or the disposition of the North Ministry. Boston is firm; the New England militia prepared. The Governor has received orders to seize arms imported into Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> "We have received an acc[oun]t of a severe Battle fought on the Banks of the Ohio between your people and the Indians. . . . A Number of Inhabitants from this Colony would adventure on a Settlement on the Ohio if properly informed and encouraged." Discusses western lands at length.

"Returning to Politics, you will see that the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, have reappointed their Delegates for May, with the addition of some others to their Number." Sends papers pertaining to the early New England charters, and discusses the New England Confederation, 1643-85. "I need not mention to you what would have been the Consequences had this Confederation have continued untill now, and the other Colonies early acceded to it—it is not too late to form such an one that will suit Our present Circumstances & which being varied as future Contingences arise may last forever. Something of this kind appears most absolutely necessary, let Us turn which way We will. If a reconciliation with G Britain takes place, it will be obtained on the best terms, by the Colonies being united, and be the more like to be preserved, on just and equal Terms; if no reconciliation is to be had without a Confederation We are ruined to all intents and purposes. United We stand, divided We fall, is our motto and must be. One general Congress has brought the Colonies to be acquainted with each other, and I am in hopes another may effect a lasting Confederation which will need nothing, perhaps, but time, to mature it into a complete & perfect American Constitution, the only proper one for Us, whether connected with Great Britain, or Not. A Sketch of this I likewise send you with the papers mentioned before."

Describes "the method of settling and governing" in New England. "If you are near Col. Bland, I pray you the favor, to obtain of him, and send me" several papers on early Virginia history which he "was kind enough to offer Me." "There is No such thing as procuring a good History of Virginia in this Colony; I shall be greatly obliged to You to send Me the most Authentic extant, and in return will favor you with the History of New England in general, but of Connecticut in particular, which will be soon sent to the press. . . . I shall forward this packet to Mr. Mifflin, to whom I have wrote, to send it by some private, but Trusty hand, to Virginia. To his Care, please to direct your Answer, unless some more direct conveyance offer. I ought perhaps to mention, that We returned during the sitting of our Gen-



eral Assembly, who most Unanimously approved of the doings of the Congress, and recommended the Association to the strict observance of the Inhabitants, who universally and without hesitation have determined to abide thereby. Please to present my compliments to the Gentlemen with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted in Congress, if you see them."

MS not found; abstracted from *NYHS Collections* 19 (1887): 33-42.

<sup>1</sup> Dartmouth's circular letter to the governors, October 19, 1774, is printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:881.

## Samuel Adams to William and Thomas Bradford

Gentlemen

Boston Jan. 7 1775

I have lately receivd your<sup>1</sup> favor of the 6 Decr by the Post, advising me of your having shipped to my Care on board the Captains Glover and Johnson two boxes containing in the whole 350 Journals of Congress. I have since been informd that they are arrivd in Salem, and expect daily to receive them. I shall observe your Directions to dispose of one to each of the Gentlemen you have mentiond, and make the best & most speedy Sale of the others.

I am with due Regard Gentlemen Your humble servt.

Saml Adams

RC (DLC) . Printed facsimile.

<sup>1</sup> William Bradford (1721/22-1791) and Thomas Bradford (1745-1838) were a father and son team of Philadelphia printers and publishers of the *Pennsylvania Journal*; and the *Weekly Advertiser*. DAB.

## South Carolina Delegates' Report to the South Carolina Provincial Congress

[Charlestown, January 11, 1775]

Our Delegates from Congress being present, the proceedings of that body at Philadelphia were taken into consideration; and many questions were proposed to them relative to various parts of the proceedings; to which, answers and explanations were given by them. One of the most important of these was, why, at a time when a number of gentlemen were sent to Congress, from all parts of America, for the express purpose of considering and stating the American grievances; and for devising the proper means, of redressing them; why, did they limit their researches to the year 1763; and not trace back, as could easily have been done, the many aggressions which

had been committed by Great Britain upon her infant Colonies; in the jealousies, monopolies, and prohibitions, with which she was so prodigal towards them; for the express purpose of depressing their population—confining their trade—and crippling their attempts, at even the most domestic and necessary manufactures? To this it was answered, that our Delegates were willing to have stated all the grievances, as were the greater part of the other Delegates; but the people of Virginia would not retrospect farther back, than 1763, being limited in their powers.<sup>1</sup> And, although they did not avow the reason; yet, it was privately declared, it had been agreed upon at home, not to go beyond that year, as thereby, the greater odium would be thrown upon the reign of George III—which was so fatal to the peace of America. The Delegates farther answered, it was then pressed in Congress, that the other Colonies should, in this measure, act independently of Virginia; but Maryland and North-Carolina represented, that as their exports were similar to those of Virginia, so, they could not with any advantage to the common cause act independently of her; for, their own commodities would be carried to the Virginian ports; which, would run away with all their trade. And, that in this manner, was the measure of stating all the grievances, defeated.

The articles of association determined upon by Congress, and recommended to the Provincial Conventions and Congresses to be carried into execution, now came on to be considered: and the four last words of the fourth article of that instrument, ("*except rice to Europe*,") gave room for a long and a violent debate. This exception had created an alarming disunion, throughout the whole Colony; in consequence of which, the Representatives had met, with jealous feelings on the subject; as by that article of the Association, it was contracted that, after the 10th day of September 1775, America "will not directly or indirectly export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, *except rice to Europe*." This exception had given so general a disgust, that the whole interior of the province, considered their interests as sacrificed to the emolument of the rice planters; and, accordingly, a motion was made and seconded "that the Delegates to be elected, use their utmost endeavours at the ensuing Congress at Philadelphia to cause those words to be expunged."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Gadsden, then rose, and explained to the Congress, what had taken place in the Continental Congress, during the passage of the obnoxious exception. He said he thought it was his duty to declare, he had not any hand in causing those words to stand in the instrument of association—that, they had well nigh occasioned a division in Congress. And, so ill was a proposition of that nature received, that it had occasioned a cessation from business for several days; in

order to give our deputies time, to recollect themselves. That when the association was completing, and the members of Congress were signing that instrument, all our Deputies, but himself, withdrew. That he would have been glad of the honour, of signing his name alone, and for doing so, would have trusted to the generosity of his constituents. That he had offered to do so: and, that Carolina was on the point of being excluded the association, when our Deputies being again summoned by the Secretary, they returned into Congress, yielding up the article of indigo: and that Congress only for the sake of preserving the union of America, allowed the article rice to be added to the association. That this however, was illy received by the other Colonies, who had thence, become jealous of the rice Colonies: and therefore, it was his opinion, that for the common good, as well as our own honour, we ought to remove this as soon as possible, by having the words "*except rice to Europe*" struck out, of the fourth article of the association.

Mr. John Rutledge now undertook his own defence, and that of his three associates. He said, that at an early period he and the other Delegates from this Colony had warmly pressed an immediate non-importation, and total non-exportation. That, as a non-exportation to Great Britain and Ireland, was to withhold from thence, the advantages their people might acquire from a receipt of American commodities; so, the end would be more surely effected, by retaining those commodities altogether in America. Such measures however, could not be effected; the Northern Colonies resolving to remit to England, as usual, to pay their debts by the circuitous mode of their flour and fish trade to the rest of Europe. In short, the commodities they usually sent to the mother country were but trifling; and their real trade, would be but little affected by the association. For instance, Philadelphia carried on a trade of export, to the amount of £700,000 Sterling; whereas, scarce £50,000 value of it, went to the market of the mother country. That, as it was evident, those Colonies were less intent to annoy the mother country in the article of trade, than to preserve their own trade: so, he thought it was but justice to his constituents, to preserve to them their trade, as entire as possible. That, as the Northern trade would be but little affected by the association, he saw no reason why ours should be almost ruined; for, nearly all our indigo, and two thirds of our rice, went to the ports of the mother country. That, if we must bear burdens in the cause of America, they ought to be as equally laid as possible. Upon the whole, he said the affair seemed rather like a commercial scheme, among the flour Colonies, to find a better vent for their flour through the British Channel; by preventing, if possible, any rice from being sent to those markets: and, that for his part, he could never consent to our becoming dupes to the people of the north; or, in the least, to

yield to their unreasonable expectations. That, as by the association, the rice planters preserved their property; so it had been the idea of the Delegates at the Congress, that they should make compensation to the indigo planters, who could not send their crops to the mother country. Such a plan, was just, and practicable; and it ought to be the subject of our debate—rather than expunging the means of exporting a great part of our annual crop; and therewith, supplying ourselves with those necessities we might require.<sup>3</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from John Drayton, ed., *Memoirs of the American Revolution* . . . , 2 vols. (Charleston, S. C.: A. E. Miller, 1821), 1:167–71.

<sup>1</sup> On this point, see Samuel Ward to John Dickinson, December 14, 1774, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Not only did the Provincial Congress fail to adopt this motion, but on January 12 it defeated, by a vote of 87 to 75, the motion by Christopher Gadsden, mentioned in the next paragraph, to approve the association only after deleting from it the provision exempting rice from the nonexportation agreement. Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 1:172–73.

<sup>3</sup> The Provincial Congress approved Rutledge's suggestion for a compensation plan but extended it to include—in addition to indigo growers—producers of hemp, corn, flour, lumber, pork, and butter. Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 1:173–76; William Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Anne Wates, eds., *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775–1776* (Columbia, S. C.: State Commercial Printing Co., 1960), pp. 24–26.

## Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck

Dear Sir;

Trevoze, Jan. 14 1774 [*i.e.*, 1775]

I had wrote all but the last Page of the letter on Public Affairs,<sup>1</sup> on the Day of the Date, intending to finish it the next morning, when I was prevented by an accident which entirely disabled me from using my right Thumb, otherwise you shd have heard from me sooner.

You say, “you do not altogether acquiesce with . . . explicit approbation our Assembly have given to the Proceedings of the Congress.” In this you do not much differ in opinion from me, as I totally disagree with them in all, and think they have not taken one foot of that ground which they should have taken. When I went to the Assembly and found they had approved of the measures of the Congress so fully, and had appointed me one of the Delegates at the next, I very explicitly told them, that I entirely disapproved of them.<sup>2</sup> I did so in Congress and continued yet of the same opinion and that I might not appear to undertake the Execution of measures which my judgement and conscience disapproved I could not serve them as a Delegate at the ensuing Congress. And yet I could not prevail in persuading them to a new appointment in my stead.

The conduct of this Assembly in this Respect has given great uneasiness to many. The men of Property begin to think & speak their



Sentiments, and I hope will in a little time take that Lead which their Consequence entitle them to. But I conclude this will not be the case until the measures of Parliament are known, and they can hope to be protected in their upright conduct.

A Committee has been appointed for this County by a few warm People of neither Property or significance among us. But I think they have found it so contrary to the sense of the Country that they will not attend the Provincial Congress. The design of their Meeting to prevail on the People to Appoint in the several Townships Military officers, raise companies, and prepare for opposing with Arms the British Forces.

Mrs & Miss Galloway unite with me in our best Compliments to Mrs. Verplanck. Mrs. Galloway enjoins me not to forget as I did in my last to request Mrs. Verplanck to propose her compliments to Mrs. Ludlow, and return her grateful thanks for the very acceptable and plentiful present of Roots. Miss Galloway has received the gloves, with which she is extremely pleased, particularly with the work on the Back, for which she is much obliged to Mrs. Verplanck. The china is arrived safe.

I am Dr Sir with great Truth & Esteem Your obliged & Obedt Sevt  
J. Galloway.

P.S. What are your Assembly about! I hope they will not follow the mad President [*precedent?*] of Pennsla.

MS not found; reprinted from *PMHB* 21 (1897): 477-78.

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck, December 30, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> The Pennsylvania Assembly, which was in session December 8-24, 1774, approved the proceedings of the Continental Congress on December 10. Since Galloway did not take his seat until the 13th, he had not participated in the debate on the consideration of the proceedings. From December 22 to 24, the assembly debated instructions for the delegates elected to attend the Second Congress in May 1775, but final action on the instructions was postponed to the February 1775 session. *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7160-80.

## John Adams to a Friend in London

January 21, 1775

You have no doubt, long before this time, heard the particulars of the General Congress, and that the court and the country have digested their thoughts upon them, if not adopted their consequent plans of conduct.<sup>1</sup> God grant that the nation and parliament may think favourably of them, and grant the prayer of our petition to the King. Britain and America are made to be friends; and it is the most unnatural, detestable quarrel between them that ever happened in the world. Britons and Americans may write or say what will, but this

quarrel never will and never can be made up, but by restoring us to the state we were in, in 1763. It is as certain as that London or Boston exist, that no other plan or scheme of policy that ever can be invented will keep the two countries together, but that which nature dictated, and which experience found useful for 150 years. It is in vain, it is delirium, it is frenzy to think of dragooning three millions of English people out of their liberties, at the distance of 3000 miles. It is still more extravagantly wild for a nation to think of doing it, when itself is sinking down into a bottomless gulph of debt, in order to make the conquered lift her out of it.

The Congress have drawn a line by the banks of the ocean. They have claimed their own exclusive jurisdiction in all interior concerns, and in all cases of taxation. They have left to Great Britain the exclusive sovereignty of the ocean, and over their trade. They have placed both upon constitutional principles; and if Britons are not content with all we have but our liberty, we say as the corporation of London said to the King in 1770, "We call God and men to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions which pensions and lucrative employments have invented, so neither will we be deprived of it by them; but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved."

The Congress consisted of the representatives of twelve colonies.<sup>2</sup> Three millions of free white people were there represented. Many of the members were gentlemen of ample fortunes and eminent abilities. Neither corruption nor intrigue had any share, I believe, in their elections to this service, and in their proceedings you may see the sense, the temper and principles of America, and which she will support and defend, ever by force of arms, if no other means will do.

The state of this province is a great curiosity: I wish the pen of some able historian may transmit it to posterity. Four hundred thousand people are in a state of nature, and yet as still and peaceable at present as ever they were when government was in full vigour. We have neither legislators nor magistrates, nor executive officers. We have no officers but military ones. Of these we have a multitude chosen by the people, and exercising them with more authority and spirit than ever any did who had commissions from a Governor.

The town of Boston is a spectacle worthy of the attention of a deity, suffering amazing distress, yet determined to endure as much as human nature can, rather than betray America and posterity. General Gage's army is sickly, and extremely addicted to desertion. What would they be if things were brought to extremities? Do you think such an army would march through our woods and thickets and country villages to cut the throats of honest people contending for liberty?

The neighbouring colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, are arming and training themselves with great spirit, and if they must be driven to the last appeal, devoutly praying for the protection of heaven.

There is a spirit prevailing here, such as I never saw before. I remember the conquest of Louisburg in 1745; I remember the spirit here when the Duke d'Anville's squadron was upon this coast, when forty thousand men marched down to Boston, and were mustered and numbered upon the common, compleat in arms, from this province only in three weeks; but I remember nothing like what I have seen these six months past.

MS not found; reprinted from *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events*, 17 vols. (London: J. Almon, 1775–84), 1:10–11. Published by Almon under the caption "A Letter from a Gentleman in the Province of Massachusetts, to his Friend in London," but identified as the work of John Adams when translated into Dutch and reprinted in John Adams, *Geschiedenis van het Geschiedtusschen Groot-Britannie en Amerika, zedert deszelfs Oorsprong, in den Jaare 1754, tot op den Tegen-Woordigen Tijd* (Amsterdam: W. Holtrop, 1782), pp. viii, 145–50.

<sup>1</sup>The recipient of this letter has not been identified. Adams' correspondents in England included a number of political liberals such as the writer James Burgh and publisher Edward Dilly (1732–79). This letter was published in Almon's *Remembrancer* with a second letter dated February 10, 1775, both of which may have been written to the same person, and may well have been composed with an eye to publication.

<sup>2</sup>Georgia was not represented until the Second Continental Congress met in May 1775, when Lyman Hall arrived as a delegate from St. John's Parish.

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Samuel Purviance, Jr.

Dr. Sr.

Annapo 23 Jany 1775.

I do not know who besides Mr Cushing I could with any propriety write to. I have however not forbore writing to others from a meer point of Deleasy but because if a Letter from me can weigh a single Grain I am almost sure Mr Cushing will candidly show it, let him be of what Sentim[en]t he may himself, though I am apt to believe you<sup>1</sup> and he and I could very nearly say our political prayers together. I dare say if J Dickenson knows any Thing of choosing a Govr. is in Agitation he has already wrote his Sentimts. If not a single Line from you will I dare say induce both him & Mr. Mifflin to write but I question not only whether Ltrs from any of us may not be too late but also whether there may not be such an Alteration of Circumstances as to make letters even prudent; if Intelligence from England is any way favourable I don't imagine that the Quest[io]n will be strained at all in their Congress, but if the Resolu[tion]s of parl.

cutt off all Hope of a peaceable Settlemt. & they shd. be advised of them as they [*are*] expected by Feby. you may depend on it the N E people will try their Strength even were they sure to go alone and will endeavr. if possible to get rid of the Troops now at Boston before they can be joined by any more. They will you may be sure resume and endeavour to settle an internal Governmt. to collect and draw their Strength to a point which will be most essentially necessary in Case of any Misfortune or Disappoint[ment] in the Outset. You will be pleased to peruse the Ltr I write to Mr. Cushing and if my Sentimts. correspond with yours seal and forward it. We now stand on a very ticklish point of Time. I really wish every Thing could be kept just moving till we hear from thence & that if the least prospect of Accomod[atio]n opens we may prudently cultivate & improve the Occasion. But if no Hope is left our own Resolutions ought to be ready formed in our own Minds. It will be a great Question whether we shall resolve to continue the present Appearances of Governmt. which indeed is not strong enough to protect agt. Violence and is only treated with Respect from principle by those from whom Violences need not be apprehended & which must necessarily be a Clogg in our Motions so long as it continues, or whether a real substantial active Governmt. coinciding with the Views of America shall be established by Consent. I need not observe to you that the freedom with which I write to you claims your utmost Discretion and the Subject your mature Thoughts. No Man in the British Dominions more passionately wishes for a Reconciliation than myself but if the terms are so hard as Slavery to America I have formed my Resolution and am clear for employing every Means of Self Defence. If the Report is true that 10 or even 4,000 Men more are to be sent to Boston I do not know that we ought if we could to stay the Hands of the N E people till their Arrival. The Season of the Year may afford an Oppty that if lost may be lost forever. I am sure if they must fight it out I cannot blame them for taking every Advantage, and the Time appointed for their Convention with what I have collected of the Dispo[sition] of the people pretty well explain to me their Intentions. I heard some Time since of the Appointmt of field Officers. I am very sorry to understand that Ammunition is wanting. I wish some of the Ingenious amongst you would bestow some Thoughts and Experiments on Salt Petre & Sulphur. I have little Doubt but that we might supply ourselves amply with both.

You judged right that I had Nothing to do with the cursed Hand Bills.<sup>2</sup> The ill timed Resolution here has done us a real Disservice. I as well as many others are greatly embarrassed by it. I cannot execute a Measure so flatly agt. my best informed Opinion & am sure a pursuit of it will throw us into Divisions which we shall not be able to erase within Ourselves. S[amuel] C[hase] went alone in it not only



witht. any of the Comee except M[atthias] Hammond<sup>3</sup> that I know of but the Sentiment was expressly disapproved by several of us. I do not know any more likely Way to put the people on thinking than for several of us to withdraw from the Commee which I believe we shall do. They will at first Beware but I am in Hopes it will make them a little more cautious. This Humour of serving people will if not checked Spread itself so as to be very inconvenient. I learn from Fred[erick] that small parties of unthinking Men are forcing others to enrol who are principled agt. bearing Arms. The people at large are not a Body fit for Deliberation, they are gen[erally] carried away with a warmth of Zeal that overleaps sedate & wise policy. Several with us will not subscribe meerly because of the Threat & some who very freely subscribed declare they will not pay their Money for the same Reason; had it not been for this unlucky flight I beleive we shd. have raised our Money witht. difficulty. As it is I am afraid we shall not. Genl. Lees Observations<sup>4</sup> will soon be printed but he esteems the manual Exercise<sup>5</sup> of very little Consequence he does not even touch upon it: his chief view is to prove the best Line of Fire consists only of two deep and Major Gates is fully in Sentimt with him & to give the simplest and easiest Directions for forming a Line of Impression or Resistance of 4, 6, or 8 Deep. It has been delayed so long to get a plate cut. We go on with good Spirit in our Compys. We have but two in Town. We have some surplus men but not eno. if every Body would enrol to make up a third Compy. A good many perform the manual Exercise, which is done with us in the prussian Manner & differs but little from yours, with dexterity. The Country people of our County show an unexpected forwardness.

I am satisfied you will make all the allowance you ought for my taciturnity but I am really ashamed that you have so much Cause of Complaint against me for intire Silence. When I write you at all I leave Nothing behind which I think worth mentioning.

I am Sr. Your Affect. hble Servt.

Th Johnson Junr

[P.S.] You will Notice that I have not stated the Matter fully to Mr Cushing but left it as if nothing had been yet moved in the Convention. I think any Argumt. from my Ltr will be the stronger.

RC (Herbert Klingelhofer, Bethesda, Md., 1974).

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Purviance, Jr. (1728–88?), Baltimore merchant and revolutionary leader, subsequently became chairman of the Baltimore Committee of Observation. David C. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753–1776* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 133–34, 152.

<sup>2</sup> These handbills, which were widely denounced, consisted of the printed proceedings of a January 16, 1775, meeting in Annapolis of the inhabitants of Anne Arundel County. The most objectionable feature of the proceedings was a resolution authorizing the local committee of observation to collect contributions for the purchase of arms and ammunition and publicly to brand as enemies to America those who refused to contribute. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1140–41.

<sup>3</sup> Matthias Hammond (1740–86), Maryland planter and lawyer, was, like Samuel Chase and Johnson himself, a member of the Anne Arundel Committee of Observation. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1140; and Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy*, pp. 120–21.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Lee, whose sympathy for the American cause brought him to Philadelphia during the meeting of the First Continental Congress and subsequently led to his appointment as a major general in the Continental Army, was working at this time on a plan for the organization of an American army. Lee completed his plan in February 1775, but there is no evidence that it was printed. John R. Alden, *General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot?* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 61, 320n50.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Edward Harvey, *The Manual Exercise as Ordered by his Majesty in 1764* . . . (Boston: T. and J. Fleet, 1774).

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to George Washington

*Annapolis*, 24 Jan'y 1775. Has received "by Mr. Stewart" two letters from Washington dated January 20, 1775, which apparently dealt with plans for improving the navigability of the Potomac, and discussed them with "Mr. Ballendine." Promises to use his influence to convince the Maryland Assembly "to get a Bill passed here similar to yours [*i.e.*, *Virginia's*]" concerning the navigation of the Potomac.<sup>1</sup> Concludes: "Genl Lees plan has been delayed some Time for a plate. I am told it is now nearly done & I hope to have the pleasure of sending you some Copies soon. There has been more Alacrity shewn by our people than I expected but we are but illy prepared with Arms &c. I am apprehensive that the Vigilance of the Govt. at Home will make it necessary for us to turn our Thoughts towards an internal Supply of Materials."

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> Johnson was referring here to a statute passed by the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1772 which made provision for the "opening, and extending the Navigation of Potomack from the Tide Water, to Fort Cumberland," but could not be implemented until after the Maryland Assembly had approved a similar measure. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 3:81.

## John Dickinson to Thomas Cushing

Dear Sir,

Fairhill January 26th 1775

I have lately been inform'd, that a considerable part of your Province, are determined to resume the old Charter, and chuse a Governor &c.

This Intelligence has given Me inexpressible Pain of Mind, as it has in my Opinion an evident Tendency to break the present Harmony of the Colonies, and to strike dumb our Friends in England, who

are strengthening themselves with Accessions of new Favorers of our Cause, chiefly from the Temper with which our Opposition has been carried on. Why should a prudent People take a Step so full of the most dangerous Disunion? Will it add a single Man to our Cause? Will it not take off many from it? Will it not cool the Affections of many who are now well dispos'd? I am convinc'd beyond all Doubt, that it will inevitably produce these Effects.

Some brave and worthy Men among You may with laudable Intentions in their Design, despise the Sentiments of their Friends in the other Colonies & in England, because they may suppose their Country able to resist successfully all the Efforts of Great Britain. But have they no Compassion for those who may by such a Resolution be involv'd in the Calamities of War? And will not such a Provocation in all human probability lead to that Event?

I implore You, my dear Sir, in the Name of Almighty God to discourage by all the Means in your Power, this, not only useless, but pernicious Scheme. Our Province cannot *yet* bear the Thoughts of arming for Fear of Dissensions. The Execution of the Design agitated among You, will have Effects, the Extent of which cannot be calculated. I beseech You to prevent any fresh Fuel from being thrown into a Fire already sufficiently raging. I am, Dear Sir, your truly affectionate Friend

John Dickinson

RC (PRO: C. O. 5, 118) .

## John Dickinson to Samuel Ward

Dear Sir,

Fairhill January 29th. 1775

Several Causes have prevented Me from answering as early as I wishd, your Favour of the last Month,<sup>1</sup> for which and the Intelligence contain'd in it, I am much oblig'd to You.

The Instructions to your Delegates appointed for the next Congress, appear to me, to be exceedingly proper, and I heartily wish, every Colony may give as full Authority to her Delegates. On this Subject, We have some Apprehensions in our Province. A Party who have considerable Weight in our Assembly, have been greatly alarm'd at the vote, approving generally the proceedings of the late Congress, and are determined, if it be possible, to stop all vigorous proceedings, by prevailing on the Assembly to give very restrictive Instructions to the Delegates appointed for the next Congress. Our Assembly meets on the 20th of next Month; and according to the best Opinion I can form, a good Deal of Delicacy will be requir'd in managing this Affair.<sup>2</sup>

Our Provincial Convention has lately been called; and considering

the peculiar Circumstances of this Province, I heartily wish, their Meeting had been delayed. You will see their proceedings in the Paper. Nothing more could be done *at this Time*, with Prudence. The great Point, *at present*, is to keep up the appearance of an unbroken Harmony in public measures, for fear of encouraging Great Britain to Hostilities, which, otherwise, she would avoid. When she has made her Choice, and it proves inimical, I hope every Man of Sense & Virtue in America will draw his Sword, without any Regard for the yet respectable Doctrine of Disunion. May infinite Goodness avert the occasion; but if that period arrives, I firmly believe, this Province will by its spirited Exertions merit the Esteem of every honest Colonist.

I am Dear Sir, with great truth, your very affectionate humble  
 Servant  
 John Dickinson

[P.S.] Please to present my Compliments to your Brother. I shall be oblig'd to You, Sir, if You will not let any person have a Copy of this or any other Letter I may trouble You with—or of any Sentences in it.

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> Although the recipient of this letter is not designated on the document, it seems clear from its contents that Dickinson is responding to Samuel Ward to John Dickinson, December 14, 1774. A penciled endorsement, probably dating from the period when it was purchased by Simon Gratz, reads: "To Hon: Saml Ward."

<sup>2</sup> See Edward Biddle to Jonathan Potts, February 25, 1775.

## Richard Henry Lee to Samuel Adams

*Virginia 4th February 1775.* Discusses conditions in Virginia. Continues: "You have no doubt seen the speech to Parliament, and from thence may judge what our Ministerial enemies propose for us.

"A letter from London 6th of December says 'the present intention of the Ministry is to declare all meetings and associations in America illegal and treasonable—To guard the Coast against all Traffic and Communication with Holland, France, and Spain. To corrupt N. York, and to employ a military force, chiefly from Canada if necessary. Having their designs before you, your attention will be bent to defeat them with all earnestness which the greatest question in the world demands.'

"Added to this, I understand they propose to forfeit and confiscate all the estates of all those who meet, associate, or combine against the Commerce of Gt. Britain! Should such Acts pass, will it not be proper for all America to declare them essentially vile and void, and that whoever takes or claims any Estate so said to be forfeited, shall be deemed a public Enemy and that it shall be meretorious in any



person to put such Claimant to death? This would probably deter, and defeat the wicked design. I find the Ministerial Manoeuvre of dissolving the Parliament, has, notwithstanding the timely warning of Junius, answered their purpose so far as to rest the matter now on the firmness of our own virtue, or on the general exertion of the people of England. Tho' the latter should fail us, I hope the former will be immovable."

Concludes with plea for news from Massachusetts.

RC (NN). Richard Henry Lee, *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, ed. James C. Ballagh, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911-14), 1:127-30.

## Samuel Chase to James Duane

Dear Sir

Annapolis. Febr'y. 5th. 1775

It is with Pleasure I acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of 29th December. I am much obliged for your free & unreserved Communication of Sentiment, and would have answered it sooner, if my absence from this City and several Reasons had not prevented Me.

From an entire & perfect Approbation of the Resolve of the Congress, that if the late Acts of Parliamt. relative to the Massachusetts Bay should be attempted to be carried into Execution by force, that in such Case all America ought to support that Colony in her Opposition; From the Declaration by the Congress to the Throne, that our accumulated Injuries were too severe to be any longer tolerable, & that our Militia would protect Us in Time of Peace; From a Concurrence with the Sentiments expressed to the Inhabitants of Quebec, that We were resolved never to resign our Rights but with our Lives, and to the People of G. Britain, that We never would submit to be Hewers of Wood or Drawers of Water for any Ministry or Nation in the World; In Compliance with the advice of the Congress, to extend our Views to the most unhappy Event, & to be in all Respects prepared for every Contingency; From the Consideration of our defenceless State, unable to protect Ourselves, or assist our Friends; From a firm persuasion that a Militia was the proper military force, & Arms and Ammunition the only Means, to defend & secure our Liberties; From a Conviction that to be prepared for a Civil War, is the finest & most effectual Means to prevent one, and for many other Reasons, our provincial Convention passed the Resolutions, which I enclosed You in my last Letter.

We must either resist or infamously submit. If We are resolved to resist, & to defend our Liberties at the Risque of our Lives, a military force & Arms and Ammunition are the only Means. To resolve to resist, without making the necessary Preparations for Resistance, ap-

pears to Me to be weak, & a Deception to ourselves & our Friends.

I have been for some Time strongly impressed with a Belief, that the present unhappy Dispute with Great Britain would not wait the Event of a commercial Opposition, and that she must either give up the Right of Taxing America, or enforce obedience by the Sword. Delay must ruin the Minister. Some decisive Mode must be adopted, & instantly executed, or he must fail. Lord North is too well acquainted with his Weakness; he must be convinced that the Colonies, if they adhere to their association, must succeed. If the Question was to be decided by Justice or Policy, I should not doubt, that our indubitable Rights would be restored, our Capital Grievances redressed, and peace and Harmony once more established with the Mother Country; but when I reflect on the enormous Influence of The Crown, the System of Corruption introduced as the Art of Government, The Venality of the Electors (the radical Source of every other Evil) the open & repeated Violations, by Parliament, of the Constitution, at Home, The regular, arbitrary System of Colony administration, The several Acts relative to the Massachusetts, The Quebec Bill, and The Re-election of the Members of the last Parliament, I have not the least Dawn of Hope in the Justice, Humanity, Wisdom or Virtue of the British Nation. I consider them as one of the most abandon'd & wicked People under the Sun. They openly sell themselves & their Posterity to their Representatives, who as openly traffic their Integrity & Honor to The Minister. The Roman Senate in the Reigns of Claudius Caesar, Domitian or Nero, were not more servilely wicked, than the present House of Commons. They no longer regard even the Appearance of Virtue. Our Dependance must be on God & ourselves.

I still retain my Opinion, that the Right of Parliamt. to regulate our Trade ought to be acknowledged in the most precise and explicit Terms, and shall deliver the same Sentiment, if called on, in my legislative Capacity. You are pleased to ask Me, what plan of Union is to be adopted, or what Conduct an Assembly can pursue, which woud. be acceptable in every Colony. Your Candor entitles You to an Answer. If our Assembly was called, & those Questions proposed, I should be very averse to take them into Consideration; I would, if possible, decline Giving any pointed Answers, & endeavor to refer a Subject of such Importance & in which all America is so deeply interested, to the next Congress. If I could not prevail, I would claim a free & exclusive power of Legislation, in all Cases of Taxation & internal Polity; I would expressly deny a Right in Parliament to make any Laws to bind the Colonies, except only for the Regulation of their Trade: The Right bona fide to regulate our Commerce I would recognize in the most clear and express Terms. Without such Claim by the Colonists they can neither be free nor happy; without such

Admission to Parliament they must be independent, & in my Opinion, Justice and Policy require the Concession. As the power to regulate our Trade would, in many Instances, be ineffectual, without a Right also to lay Duties for that purpose, I woud. also allow an Imposition of Duties, on this express Condition, that the Duties so laid should be collected by the old Officers of the Customs, & to be at the sole Disposal of the provincial assembly, where such Duties were payable. I would demand a Repeal of *all* Acts of Parliament inconsistent with those Principles, I mean, which any Way interfere with our internal Polity or impose Taxes. I would engage in Case of War to raise forces, and grant Supplies, according to our ability.

You seem to have well considered the Arguments for and against a certain Plan for an American Legislature. Such plan can only be necessary to remedy a Defect in the Constitution of the Colonies, to provide for Cases which respect G. B. & the Colonies jointly, and in which it woud. be dangerous to admit the Parliament to interfere, & for which the provincial Legislatures are not competent. The Cases which at present occur, are, the Regulation of Trade, and the Granting Supplies & raising Troops in Case of War. As to the first. The plan woud. be unnecessary by an admission of a Right in Parliament, where I would chuse to lodge it, if I had my Election. The Interests of the No[r]thern & Southern Colonies, as to their Trade, from local & other Circumstances, would frequently interfere. The Argument, that Parliament would abuse their Power, has no Weight with Me, & would equally extend to the Vesting of it in any Body. As to the second. It is founded on a Supposition, which I can never admit, that the Colonies would not do their Duty, would not consider their Interests as connected with the Welfare & prosperity of G. B. & would not provide for their own safety. I am convinced it is only a Pretence by the Minister, & that if a Right to tax America was once given up, We should hear no more on that Head.

I am greatly alarmed at the Vote of your House of Commons, & am anxious to hear the Result of their proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

The martial Ardor prevails very generally here. Above 100 Companies, of 81 Men each, are already formed on the western Shore of this Province.

Colo. Washington in a Letter of 6th Jany, writes "In this County, Prince William, Loudoun, Fauquier, Berkely, & many others round about them, a noble Ardour prevails. Men are forming themselves into independent Companies, chusing their officers, arming, Equipping, & training for the worst Event. The last Appeal!"

Lord Dunmore prorogued the Assembly of Virginia from 2nd. of this Month, to May, but I hear, by Letter, that their Representatives are now sitting in Convention.

I shall be very glad to hear from You frequently & shall only add,

after requesting my most respectful Compliments to Mesrs. Jay, Low & Alsop, that I am [with] great Sincerity Your Affectionate and Obedient Servant,  
 Saml. Chase.

RC (NH*i*).

<sup>1</sup> On January 26, 1775, the New York Assembly rejected a motion to consider the proceedings of the First Congress, and on the 31st it decided to send its own petitions and remonstrances to the king and both houses of Parliament. Chase was probably aware of the assembly's first action when he wrote to Duane, but whether he also knew of the second is less certain. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1286-87.

## Samuel Chase to John Dickinson

Dear Sir.

Annapolis. February 6th. 1775.

It [is] with Pleasure I acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 29th of January.

From an entire and perfect Approbation of the Resolve of the Congress, that if the late Acts of Parliament, relative to the Massachusetts Bay, should be attempted to be carried into Execution by force, that in such Case all America ought to support that Colony in her Opposition; From the Declaration, by the Congress, to the Throne, that our accumulated Injuries were too severe to be any longer tolerable, and that our Militia would protect Us in Time of Peace; From a Concurrence with the Sentiments expressed to the Inhabitants of Quebec, that We were resolved never to resign our Rights, but with our Lives, and to the People of G. Britain, that We never would submit to be Hewers of Wood or Drawers of Water for any Ministry or Nation in the World; In Compliance with the Advice of the Congress, to extend our Views to the most unhappy Event, and to be in all Respects prepared for every Contingency; From a Consideration of our defenceless State, unable to protect Ourselves or assist our Friends, and for many other Reasons, our Provincial Convention passed the Resolutions, which I enclosed You in my last Letter.

We must either resist or infamously submit. If We are resolved to resist, and to defend our Liberties at the Risque of our Lives, a military force appears to Me to be necessary, and Arms and Ammunition the only Means; to resolve to resist, without preparing a military force & Arms will be, in my Opinion, of little Consequence. I therefore wish your Province had resolved instantly to arm. If the attempt had been made, & failed, it would have encouraged our Enemies, & alarmed our Friends. Our Province was very desirous to receive some Assurance, from her Sister Colonies, of Assistance, if attacked, & will remain in perfect Confidence of their Support if necessary.

I have been for some Time strongly impressed with a Belief, that



the present unhappy Dispute with G. Britain would not wait the Event of a Commercial Opposition, and that she must either give up the Right of Taxing America, or enforce obedience by the Sword; Delay must ruin the Ministry. If the Question was to be decided by Justice or Policy, I should not doubt, that our indibutable Rights would be restored, our capital Grievances redressed, and Peace & Harmony once more established with the Mother Country; but when I reflect on the enormous Influence of the Crown, the System of Corruption introduced as the Art of Government, the Venality of the Electors (the radical Source of every other Evil) The open and repeated Violations of the Constitution, at Home, the regular, arbitrary System of Colony Administration, the several cruel and barbarous Acts relative to the Massachusetts, The Quebec Bill, And the Re-election of the Members of the last Parliament, I have not the least Dawn of Hope in the Justice, Humanity, Wisdom or Virtue of the British Nation. I consider them as one of the most abandoned & wicked People under the Sun. They openly sell themselves to their Representatives, who as openly traffic their Integrity & Honor to the Ministry. Our Dependance must be on God and Ourselves. Nihil ab extra quaesumus.

The Conduct of the Commons of New York is very alarming, if they attempt to act separately Confidence will be destroyed.

You have in our last Weeks Gazette his Majestys Speech and the Address of the Lords and Commons. From an Apprehension that the Protest of the Lords may not have reached You before this, I have enclosed You a Copy.

The Proceedings of the Congress had not arrived in London, the 9th of December. By a private Letter We are informed, that Lord North is greatly enraged against the Colonies, and has declared that he will shut up all our Ports, and decide the Dispute with the Sword.

The Martial Ardor prevails very generally here, above 100 Companies, of 81 Men each, are already formed on the Western Shore.

Honoured with a Communication of your Sentiments, I will pay due Regard to your Request, and endeavor to merit your Confidence. I am with great Esteem Dear Sir Your affectionate & obedient Servt.

Saml Chase

RC (PPL).

## John Adams to a Friend in London

Feb. 10, 1775

The account you give of an overbearing influence in the house,<sup>1</sup> and the want of feeling and spirit out of it, is of a very serious and

melancholy kind: Americans are very sensible that such accounts are true, and expect to fall a sacrifice to the knavery in the cabinet and the folly out of it, unless preserved by their own virtue, their frugality, or valour, or both.

Shorter parliaments, a more equitable representation, the abolition of taxes and the payment of the debt, the reduction of placemen and pensioners, the annihilation of bribery and corruption, the reformation of luxury, dissipation and effeminacy, the disbanding the army, are all necessary to restore your country to a free government, and to a safe, honourable, and happy life. But is this practicable, is there a resource in human nature for hope of such a miraculous change? is there one example of it in history or experience? a nation is easily corrupted, but not so easily reformed. The present reign may be that of Augustus, but upon my honour I expect twelve Caesars will succeed it. What is to become of America if they should? ought she not to think in time, and prepare for the worst.

I have a great curiosity to know how the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia are relished in London, at St. James's, and St. Stephens. I think it may be seen from them, that America is not insensible of her danger, nor inattentive to the means of her safety.

I am also very anxious to know what the friends of liberty think of the hasty dissolution of parliament; for my own part, I have ever thought this the most insidious and artful step of the present reign, it seems to betray more contempt of the people, at the same time that it betrays a dread of some remaining sense and integrity among them, than any thing else which has been done. You will allow, Sir, that the broil with America is a very great national concern. At a time when America was assembled to concert measures relative this great concern, a new parliament is called of a sudden, before the people could hear from America, as if the minister disdained or dreaded that the nation should have opportunity to judge of the state of America, and choose or instruct their representatives accordingly; as if the minister scorned or feared that the people, the electors, should have opportunity to hear and converse together upon facts, before they chose their members.

The design of the ministry seems to have been likewise to give the friends of liberty the go-by, in England as well as in America; determined to pursue their system, they would not suffer the friends of the constitution to converse or correspond together before the day of election, lest the constituents should bind the candidates to act an honest part. It is not easy to convey to you, Sir, an adequate idea of the state of this province. It is now at last true, that we have no government, legislative, executive, or judicial. The people determined never to submit to the act for destroying their charter, so dearly purchased, preserved and defended by the toil, treasure and blood of

their ancestors, are every where devoting themselves to arms. Our Duke of Alba is shut up with his troops, and his forlorn Mandamus Counsellors in Boston. What the ministry will do is uncertain,—all the British fleet and army cannot change mens opinions; they cannot make a juror serve, nor a representative. An attempt to cram a form of government down the throats of a people, to impose a constitution upon an united and determined people by force, is not within the omnipotence of an English parliament.

If they attempt a campaign like that of Kirk, if they send the sword and fire to ravage in this country, they will find in New England an hundred thousand decendants of the puritans in the Charles's and James's days, who have not yet lost entirely the spirit of Englishmen under the English commonwealth.

Our enemies give out that persons who have distinguished themselves here, in opposition to the power of parliament, will be arrested and sent to some county in England, to be tried for treason; if this should be attempted, it will produce resistance and reprisals, and a flame through all America, such as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of the minister or his minions to conceive.

I beg the continuance of your favours, and am, with the warmest wishes for the safety of both countries.

MS not found; reprinted from *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events*, 17 vols. (London: J. Almon, 1775–84), 1:11–12. Published by Almon under the caption “A Letter from a Gentleman in the Province of Massachusetts, to his Friend in London,” but identified as the work of John Adams when translated into Dutch and reprinted in John Adams, *Geschiedenis van het Geschiedtusschen Groot-Britannie en Amerika, zedert deszelfs Oorsprong, in den Jaare 1754, tot op den Tegen-Woordigen Tijd* (Amsterdam: W. Holtrop, 1782), pp. viii, 151–56.

<sup>1</sup>The recipient of this letter, which was published in Almon's *Remembrancer* with a second letter dated January 21, 1775, has not been identified.

## Thomas Cushing to John Dickinson

Dear Sir

Boston Feby. 13th 1775.

I am extreamly oblided to you for your much esteemed favor of the 26th Ultimo. and for your sentiments upon so Important a Question as that of the assumption of Government; I agree with you that such a Measure would evidently tend to break the present harmony of the Colonies & would embarrass our Freinds in England.<sup>1</sup> It has never been moved in our Provincial Congress. While a Committee had under Consideration, what were the most proper means to place ourselves in a posture of Defence, so that in case Administration is

so determined to execute the late Acts by force, we might be able to make an Effectual Resistance, Agreeable to the advice of the Continental Congress, It was moved for the Consideration of the Committee, Whether in order to do this Effectually it would not be necessary to take up some form of Government, but after mature and deliberate Consideration it was Rejected, & the Committee agreed that it was by no means expedient at present to go into any such measure, and you may depend upon it, no such thing will be moved at the present Congress.<sup>2</sup> Whenever it has been mentioned I have strenuously opposed it as a measure pregnant with mischief & the most fatal Consequences. Our People are very generally against the measure & I shall Continue to discountenance it—at the same time I cannot refrain from observing that it is an arduous peice of work to keep a numerous brave & free People, who are dayly Injured & Insulted quietly waiting the event of peaceable applications for a restoration of their Rights and at the same time with unremitting Diligence preparing to support those Rights. We are Suffering greatly in the Common Cause, we are without Law, without Courts, without the administration of Justice, which is Essentially necessary in Society—under these pressing difficulties, I assure You, Sir, I am astonished at the peace & good order observed amoung our People, at the calm temperate & fixed Spirit with which they undergo these hardships. You may rest assured that they never will assume Government unless the Ministry should determine and Execute the late Acts by a Military force & it should thereby become *absolutely necessary* for our Defence & preservation, in which Case they presume from the Resolution of the Congress that they shall be justified by the Whole Continent in so doing. We are Waiting with great sollicitude for the resolutions of Parliament. What Course they will pursue is as yet utterly uncertain. May the Great Governor of the World direct their Counsels & lead them into such measures as may restore peace harmony and happiness to both Countries. I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate Freind

Thomas Cushing

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation similar in tone and content, see Thomas Cushing to Samuel Purviance, February 13, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Although Massachusetts did not formally resume the charter government, the Provincial Congress did order payment of all taxes into their extra-legal treasury and created a Committee of Safety to act as an executive branch of government. *The Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775, and of the Committees of Safety . . .*, ed. William Lincoln (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1838), pp. 19, 35, 38–40.



## Thomas Cushing to Samuel Purviance, Jr.

Sir

Boston Feby. 13 1775

I am extreemly oblinded to you for your much esteemed favor of the 20th Ultimo. & for your opinion of a Project that, you were Informed, was agitated at the last Provincial Congress Relative to the assumption of Government, A Measure, which, I entirely Agree with you, would at present be wild & of fatal Tendency to this Province as well as the rest of the American Colonies.

I kindly thank you also for Informing me, what, you apprehend, would be the Sentiments of the other Colonies upon such Maneuvre. It was never Moved in Congress; indeed while a Committee had under their Consideration what were the most proper means to place ourselves in a posture of Defence, so that in case administration was determined to execute the late Acts by Military Force we might be able to make an Effectual Resistance, Agreeable to the advise of the Continental Congress, some few were of opinion that in order to do this Effectually it would be necessary to take Up some form of Government & moved this Question to the Committee for their Consideration but after mature Consideration it was rejected & the Committee Agreed that it was by no means expedient at present to go into any such measure, and you may depend upon it, that no such thing will be moved at the present Congress. Whenever it has been mentioned by any one to me I have Strenuously opposed it as a Measure big with Mischief & that would be attended with the most fatal Consequences at this juncture. Nothing but the last Extremity would drive our people into it, nothing unless the Ministry Should determine to execute the late Acts by Military force and it Should thereby become *Absolutely Necessary* for our Defence & Preservation as a People, in which Case our People presume from the Resolutions of the Continental Congress that they should be justified in so doing by the Whole Continent.

May Heaven Grant Wisdom [. . .] & Firmness to all the Colonies at a Time so Important. May they all be deliberate in determining & Resolute in Executing all their Plans. May the Great Governor of the Universe direct the Counsels of the Nation and lead them into such Resolutions and determinations as shall be for the peace and lasting Benefit of both Countries. I am, Dear Sir, with great Respect  
Yr most obedient humble Servt. Thomas Cushing

## Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck

*Trevose, Bucks, Feb. 14 1775.* "You will see my sentiments more at Large in a Pamphlet now in the Press in New York."<sup>1</sup> Thanks Verplanck for the pamphlets he has sent from New York.<sup>2</sup> Wishes more of them were available in Pennsylvania, although they contain "capital Defects." "They assert the necessity of a Supreme Legislative Authority, but do not prove it to the comprehension of common Readers. They do not show the rights of the American Subject or even acknowledge that we have any. They do not own that we have any Grievance and consequently nothing is pointed out as a Constitutional Remedy. . . . It is with great pleasure I assure you that Moderation is taking place of the violence in this Province, in a more rapid Progress than my most sanguine expectations ever suggested."

MS not found; abstracted from *PMHB* 21 (1897): 480-81.

<sup>1</sup> *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain, and the Colonies: with a Plan of Accommodation, on Constitutional Principles* (New York: James Rivington, 1775). See also Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck, December 30, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Probably [Thomas Bradbury Chandler], *A Friendly Address To All Reasonable Americans, On The Subject of Our Political Confusions . . .* (New York: James Rivington, 1774); and [Samuel Seabury], *Free Thoughts, On The Proceedings of The Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774* (New York: James Rivington, 1774). See Robert M. Calhoon, "'I have Deduced Your Rights': Joseph Galloway's Concept of his Role, 1774-1775," *Pennsylvania History* 35 (October 1968): 362. For a comment on the attempted suppression of Chandler's pamphlet in Philadelphia, see William Hooper to James Duane, November 22, 1774.

## Richard Henry Lee to Arthur Lee

D. B.

Febry. 24th 1775

All America has received with astonishment and concern the Speech to Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The wicked violence of Ministry is so clearly expressed, as to leave no doubt of their fatal determination to ruin both Countries, unless a powerful and timely check is interposed by the Body of the people. A very small corrupted Junto in New York excepted, all N. America is now most firmly united and as firmly resolved to defend their Liberties ad infinitum against every power on Earth that may attempt to take them away. The most effectual measures are every where taking to secure a sacred observance of the Association. Manufactures go rapidly on, and the means of repelling force by force are universally adopting. The inclosed Address to the Virginia Delegates published a few days since in the Gazette will shew you the spirit of the Frontier Men. This one County of Fincas-

tle can furnish 1000 Rifle Men that for their number make the most formidable light Infantry in the world. The six frontier Counties can produce 6000 of these Men who from their amazing hardihood, their method of living so long in the woods without carrying provisions with them, the exceeding quickness with which they can march to distant parts, and above all, the dexterity to which they have arrived in the use of the Rifle Gun. Their is not one of these Men who wish a distance less than 200 yards on a larger object than an Orange. Every shot is fatal. The Virginia Colony Congress meets the 20th of next month for the appointment of Delegates to the Continental Congress in May next, and for other purposes of public security. The Ministry who are both foolish and wicked, think by depriving us of Assemblies to take away the advantage that results from united and collected counsels. But they are grievously mistaken. In despite of all their machinations, public Councils will be held and public measures adopted for general security. Still we hope that the proceedings of the last Continental Congress when communicated to the people of England will rouse a spirit that proving fatal to an abandoned Ministry may save the whole Empire from Its impending destruction. The honorable Coll. Lee of Stratford was buried this day, he died the 21st ultimo after a months painful illness. He is a public loss, and if the Ministry go on filling up these vacancies in the Council with raw boys and hotheaded senseless people, the affairs of Virginia must be in perpetual confusion, altho the present dispute should be accommodated. It is absolutely necessary that some grave sensible Men should now be placed there in order to temper the present body.

The pamphlet entitled an Appeal &c. is, I think the best I have read on the subject amidst such a variety of finely reasoned ones.<sup>2</sup> Farewell.

P.S. By authentic accounts just come to hand, all the Ministerial efforts with New York and the Jersey Governments have failed, both Assemblies have highly approved the proceedings of the Continental Congress, thanked their Delegates, and appointed them to represent their respective Colonies in the next May Congress.<sup>3</sup>

From N. York we have lately sent back a Ship from Glasgow with goods that arrived after 1st of Feby. scarcely allowing the Vessel time to get fresh provisions. It is now therefore certain that without a redress of Grievances, G. Britain must prepare to do entirely without the N. American trade, nor will the British Isles in the W. Indies get their usual necessary supplies from the Continent. Georgia has acceded to the Continental Association, and we understand Canada will have Delegates in the next Congress. You will oblige me greatly by giving my boys advice and pressing to diligent application as often as you have leisure to do so. You never say whether or when you take the Gown, and where you propose to practice. Farewell.

RC (ViU) . In Lee's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup>The king's speech of November 30, 1774, opening the new Parliament, appeared in a supplement to John Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette*, February 3, 1775, and in Dixon and Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, February 4, 1775. The king's address, which alarmed Lee, began: "It gives me much concern that I am obliged, at the opening of this Parliament, to inform you that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to law still unhappily prevails in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature. These proceedings have been countenanced and encouraged in other of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations."

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Lee, *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain, in the Present Disputes with America* (London: J. Almon, 1774) .

<sup>3</sup>Lee's information on the disposition of the New York Assembly was inaccurate. On January 26, 1775, the assembly had refused to consider the proceedings of the First Continental Congress, and subsequently a majority in the assembly defeated a series of motions designed to secure New York's approval of Congress' recommendations, including motions to thank the New York delegates for their work in Philadelphia and to elect delegates to a Second Congress to meet in May. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1286-87, 1289-90.

## Edward Biddle to Jonathan Potts

Saturday 1/2 past 7. in the Mornng

Dear Doctor

[February 25, 1775]

I write this in Bed—being extremely anxious to send to You.<sup>1</sup>

We are all in Confusion. The Quakers are moving Heaven & Earth to defeat the Measures of the Congress & introduce a Submission to Parliamt.<sup>2</sup> The Governor, merely to save Appear[an]ces with Ministry, sent Us a short Message recommending our petitioning the King. Mr Gall[owa]y was sent for &, supported by the Quakers, is open mouthd a'gst the Congress & wants the Assembly to petition the King, on Principles different from those of the Congress. He wants us to propose a *Plan*—to send over Delagates—to petition the Parliamt. &c. In short, he app[ea]rs the most damnable ministerial Wretch that ever existed. He has been severely & excellently handled by Dickinson & G Ross both of whom behave admirably.

Dickinson is decisive & determined. Galloway Finding the House likely to determine against him in all Points, artfully moved to postpone the Consid[era]tion of the Govs. Message 'til the Week after next—in hopes the Back Members (every one of Whom but my Brother Crist is here) may seporate & to give Room for caballing. This Point he carried 19 agst 18. But many Who voted with him on this Point will vote agst petitioning at all. But I earnestly beg for fear of Accidents you will send Mr Crist down.<sup>3</sup> Tell him I earnestly beg it. And take Care that yourself & some others let him know the dangerous Tendency of any petition at this Time. 'Tis to counteract the



Congress. Ld North is staggering And a little Firmness will tumble him down.

I live here in a constant State of hot Debate. All will go well. I am in good Heart & hope we shall send Galloway home sick of his Politticks.

We intend to go into a Committee of the Whole House & open the Doors. I have a Rod well soaked for him.<sup>4</sup>

Do tell my dear Billy that it is impossible for me to write now. My Anxiety to have Crist down is the great Inducem[en]t to write at this early Hour.

I am D Doctor Yrs

E Bid[dle]

RC (DLC) . Addressed: "To Doctor Jonathan Potts, Reading."

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Potts (1745–81), Reading, Pa., physician, Berks County deputy to the Pennsylvania Provincial Congress, January 1775, later served prominently in the medical department of the Continental Army as deputy director general of hospitals in the northern and middle departments, 1777–80. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> When the Pennsylvania Assembly reconvened February 21, 1775, Governor John Penn attempted to divert Pennsylvania from making common cause with the other colonies and proposed that the assembly petition the crown in its own behalf "as the only proper and constitutional Mode of obtaining Redress." *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7186. In this attempt, he was supported chiefly by Joseph Galloway and the Quaker Party. Recognizing that a motion to petition the king according to the governor's recommendation would fail, Galloway on February 24 moved to postpone the debate to Wednesday, March 8. See Galloway to William Franklin, February 28, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Christ, Sr., of Reading, who with Biddle represented Berks County in the assembly. *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7148. Biddle, speaker of the assembly and political ally of John Dickinson and George Ross, was determined to have his supporters in attendance when the debate resumed March 8.

<sup>4</sup> For Galloway's report on the tactics employed to outmaneuver him in the assembly when debate was subsequently resumed, see Galloway to William Franklin, March 26, 1775. *N. J. Archives*, 1st ser. 10 (1886): 581–85. See also *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7192, 7210–13.

## Robert Treat Paine to Stephen Collins

Kind Sr,<sup>1</sup>

Taunton Feby. 25th. 1775

Your freindly Epistle of the 14th ulto. I have lately recd. & it is now before me.<sup>2</sup> I am much obliged to you for the Care of my purse; I wish our endeavours to recover it had succeeded, for the scituation of our public affairs, makes Cash very scarce, as well as much wanted; respecting any suspicion that the Goldfinders have got it, perhaps an enquiry of their circumstances since the affair might be serviceable, at least so far as to know if it were worth while to try again.

I cannot concieve on what principle it is that the Torys should triumph in the late Conduct of Portsmouth & other places securing

their Guns & Ammunition; no friend of Government can rejoice in anything that disturbs Government, much less in what they call Acts of Rebellion, and their triumph must spring from a malicious, diabolical desire, that the Vengeance of G. Britain may be reaked on the American Colonys; we are very much obliged to you for every hint you give of any danger of dividing the Colonys; our Friends from one End of the Continent, to the other may depend upon it, that in this Colony no step is taken of any Importance with[ou]t considering how it will be approved of by the other Colonys, & our earnest desire to do nothing that might give Uneasiness, has prevented some steps being taken which perhaps might have been Salutary.

With regard to the particular matter of moving the Guns &c, any person who attends to the Current of affairs must know the reason of it was the forbidding Arms & Ammunition being imported, & the Conduct of Administration wearing so hostile an Appearance as to loudly call upon the natural inherent principle of Self preservation. Those who hold the Doctrines of passive Obedience & non resistance will fault their Conduct, whilst others who view these transactions as Connected with the rights of mankind & Englishmen, will have more liberal apprehensions from them. But our Enemies omitt no opportunities to asperse the Whiggs; & even the Whiggs who are at a distance from the scene of action, dont Sufficiently Consider the difficult Scituation of their Friends, who in the Centre of action are Continually impressed, & in danger of being shackled & rendered unable to Struggle by patience & remissness, or of giving Offence & causing Divisions by any Enterprize which might save them. They who wish well to our Common Cause will Consider all Circumstances before they form a judgment, & they who are unfreindly will stick at nothing to reproach us.

The report you mention of Mr. Adams & Mr. Cushing,<sup>3</sup> is much Such a kind of story, as one industriously reported here vizt. that the (learned, the Sincere, the deliberate, the judicious) Farmer of Pennsylvania, had tack'd about, & gone over to the Tory Cause.

My Friend, you must have observed that ever since the Congress rose, the great father of lies has been fully employ'd in misrepresenting every thing, & making some pompous lies clearly out of nothing. The Story you mention is one of this Sort, no such motion was made or thought of as I know of much less did Mr. Cushing ever in his life use such language, & as for the dissolution of the Congress, it was done upon the same principle the Grand Congress was dissolved Vizt. to give the Inhabitants Opportunity of Sending Other men if they pleased, after they had done every thing which they then thought proper to do & a new one has just sat. I hope the friends of our Common Cause will not grow cool, much less forsake it, upon any Supposition that we are rash in our measures. If in our Extremi-

tys we Should not conduct as cool Reason would dictate, we are to be pityed, but I dont know that the Cause is the worse, i.e. has G. Britain a right to make us Slaves, because when we endeavour to hinder it we do not do it with the most discretion. Pray remember me to yr. good Wife & to all my freinds at Philada. of whom I recollect too many to be enumerated; hoping yr. best Welfare & the redress of all Greivances I am yr. obliged & hble Servt R T Paine

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Collins (1733–94), native of Lynn, Mass., was a prominent Quaker leader and merchant in Philadelphia. Katherine A. Kellock, "Stephen Collins, Philadelphia Merchant," *Business Archives* 36 (1972): 6–13.

<sup>2</sup> This letter to Paine was one of several that Collins wrote to Massachusetts patriot leaders during the interval between the First and Second Continental Congresses, expressing fears of divisions in revolutionary ranks. In addition to his letter to Paine, Collins' letterbook contains letters to Samuel Adams of November 10, 1774, and to William Tudor of January 14 and February 17, 1775, DLC. On a similar theme see John Dickinson to Thomas Cushing, January 26, and Thomas Cushing to John Dickinson, February 13, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Collins had repeated the rumor of a move in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress "to Raise Twenty thousand men Immediately & Attack the Kings troops. The Report is that S. Adams made the motion & urged it very Strongly. That T. Cushing opposed it as Strongly alleging that the Southern Colonies would not approve of it nor Stand by You. That S. Adams reply'd he well knew You would have the suport & Assistan[ce] of all the Colonies, on which T. Cushing gave him the Lie, with Saying that is a Lie Mr. Adams & you know it, & you know that I know it is a Lie, which ocasioned much altercation & Debate, and was the means of the Congress being Desolved." Collins to Paine, January 14, 1775, DLC.

## Joseph Galloway to William Franklin

Febry. 28, 1775

When I consider the Spirit & Firmness with which you have endeavoured to discharge your Duty to your Sovereign, & to serve the People over whom you preside, and their weak, evasive, ill-wrote, no-meaning Answer, I find it difficult to determine, whether I feel greater Satisfaction & Pleasure at the one or Contempt for the other. Poor weak sighted Men, who are floating with the Tide of Licentiousness & Sedition, which they expect will run forever, when a little common Sense wou'd tell them that it must soon change, and that with it they must change their Language & embrace your friendly Advice.

I am happy in telling you, that the People of this Province (Pennsylvania) are altering their Sentiments & Conduct with amazing rapidity. We have been successful in baffling all the Attempts of the violent Party to prevail on the People to prepare for War against the Mother Country. The Quakers, the high & low Dutch, the Baptists, Menonists, Dumplers &c. are promoting Moderate Measures; in so

much that I hope, with some Trouble, all Violence will soon cease, & Peace & Order take Place of Licentiousness & Sedition. The Tories (as they are called) make it a Point to visit the Coffee House daily & maintain their Ground—while the violent Independents are less bold & insolent, as their Adherents are greatly diminished. On Thursday & Friday last, determined to abide the Consequences what ever they might be either in respect to my Person or Estate, I spoke my Sentiments in Assembly without the least reserve. I censured & condemned the Measures of the Congress in every Thing—aver'd that they all tended to incite America to Sedition & terminated in Independence—contended for, & proved the Necessity of Parliamentary Jurisdiction over the Colonies in all Cases whatsoever—exposed the Folly of those who hoped, that the British State would suffer its Authority to be in the least impaired, much less totally given up—explained the rights of America, & pointed out the Necessity of our taking different Measures from those already taken for a recovery of them. I stood single & unsupported, among a Set of Men every one of whom had approved of the Measures I was censuring, reprobating their own Conduct to them—& endeavouring by cool & dispassionate reason & Argument to convince them of their Errors. The Opposition as I expected was violent & indecent. I kept my Temper unruffled & firm which gave me no small Advantage. My Opponents were, The Governor's father-in-Law (our late chief Justice) the Pennsylvania Farmer,<sup>1</sup> Chs. Thompson, Thos. Mifflin & Geo. Ross. The Motion was to petition the King agreeably to the Governor's Advice in his Message, for which we are more indebted to you & Gov. Colden than to him. The Success my Arguments met with; greatly exceeded my most sanguine Expectations. Fourteen Members came over to me; but there being 38 in the House, & finding I should lose the Vote without four more Converts—I was obliged to alter my Plan, & to move to postpone the Debate untill next Wednesday week hoping that Procrastination & News by the next Pacquet might assist me. My Design being suspected a warm Opposition succeeded—however we carried the Question, 19 for it, 18 against it.<sup>2</sup> But after all the Issue yet remains uncertain I rather think as the independent Party will exert every Nerve, & at last die hard, it will take more Time to defeat them. And that I shall not be able at this Time to carry such a Petition as I wish to send, as none should go, but one which may render it consistent with the Dignity of Government to receive. Should that prove the Case I hope to prevail on the House to adjourn to the Middle of April when I shall have no Doubt of Success.

I think I have mentioned to you a Design of publishing my Sentiments on the Dispute between G. Britain & the Colonies; I now send the Pamphlet,<sup>3</sup> of which I beg your Acceptance, and, at your Leisure, your Candid Sentiments on it. I wish'd for them before it went



to the Press, but that was impossible. There are many Errata in it, occasioned by the Hurry of its Publication.

Tr (PRO: C. O. 5, 992) . Enclosed in William Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, April 3, 1775. Endorsed: "Extract of a Letter from Jos. Galloway, Esqr. of Philadelphia to Governor Franklin—dated Febry. 28, 1775."

<sup>1</sup> William Allen and John Dickinson.

<sup>2</sup> See Edward Biddle to Jonathan Potts, February 25, 1775; and *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7192. Galloway continued his account of this issue in his letter to William Franklin, March 26, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Galloway, *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain, and the Colonies: with a Plan of Accommodation, on Constitutional Principles* (New York: James Rivington, 1775) .

## Samuel Adams to Arthur Lee

*Boston March 4 1775.* Describes conditions in Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup> "The Town of Marshfield, have lately applied to G. Gage for *Leave* to have a Meeting, according to the Act of Parliament, & have resolv'd as you may observe by the inclosd. They will be dealt with according to the Law of the Continental Congress. The Laws of which are more observ'd throughout this Continent than any human Laws whatever.

"Another Congress will meet at Philadelphia in May next. Every Colony has appointed its Delegates (I mean those which did before) except N York, whose Assembly I have just heard have resolv'd not to send any. The People of that City & Colony, are infested with Court Scriblers who have labord, perhaps with some Success, to divide them; they are however in general firm, and have with regard to the Arrival of a Ship from London since the first of February, behaved well. You know their Parliament is septennial—and therefore must be corrupted. It is best that the Tories in their house have acted without Disguise. This is their last Session and the house will, I hope, be purgd at the next Election.<sup>2</sup>

"There is a Combination in that Colony of high Church Clergymen & great Landholders—of the former, a certain Dr C<sup>3</sup> is the head; who knows an American Episcopate cannot be establish'd and consequently he will not have the pleasure of strutting thro the Colonies in Lawn Sleeves, until the Authority of parliament to make Laws for us binding in all Cases whatever is settled. The Latter are Lords over many Slaves; and are afraid of the Consequences that would follow, if a Spirit of Liberty should prevail among them. This however is so far the Case that I doubt not the People will chuse Delegates for the Congress, as they did before. When that Congress meets, it is expected, that they will agree upon a Mode of opposition (unless our Grievances are redress'd) which will render the Union of

the Colonies more formidable than ever. Concordia res parva crescut.

"We have lately opened a Correspondence with Canada which, I dare say will be attended with great and good Effects."<sup>4</sup>

FC (NN). Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:194-98.

<sup>1</sup> Adams' earlier accounts of Massachusetts affairs in his letters to Lee of January 29 and February 14, 1775, are in Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:169-72, 179-80.

<sup>2</sup> New York's delegates to Congress were not elected until April 22, 1775, when a provincial convention of representatives from nine of 14 counties chose a 12-man delegation. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:358.

<sup>3</sup> Myles Cooper, loyalist president of King's College.

<sup>4</sup> Adams had arranged for the Boston Committee of Correspondence to send John Brown (1744-80), Pittsfield, Mass., lawyer and militia colonel, as agent to Canada to sample sentiment toward the American colonies. *DAB*; and Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), pp. 145-46. For Brown's report to the committee, March 29, 1775, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:243-45. For Brown's later appearance at the second Congress, see Silas Deane's Diary, May 18, 1775.

## Samuel Adams to Richard Henry Lee

*Boston Mar [21] 1775.* Describes conditions in Massachusetts. "I have just received Letters from our Friends in London dated the 24, 26 and 28 Decr and 4th & 7th Jany; some Extracts from which I have thought it necessary to have inserted in our publick News papers as you'll see by the inclosd. One Paragraph which alarms me I have not disclosd to any one; it is this—'I have been in the Country with Lord Chatham to shew him the Petition of the Congress of which he highly approves. He is of Opinion that a solemn Renunciation of the Right to *tax* on the one side, and an *Acknowledgment of the Supremacy* on the other, should accompany the repeal of all the obnoxious Acts. Without this, he says, the Hearts of the two Countries will not openly embrace each other with unfeigned Affection and Reconcilement.' In this short Sentence I think it is easy to see, that his Lordships plan of Reconciliation is the same with that which he held forth in his Speech at the time of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. However highly I think of his Lordships Integrity, I confess I am chagrind to find, that he expects an Acknowledgment of Supremacy in terms on our part. I imagine that after such Acknowledgment, there may be a variety of Ways by which Great Britain may enslave us besides that of taxing us without our Consent. The possibility of it should greatly awaken our Apprehensions. Let us take Care lest America in Lieu of a Thorn in the Foot should have a Dagger in her heart. Our united Efforts have hitherto succeeded. This is not a Time for us to relax our Measures. Let us like prudent Generals im-

prove upon our Success and push for perfect political Freedom."

RC (ViU) . RC damaged; missing words supplied from FC (NN) . Adams, *Writings* (Cushing) , 3:205-9.

## Joseph Galloway to William Franklin

[*Trevose. March 26, 1775.*] Is pleased that Governor Franklin has expressed confidence in him and that the king is determined to assert British authority in America.

"I did intend to have communicated to you the Event of the Debates in our Assembly before this Time; But I have been a good deal indisposed, & besides engaged in writing a reply to the scurrilous Answer to "*A Candid Examination*" &c.<sup>1</sup> I have just finished it, and I wish it could undergo your revisal before it goes to the Press, but that is impossible—And for that reason I have taken the more Pains with it. I am pleased with the Attack because it has given me an Opportunity of supporting the Principles of the Pamphlet by some new Arguments, & of exposing the Ignorance & independant Notions of the Pennsylvania Farmer & his Colleague Mr. Thompson. Mr. Rivington will send you one as soon as it is published.

"As I seldom keep Copies of my Letters, I know not particularly how far I communicated the Proceedings in our Assembly. . . . I think I wrote you the substance & the Event of the two first Days Debate upon the [*Governor's*] Message, & that the further Consideration of it was postponed for near 10 Days. I need not therefore repeat it here. On the Saturday before the Day of the further Debate the independent party despairing of Success in preventing a Petition to his Majesty, moved that the Doors should be thrown open, & the Mob let in upon me. I was secretly advertised of this Design, & had spoke to a Number of Friends to be there in Case the Motion should succeed, being determined it should have no other Effect, but to prepare myself better & to speak with more Firmness & more fully upon the Measures of the Congress. However upon debating the Motion, we carried it in the Negative 24 to 14. This was an humiliating Blow to my Opponents. I had hitherto carried every Question, & constantly by an increased Majority. And yet altho' I had brought a Number of the Members (not less than 16 out of 39) to petition upon proper Grounds, I found it impossible, as there were very little hopes of gaining four more. I therefore resolved to change my Ground & to prevail on the House to adjourn to some Day between this & the 10th of May, the Time of Meeting of the next Congress; In Expectation that by the Change of the Peoples Sentiments out of Doors, which had already undergone an amazing Alteration, and the Intelligence

of Firm Measures being determined on by Parliament, that I might at that Time succeed in more rational & salutary Measures. Under this resolution, I went to the House on the Day appointed for the Debate; & proposed 4 Heads as the Substance of an Answer to the Governor's Message. The 3 first, after violent Opposition, were at length unanimously agreed to. The fourth, in which I had mentioned the Adjournment, produced a warm & long debate, the Independents opposing any Adjournment till after the sitting of the Congress. Upon this a Question was put, & we carried it in the Affirmative, 24 to 14. Thus my great Point was gained which did not a little distress the other Party. And upon this a Committee was appointed to bring in an Answer to the Governor's Message founded on my Propositions, with only an Amendment proposed by Mr. Dickinson to the Fourth. When the House adjourned Dickinson came to me and agreed that I should reduce the Answer to Form & bring it in the next Morning. This I engaged to do. But I should here inform you, that the Speaker acted the most shameful & particular Part in the Appointment of the Committee—taking 12 of the 14 Negatives & only 2 of the 24 Affirmatives for the Adjournment—i.e. 12 of one side & only 2 of the other. I saw the Partiality, but as things seem'd to be settled, & not suspecting the dirty Manœuvre which followed, I disregarded it.

“At this unlucky Moment a Ship from Bristol arrived, & bro't those partial & fictitious Accounts published in the Papers. The Independents sounded it thro' all the Streets in the City that all the Acts must be repealed, That the Measures of the Congress were the Measures of Consummate Wisdom &c. &c. This gave rise to one of the most dirty & scandalous Measures which ever was transacted in public Life. In my Absence, & while I was engaged in drawing up the Answer—The Committee met—Thompson & Ross, & I suspect with the privity of Dickenson, had previously drawn up the Message you see published. This was laid before the Com'ttee of Independents, where it was resolved that that Message should be considered without sending for me. It was agreed to, carried into the House—read the first Time—& moved to have a second & final reading. This was opposed by my Friends, but they had not Brass enough to insist upon it. In the Evening I was informed that a Member of the Committee had bragged how the Committee had deceived, or, to use his own Expression, flung Galloway. On the next morning I moved that the Answer should be recommitted; And, after giving a short Accot. of the Facts, I assigned as reasons—1st. That the Committee had acted a dishonourable, disingenuous, dirty & fraudulent Part, one unbecoming Men in public Character—That they had by Art & Fraud deprived me of the privilege of voting in Committee: That they knew I was absent on my Duty to the House on the very Business before them, And that if they did not choose I should do it, they should at



least have sent for me &c. 2dly. That they had treated the House with insolent Disregard & Disobedience; for that they had not inserted in the Answer either Sentiment or Word of what was Yesterday unanimously agreed upon. 3dly. That it contained palpable Untruths. To these I added many other Arguments, But all was in vain. This was not a Time when reason was to prevail. The great News of Yesterday had altered the Minds of some of the weak & irresolute of the Chester & Philada. Members & upon the Question they carried it against the Commitment 20 to 16. The answer went thro' the House. I opposed it in every stage—And upon the Question whether it should be transcribed it was carried 22 to 14. And in Order to shew that the House was divided—which they much dreaded—I insisted upon the Yeas & Nays to be taken down & published as you have seen. The House stands adjourned to the first of May.

“I intimated before, that I had met with Insults during my Stay in the City. Shortly after the two first Days Debates—late in the Evening a Box was left at my Lodgings nail'd & directed to me. Upon opening it next Morning I found in it a Halter, with a threatening Letter. I read the Letter & nail'd up the Box—lock'd it carefully in my Charriott Box, determined not to mention it to any Body—as I knew it would be impossible that the Person sending it should keep it long a Secret & hoping by that Means to discover them. I waited a Fortnight & nothing transpired. At length it came out from two of the Persons whom I verily believe sent it—And from the Clue, so far as I have traced it, it comes from two Members of Assembly, a discarded Assembly Officer & a Head of the White Oaks. However it had no other Effect on me than to fix me in my former resolutions to oppose those lawless Measures at all Events.

“I am happy in your Approbation of my Pamphlet. I find from all Quarters it is universally applauded by Men of Candor & Abilities. Your Sentiments & mine are not different respecting the proper Union with G. Britain, nor respecting the *Addition* to my proposed Plan. I thought of it at the Time, but omitted it because I knew the Plan would be less exceptionable to those Democratic Spirits to whom it was to be proposed, & by whom adopted in the first Instance, & because I thought it might be added in the Negotiation. The great End I had in View in offering the Plan, I have often before told you was to prevail on the Congress to take the Ground of Negotiation & Proposition. . . . I am Confident no Endeavours will be used by Government here, only “*to save Appearances,*” to prevent the Appointment of Deputies for the intended Congress. When I refused to accept of the Appointment in December I could not prevail on Judge Morton to join me in the refusal. However, I am determined to oppose the appointment in our sitting in May, & exert every Nerve to prevent it.”<sup>2</sup>

Tr (PRO: C. O. 5, 992). *N. J. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:579–86. Enclosed in William Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, April 3, 1775. Endorsed: "Extracts from Mr. G's Reply—dated Mar. 26, 1775, at Trevoise (Mr. G's Country Seat in Bucks County in Pennsylvania)."

<sup>1</sup> *A Reply to an Address to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, 'A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies,' &c.* (New York: James Rivington, 1775).

<sup>2</sup> "Joseph Galloway, Esquire, having repeatedly moved in Assembly to be excused from serving as a Deputy for this Province in the Continental Congress, the House this Day [May 12, 1775] took his Motion into Consideration, and do hereby agree to excuse him from that Service." *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7234.

## Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck

*Trevoise, April 1 1775.* Is pleased that Verplanck approves his *Candid Examination*.<sup>1</sup> "I find it decried by none but Independents, or such as are determined to bring about a total separation of the two countries at all events, and they are, you may be assured but one fourth Part of our People. The late news from London partly fabricated in Philada and published by the high Flyers in London, who know nothing of the secrets of the cabinet, have elated the spirits of the Whigs to the highest Degree—notwithstanding the accounts are contradicted by every authentic & solid Intelligence, and thus I imagine they will remain until the Resolutions of Parliament are known, when I have not the least Doubt, but they will fall as much below Par, as they are now above.

"You have no doubt seen the answer to the 'Candid Examination.'<sup>2</sup> It is the Production of a fortnight Labour of the Pennsylvania Farmer and his old Assistant Charles Thompson. From the little approbation it met with here, I should not have thought it worthy of a Reply, But it gave me an opportunity of explaining some Principles of the Pamphlet more fully—And besides I thought that the vanity and Ignorance of the Authors ought to be exposed. I have therefore sent to Mr. Rivington a reply, which I hope he will publish with all convenient Speed."<sup>3</sup>

MS not found; abstracted from *PMHB* 21 (1897): 481–82.

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Galloway to Samuel Verplanck, December 30, 1774 and February 14, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Galloway's *Candid Examination* was attacked in a letter by John Dickinson and Charles Thomson, "To the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled 'A Candid Examination of the mutual Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies, &c.,'" which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal; and the Weekly Advertiser*, March 8, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> *A Reply to an Address to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, "A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies," &c.* (New York: James Rivington, 1775).

## Georgia Delegates to Peyton Randolph

Sir

Savannah in Georgia 6th April 1775

The unworthy Part which the Province of Georgia has acted in the great and general Contest, leaves Room to expect little less than the Censure or even Indignation of every virtuous Man in America.<sup>1</sup> Altho on the one hand we feel the Justice of such a Consequence with respect to the Province in General, yet on the other we claim an Exemption from it in favor of some Individuals who wished a better Conduct. Permit us therefore in Behalf of ourselves, and many others our Fellow Citizens warmly attached to the Cause, to lay before the respectable Body over which you preside, a few Facts which we trust will not only acquit us of Supineness, but also render our Conduct to be approved by all candid and dispassionate Men.

At the Time the late Congress did this Province the Honor to transmit to it an Extract from their proceedings, inclosed in a friendly Letter from the Honble Mr. Middleton,<sup>2</sup> the Sense and Disposition of the People in general seemed to fluctuate, and as it were waver between Liberty and Conveniency. In order to bring on a Determination respecting the Measures recommended a few well affected Persons in Savannah by publick Advertisement in the Gazette, requested a Meeting of all the Parishes and Districts, by Delegates or Representatives in provincial Congress. On the Day appointed for this meeting with Concern they found, that only five out of twelve Parishes to which they had particularly wrote, had nominated and sent down Delegates and even some of these five had laid their Representatives under Injunctions as to the Form of an Association. Under those Circumstances those who met saw themselves a good deal embarrassed, however one Expedient seemed still to present itself. The House of Assembly was then sitting, and it was hoped there wou'd be no doubt of a Majority in favour of American Freedom. The Plan therefore was to go thro' what Business they cou'd in Provincial Congress, and then with a short Address present the same to the House of Assembly, who it was hoped wou'd by Vote, in a few Minutes, and before Prerogative shou'd interfere, make it the Act of the whole Province. Accordingly the Congress framed and agreed to such an Association and did such other Business as appeared practicable with the People, and had the whole just ready to be presented, when The Governor, either treacherously informed of, or shrewdly suspecting the Step, put an End to the session. What then cou'd the Congress do. On the one hand Truth forbid them to call their Proceedings the Voice of the Province, there being but five out of twelve Parishes concerned, and on the other they wanted Strength sufficient to enforce them upon a Principle of Necessity to which all ought for a Time to submit. They found the Inhabitants of Savannah not likely

soon to give Matters a favorable Turn. The Importers were mostly against any Interruption and the Consumers very much divided. There were some of the latter virtuously for the Measures, others strenuously against them, but more who called themselves Neutrals than either.

Thus situated there appeared Nothing before us, but the Alternative of either immediately commencing a Civil War among ourselves, or else of patiently waiting the Measures to be recommended by the next General Congress. Among a powerful People, provided with Men Money and Conveniencies, and by whose Conduct others were to be regulated the former wou'd certainly be the Resolution that wou'd suggest itself to every Man removed from the Condition of a Coward; but in a small Community like that of Savannah (where Members are mostly in their first Advance towards Wealth or Independence, destitute of even the Necessaries of Life within themselves, and from whose Junction or Silence so little wou'd be added or lost to the General Cause,) the latter presented itself as the most eligible Plan, and was adopted by the People. From that Time to the present nothing worthy of Notice in a publick Way has been done. Party disputes and Animosities have occasionally prevailed which shew that the Spirit of Freedom is not extinguished, but only restrained for a Time till an Opportunity shall offer for calling it forth.

The Congress convened in Savannah did us the honor of choosing us Delegates to meet your respectable Body at Philadelphia on the tenth of next Month. We were sensible of the Honor and Weight of the Appointment and wou'd gladly have rendered our Country any Services our poor Abilities wou'd have admitted of, but alas! with what Face cou'd we have appeared for a Province whose Inhabitants had refused to sacrifice the most triffling advantage to the publick Cause, and in whose behalf we did not think we cou'd safely pledge ourselves for the Execution of any one Measure whatsoever. We do not mean to insinuate that those who appointed us wou'd prove Apostates, or desert their Opinion, but that the Tide of Opposition and Interest were so great that all the Strength and Virtue of these our Friends might be insufficient for the Purpose. We very early saw the Difficulties that wou'd here occur, and therefore repeatedly and constantly requested the People to proceed to the Choice of other Delegates in our Stead, but this they refused to do.

We beg Sir you will view our Reasons for not attending in a liberal Point of Light.<sup>3</sup> Be pleased to make the most favorable Representation of them to the Honble The Members of the Congress. We believe we may take upon us to say notwithstanding all that has past, there are still Men in Georgia who, when Occasion shall require, will be ready to evince a steady religious and manly Attachment to the Liberties of America. To the Consolation of these they find them-



selves in the Neighbourhood of a Province whose Virtue and Magnanimity must and will do lasting Honor to the Cause, and in whose Fate they seemed disposed freely to involve their own. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most obedt. & very hum. Servants

Noble Wimberly Jones

Archd. Bulloch

John Houstoun

RC (DLC). Written by Bulloch and signed by Jones, Bulloch, and Houstoun.

<sup>1</sup> Georgia had sent no delegates to the First Congress. Although the document does not bear the name of the intended recipient, the letter's content makes it clear that it was directed to President Randolph.

<sup>2</sup> On October 21, 1774, Congress had approved sending letters to Georgia, St. John's, Nova Scotia, and East and West Florida, all of which had been unrepresented at Philadelphia, calling upon these colonies to support the measures which the delegates had taken to defend American rights. *JCC*, 1:101-3, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the refusal of Jones, Bulloch, and Houstoun to attend the opening session of the Second Congress, Georgia was partially represented in this body from May to July 1775, by Lyman Hall (1724-90). Hall, who was elected to Congress by St. John's Parish on March 21, 1775, served for a time as a nonvoting delegate owing to the fact that he represented only one parish. In July, however, the Georgia Provincial Congress chose Hall, together with Jones, Bulloch, Houstoun, and John Joachim Zubly, as the colony's regular representatives in Congress, and Hall's credentials reached Philadelphia on July 20. *JCC*, 2:44-50, 192-93.

## Richard Henry Lee to John Dickinson

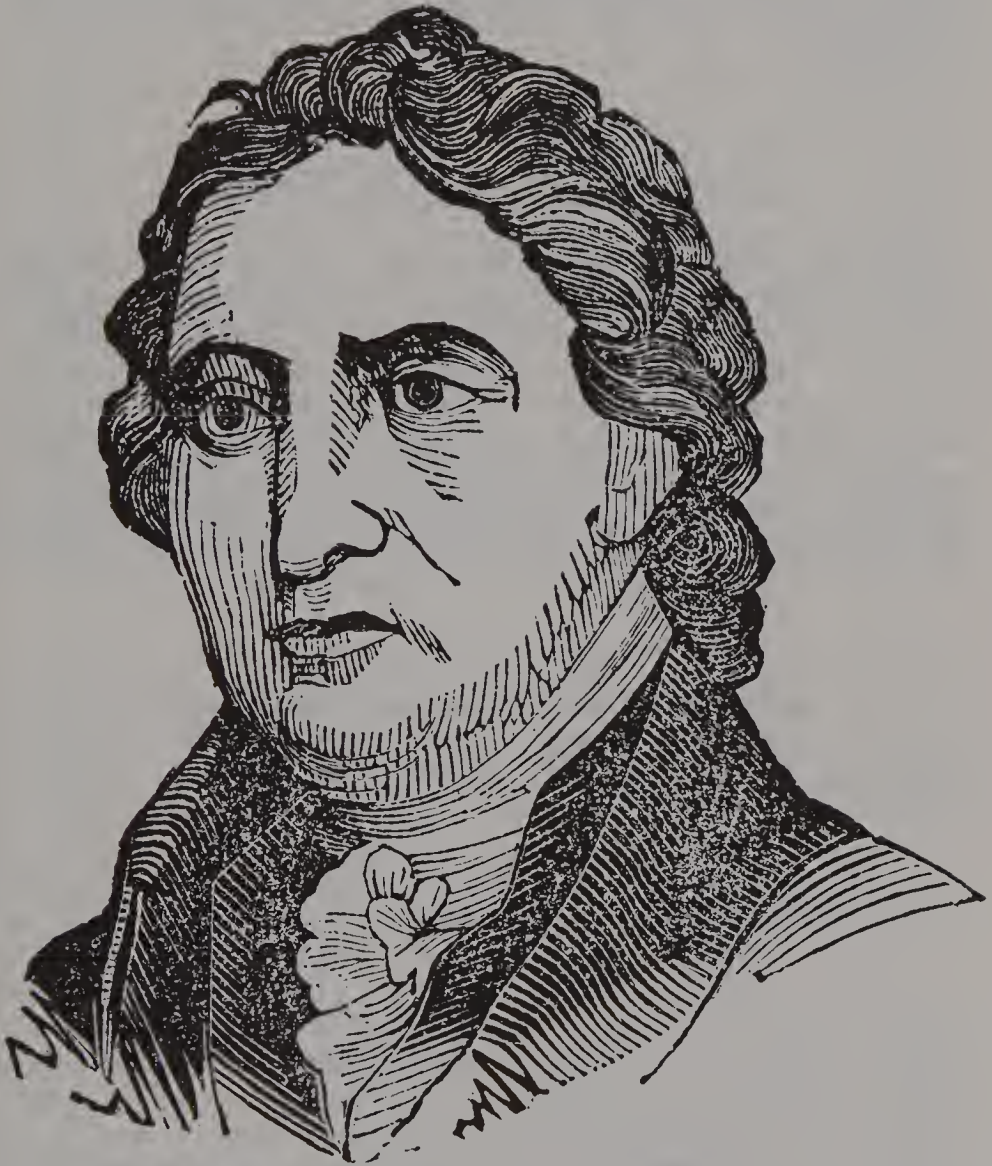
Sir,

Chantilly in Virginia April 7th 1775

Various unexpected prorogations of our Assembly having prevented this Colony from taking up the consideration of the proceedings of the Continental Congress until the 20th of last month, I have now the pleasure of inclosing you the proceedings of our Convention on that and other subjects relative to our unhappy dispute with the British Ministry.<sup>1</sup>

You may gather from hence Sir, how determined a spirit prevails here, to resist the unjust aggression offered us. For my own part, I could not approve of thanking the Governor for conducting war against an unhappy people, forced into hostilities, as I verily believe, by our own people. I was not in convention when this was agreed to. The inclosed printed tickets shew what use is made of the name of Majesty in these days!<sup>2</sup> On the 10th of March we are told that Lord Dartmouth has informed the Agents of his Majesties gracious reception of the Congress petition, and on the 30th of the same month, that the meeting of this very Congress is "*highly displeasing to his Majesty.*"

Must the Publick credit Lord Dartmouth, or Lord Dunmore, for it



Lyman Hall

would seem that both cannot be right? I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Philadelphia soon, in the mean time, I beg leave to assure you that I am with great respect and esteem Sir Your most obedient and very humble servant.

Richard Henry Lee

RC (PHi). Although unidentified, the recipient has been conjectured from the fact that Lee's letter is among Dickinson's papers in the R. R. Logan Collection.

<sup>1</sup> The proceedings of this Virginia convention are printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:165-72.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Silas Deane

*Windham, April 14th, 1775.* "Can only say it is too late to talk about a Special Assembly,<sup>1</sup> & it will not do when the General Congress, which moves the whole Machine, is so near Setting, for any one wheel, of its own head, to set a moving itself; it may be so Contrary that the whole may thereby be thrown into Confusion. . . . By your letter I suppose I am to Understand that without farther Notice or provision I may depend upon stowing in with you in thy Leathern Conveniency, when & where we can Chatt, we can sing, we can dispute everything, Scold & make friends again every half hour, which will make the time pass away easily & the road smoothly."

MS not found; abstracted from *NYHS Collections* 19 (1887): 42-43.

<sup>1</sup> The Connecticut Assembly did meet in special session, April 26, 1775. For a discussion of the measures Connecticut adopted in the excitement generated by the news from Lexington and Concord, see Oscar Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), pp. 191-94.

## Edmund Pendleton to George Washington

[*Caroline County? Virginia*] *Apl. 21. 1775.* Discusses a legal matter of interest to Washington. Mentions a report that Governor Dunmore has seized the powder in the Williamsburg magazine. Continues: "I have as yet heard nothing From the Speaker [*Peyton Randolph*] fixing the time of our setting out, indeed from some disturbances in the City [*Williamsburg*], by the *Slaves*, I doubt whether he will go. I purpose however to set off at all events Wednesday morning the 3d & shall be glad to meet you at upper Malbrough thursday night."

RC (DLC). Edmund Pendleton, *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton*

1734–1803, ed. David J. Mays, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 1:102.

## Robert R. Livingston, Jr., to John Stevens

*New York 23d Apl 1775.* Badly mutilated letter in which Livingston informs Stevens,<sup>1</sup> his father-in-law, that “many private Letters attribute the violent [measures?] of the ministry” to a belief among British leaders in the probable “defection of New York” from the American cause. Concludes with an affirmation of his decision to serve in Congress. “I was just now unanimously elected a delegate from this province.<sup>2</sup> Some cautious persons w[ill] advise me to decline but I am resolved to stand or fall with my country. My property is here I cannot remove it & I will not hold [it] at the will of others. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at the vally on my way to Philadelphia.”

RC (NjHi).

<sup>1</sup> John Stevens (1715–92), New Jersey merchant, was vice president of the New Jersey Council, 1770–82, and delegate to Congress, 1784. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

<sup>2</sup> The New York Provincial Convention elected Livingston, John Alsop, Simon Boerum, George Clinton, James Duane, William Floyd, John Jay, Francis Lewis, Philip Livingston, Lewis Morris, Philip Schuyler, and Henry Wisner delegates to the Second Congress on April 21, 1775. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:357.

## Silas Deane to Samuel B. Webb

[*Wethersfield*] *Tuesday Morning, Apl. 25th 1775.* Reports Connecticut military preparations in the aftermath of the fighting at Lexington and Concord. Assures Samuel, who is already marching toward Boston, that “proper commissions” will soon be forwarded. Continues: “I know not, whither I shall Attend the Congress or Not. If Not, I design to be with you, immediately after, the rising of the Assembly.”

RC (CtY). Webb, *Correspondence* (Ford), 1:57–58.

## John Dickinson to Arthur Lee

[*Fairhill?*] *April 29th. 1775.* “The ‘immedicabile Vulnus’ is at length struck. The Rescript to our Petition is written in Blood. The impious War of Tyranny against Innocence has commenc’d in the Neighbourhood of Boston.” Describes battle of Lexington and Con-



cord at length. Continues: "I cannot say, I am convinc'd of the Truth of all the Particulars above mentioned; tho all of them are supported by many probabilities. But these Facts, I believe, You may depend on. That this most unnatural and inexpressibly cruel War began with the Butchery of the unarm'd Americans at Lexington—that the Provincials, incredible as it may be at St. James's or St. Stephens' fought bravely—that the Regulars have been defeated with considerable Slaughter, tho they behav'd resolutely—that a Tory dares not open his Mouth against the Cause of America even at New York—that the Continent is preparing most assiduously for a vigorous Resistance—and that Freedom or an honorable Death are the only Objects on which their [Sons?] are at present employed.

"What human Policy can divine the Prudence of precipitating Us into these shocking Scenes? Why have We been so rashly declared Rebels? Why have Divisions been sent to disarm Us? Why Orders to commence Hostilities? Why was not General Gage at least restrain'd from Extremities till the sense of another Congress could be collected? It was the determined Resolution of some already appointed delegates for it, to have strain'd every nerve at that Meeting, to attempt bringing the unhappy Dispute to Terms of Accommodation, safe for the Colonies and honorable & advantageous for our Mother Country, in whose Prosperity & Glory our Hearts take as large a Share, as any Minister's of State, and from as just and as generous Motives, to say no more of them.

"But what Topicks of Reconciliation are now left for Men, Who think as I do, to address our Countrymen? to recommend Reverence for the Monarch or Affection for the Mother Country? Will the Distinctions between the Prince and his Ministers, between the People & their Representatives wipe out the Stains of Blood? Or have We the slightest Reason to hope, that those Ministers & Representatives will not be supported throughout the Tragedy as They have been thro the first Act? No. While We revere & love, the Sword is opening our Veins. In all human probability, the same Delusions will still prevail, till France & Spain, if not other Powers, long jealous of Britain's Force & Fame, will fall upon her embarrass'd with an exhausting Civil War, and crushing or at least depressing her, then turn their arms on these provinces, which must submit to wear their Chains or wade thro Seas of Blood too dear bought and at best a frequently convuls'd and precarious Independence.

"All the ministerial Intelligence concerning Us is false. We are a united, resolved People—are or quickly shall be well arm'd & disciplined. Our Smiths & Powder Mills are at work Day & Night. Our supplies from foreign Parts continually arriving. Good officers, that is, *well experienc'd* ones, We shall soon have—and the Navy of Britain cannot stop our whole Trade. Our Towns are but Brick and Stone &

Mortar & Wood. They perhaps may be destroyed. They are only the Hairs of our Heads. If shav'd ever so close, they will grow again. We compare them not with our Rights & Liberties. We worship as our Fathers worship'd—not Idols which our Hands have made."

RC (MH) . In Dickinson's hand, though not signed.

## John Adams to Joseph Palmer

Dr Sir.

Hartford May 2. 1775

We are very anxious to know the State of Things at Boston, Cambridge, Watertown and Roxbury. The Accounts We have here are very confused and uncertain.<sup>1</sup> I hope the News Papers, will come now.

Our Accounts from N. York are very well. That Province is getting into a Train, which will Secure the Union of the Colonies, and Success to their Efforts.

The little, dirty, ministerial Party there, is humbled in the Dust.

Certain military Movements of great Importance, and with the Utmost secrecy have been set on foot in this Colony of Connecticut, which I dare not explain in Writing, but refer you to Coll Foster, Danielson & Bliss.

I know very well the Multiplicity of your Business, but as it is of great Consequence that We should be minutely informed of every Thing, I must beg you to write as often as possible and perswade others to write me.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cooper, Mr Ward, any Body that can write Facts. The Letters will follow us and reach us, at last. I am sensible you must have a Multitude of Applications. But I am advised by Coll Hancock's just to Hint to you a Request in Behalf of my Brothers, if Either of them should have an Inclination to engage in the Army. I have never Said any Thing to them, because I choose to leave them, in a Case of such interesting Importance, to their own Inclination and Discretion. I am your Friend & sert.

John Adams

RC (ICH) .

<sup>1</sup> Four Adams letters to his wife, written from Hartford April 30–May 2, 1775, and explaining the reports that had reached him during his stay in Connecticut en route to Philadelphia, are in Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:188–92.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Palmer (1716–88), manufacturer of Germantown, Mass., and member of the provincial committee of safety, had served as moderator of the Suffolk County Convention in September 1774, and subsequently became a brigadier general in the militia. *DAB*.

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Horatio Gates

My dear Major,

Annapolis 3d May 1775

I am exceedingly obliged by the Freedom of your Communication; since the King and Ministry have resolved to enforce the Execution of the Acts I am not at all sorry that the pent up flame has broke out. We begin to have the Tory Accounts of the Action. All of them lessen the Success, and increase the Loss of the New England Men, and some of them have drubbed the Yankees most woundily, but I believe all agree that the Regulars marched from Charles Town to Concord & back again the same day, and that in their Return they came 15 Miles of the Distance, in about three Hours, though the Yankees gave them very warm Invitations to stay longer, which were accepted by a part of the Regulars, who still remain there.

I am much more alarmed at the Situation of N. York than the Massachusetts. Every Man who will reflect must think it of the utmost Consequence in every View to keep possession of that Province. By the last of this Month we may expect the Arrival of the Troops who are to occupy that post. I indeed wished to have immediately sent about 2000 picked Men to N York and have pressed my Neighbours on either Side to a proportional Exertion but the Motions of Numbers are too slow and their Counsels too cautious to act effectual. Nothing can be done till the Meeting of the Congress.

I expect we shall be plagued at the Congress with plans of Reconciliation thrown out, not indeed to obtain that Desirable End but to revive Hopes of Liberty and Peace, retard our Operations, and divide us, when at the same Time they are pushing us vigorously on every Side, and the firm N. England Govts in particular are to be surrounded in such a Manner as to be starved into Submission.

I am in Hopes the Neighbourhood of N. York will have Virtue enough to take more upon themselves than their own Share for a little while and that my Countrymen will act in Time enough to relieve some of the Jersey or Connecticut people who may be forward in the Business.

I imagine Questions of immense Consequence must come before the Contl. Congress. The Ministry have so conducted themselves that it seems to me all Men must be satisfied they do not intend to heal the Distractions Divisions & wounds in the British Empire. I intirely agree with you that when the Hope of peace is lost the preparation, if so long delayed, for Defence ought to be with the utmost Vigour. I am obliged to add *but* and yet I hate the word, but I cannot say I am sorry that Lord Dunmore has begun in Virginia since we have no prospect of any Thing but Extremities. The more general the Wrongs and Insults on the Subjects the better they will rouse & unite better than all the Arguments & Oratory in the World. We cannot but be

successful if we are beat into a Submission under the Execution of the Acts of Parliament, that Submission and Slavery will last no longer than their comparative strength and our comparative Weakness. Our Children will resume the Contest on the first favourable Occasion and though Individuals and many of the best amongst us may be lost, the Liberties of America will be saved but if we become Tributaries by Consequence, Individuals of the present Day will be saved but the Liberties of America will be lost.

Unless there shd be a prospect of seeing you at Phila. I shall be obliged to you for a Line now and then. Pray make my Compliments to Mrs. Gates. I am Dr. Sir Yours Th. Johnson, Junr.

RC (NH*i*) .

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

[*New York, May 7th, 1775.*] Recounts the journey of the Connecticut and Massachusetts delegates across Connecticut and New York. Describes their grand procession into New York City, led by a battalion of 800 men and cheered on by the welcoming throngs.<sup>1</sup> Continues: "Tories are silent, but not quite dead; but a most critical watch is kept over them, and every letter intercepted. The people are in suspense as to seizing the Fort as yet, and wait the advice of the Congress; but a most surprising spirit prevails, and New England men are extolled to the skies."

MS not found; abstracted from *NYHS Collections* 19 (1887): 43–46.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Adams' letter of this date to his wife, reporting the "great Honor" accorded the Massachusetts and Connecticut delegates by the city of New York, is in Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:214. John Hancock's letter of the same date to Dorothy Quincy, containing an even more elaborate description of their New York reception, is in the *Magazine of American History* 19 (June 1888): 509–10. And for John Adams' letter to his wife written from New York May 8, see Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:195–96.

## Benjamin Franklin to David Hartley

Dear Sir,

Philada. May 8. 1775. Monday

I arrived here on Friday Evening, & the next morning was unanimously chosen by the General Assembly a Delegate for the ensuing Congress, which is to meet on Wednesday.

You will have heard before this reaches you of the Commencement of a Civil War; the End of it perhaps neither myself, nor you, who are much younger, may live to see.<sup>1</sup> I find here all Ranks of



People in Arms, disciplining themselves Morning & Evening, and am informed that the firmest Union prevails throughout North America; New York as hearty as any of the rest. I purpose to communicate to you from time to time the most authentic Intelligence I can collect here, and hope to hear frequently from you in the same Way. I am with great Esteem, Dear Sir, Your most obedt huml Servt<sup>2</sup>

B Franklin

RC (MH).

<sup>1</sup> David Hartley (1732–1813), English statesman, inventor, pro-American MP from Hull, 1774–80. *DNB*.

<sup>2</sup> This day Franklin also wrote a brief letter to Joseph Galloway. "I am much oblig'd by your kind Congratulations. I am concern'd at your Resolution of quitting public Life at a time when your Abilities are so much wanted. I hope you will change that Resolution. I hear my Son is to be at Burlington this day Week to meet his Assembly. I had purposed (if he could not conveniently come hither) to meet him there, and in my Return to visit you at Trevoze. I shall know in a day or two, how that will be. But being impatient to see you, I believe I shall accept the kind Offer of your Carriage, and come to you directly. If I conclude upon that, I shall let you know. At present I am so taken up with People coming in continually, that I cannot stir, & can scarce think what is proper or practicable." Arthur Loeb Collection, Philadelphia, Pa., 1975.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

*New-Castle May the 8th 1775.* "I arrived here yesterday afternoon & soon after waited on Col. Bland one of the delegates from Virginia, who is since gone up to town in the stage & says the other delegates from his colony, (he believes) might have got as far as Chester last night. Mr. Hall, Mr. Johnson & Mr. Tilghman of Maryland set out from here this day soon after dinner & about the same time, a brig from South Carolina passed by with the delegates from that colony. Mr. Chaise of Maryland went through this town yesterday.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Read & I are to set out to-morrow morning attended by the Militia of this town at the instance & request of the Company. The Province Assembly<sup>2</sup> who are now setting have added Dr. Benjamin Franklin & Mr. James Willson of York Co. to the Congress."

Tr (DLC). Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden), p. 57.

<sup>1</sup> For additional information on the journey of the Virginia and other southern delegates to Philadelphia, see Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:194–95; and Richard Caswell to William Caswell, May 11, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> The provincial assembly of Pennsylvania.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 10, 1775]

Arrived at Philadelphia 10th May 1775.

Congress formed & Chose their Pres. and secretary,<sup>1</sup> read their Certificats.

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 90. From a fragment of Silas Deane's diary, which he maintained in two overlapping parts, covering April 20-July 24, 1775, and May 10-October 26, 1775. Deane apparently intended to keep separate entries for his private affairs and "transactions in Congress," but since he failed to maintain that distinction, entries pertaining to his activities as a delegate have been used in this work regardless of the section in which Deane wrote them. A discussion of Deane and the diary, plus the entire text of both fragments, are in Christopher Collier, "Inside the American Revolution: A Silas Deane Diary Fragment, April 20 to October 25, 1775," *ibid.*, pp. 86-96A.

<sup>1</sup> Peyton Randolph and Charles Thomson were returned to their respective offices. *JCC*, 2:12.

## Richard Henry Lee to William Lee

Dear Brother

Philadelphia 10 May 1775

*I am exceedingly pressed with business and therefore must be short, and for this time mix politics with business of a private nature.* The Virga. Delegates arived here yesterday where they find all those from the Southward of this, with the Deputies from N. Hamshire. In an hour all from the Colonies north of this will be here and then the Congress will be opened. There never appeared more perfect unanimity among any sett of Men than among the Delegates, and indeed all the old Provinces, not one excepted, are directed by the same firmness of union, and determination to resist by all ways and to every extremity. The Province of N. York is at last alarmed.<sup>1</sup> The Tory Ministerial faction are driven from their influence and virtuous patriotism taken place. The shameful defeat of General Gages Troops near Boston (after a wanton and cruel Attack on unarmed people, after they had brutally killed Old Men, Women, & Children) has rivitted such union, roused such a universal Military spirit thro out all the Colonies, and excited such universal resentment against this Savage Ministry and their detestable Agents, that now no doubt remains of their destruction with the establishment of American Rights. 800 of the Regulars commanded by a Colo. Smith was defeated by 600 provincials hastily gathered together—Altho tis agreed the Colo. personally behaved with the true spirit of a good Soldier. These 800 were afterwards supported by 1200 under command of Ld. Piercy, but the whole were compelled (upon a reenforcement coming up to the Provincials) to retreat to Boston having had several Men killed,

wounded, and taken prisoners. The Provincials are since increased to 20,000 and lay now encamped before Boston. All communication is cut off between Town & Country. The Troops, by way of insult, marched first out of Town to the tune of Yankey doodle, and some time after fired unprovoked upon some people who were exercising, as they told the Regulars for amusement without having any ammunition with them. This is the most authentic account we have here of this business. The Connecticut people with the N. Yorkers are preparing to prevent any bad designs of the Troops coming to the latter place.

I expect Capt. Brown will soon be loaded, as he has Toba[cco] enough ready. You will please insure for Colo. George Mason one hundred hogsheads in the Adventure to recover £ 10. sterling in case of loss. 22 hhds of Colo. P. L. Lee's estate & 5 of mine at what you judge proper. The proceeds of these 22 hhds are to be applied to the use of our brother Doctor Lee. 15 of them are Top stem'd heavy hhds. So that you may advance the Doctor at least 200 Guineas on the whole. Mr. Willings Tobacco's were all engaged another way before your application. Loudon [*Francis L. Lee*] & Mr. Brown will take care of yr. Virga business. The Doctors family here send their love. Farewell

Richard Henry Lee

RC (ViHi).

<sup>1</sup>New York's vacillation had been a matter of concern since the assembly had refused in January to endorse the work of the First Congress. The change in New York sentiment, which was commented upon by several of the delegates as they reassembled in Philadelphia, had already been communicated to Virginia, where the following "extract of a letter from one of the Virginia Delegates, on his way to the Congress, dated Tuesday evening last," was printed in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), May 5, 1775. "The storm thickens fast. The New Yorkers have received intelligence that their town is to be fortified, and 14 regiments sent there, to cut off the communication between the southern and eastern colonies. This has united them, to a man, in the American cause. They are forming themselves, and beg assistance from the southward. This comes from the Philadelphia committee. The Bostonians have given a good drubbing to 2000 regulars."

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[May 10, 1775]

A.M. Proceeded to Philadelphia, met 5 miles out of Town by a Great No. of Gentlemen & military Companys, one of Riflemen Escorted by Music to City Tavern.<sup>1</sup> Dined at Mrs. Yards where we put up. P.M. met in Congress at the State House, Chief of the Members arrived, Chose a President Mr Randolph & Secry.

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed account of the delegates' entry into Philadelphia was penned by Massachusetts loyalist, Samuel Curwen. "First appeared 2 or 300 Gentlemen on horseback preceded by the new chosen city Military Officers 2 and 2 with drawn swords followed by J[ohn] H[ancock] and S[amuel] A[dams] in a Phaeton and pair the former looking as if his journey and high living, or his solicitude to support the dignity of his character as the first man in Massachusetts, had impaired his health. Next came J[ohn] A[dams] and Mr. C[ushing] in a single horse chaise, behind followed R[obert] T[reat] P[aine], and after him the N. York, at least some of the many Delegates from the Provinces." Samuel Curwen, *The Journal of Samuel Curwen Loyalist*, ed. Andrew Oliver, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1:8.

## Richard Caswell to William Caswell

My Dear Son

Philadelphia 11th May 1775.

By a Gentleman Bound to Tar River I now Write to inform you,<sup>1</sup> that after I parted with you at Halifax Mr. Hewes & myself proceeded on our Journey, as follows. Sunday evening we Arrived at Petersburg in Virginia where we met the express with an Accot. of a Battle between the Kings Troops & the Bostonians. The next day we crossed James River & Lodged at Hanover Court House, where we had an Accot of 1500 Men being under Arms to proceed to Williamsburg in Order to Oblige Lord Dunmore to return some powder he had taken out of the Magazine & lodged on Board of a Man of War in James River; what was done in that matter we have not since Heard. The next day we were constantly meeting Armed men who had been to Escort the delegates for Virginia on their Way towards this place. We Lodged that night at Port Royal and were only 2 or 3 Hours after the Virginia Gentn. The next day we got down to Potowmack Side before the Boats returned that had carried the Virginians over. Here were part of the Militia of three Counties under Arms & in the Uniform of hunting shirts, they received us & Conducted us, on the return of the Boats, to the waters edge with all the Military honors due to General Officers, we then crossed the River and learned at the Ferry on Maryland side that a Company of Independants in Charles County had Attended the Virginia delegates from there under Arms, we proceeded & overtook them at Port Tobacco, where indeed the Independants made a Most Glorious Appearance. Their Company consisted of 68 Men beside officers all Genteelly drest in Scarlet & well equiped with Arms & Warlike Implements with drum & Fife, Sentinels were placed at the doors & occasionally relieved during the Time we stayed there.

The next Morning We all set out together & were Attended by the Independants to the Verge of their County, where they delivered us to another Company of Independants in Prince George's & they in



like Manner to a second and that to a Third which brot us through their County. We Lodged that night at Malborough & the next day tho we met with a Most Terrible Gust of Lightining, thunder, wind, Hail & rain. Arrived at Baltimore at the enterance of Which Town we were received by four Independant Companies who Conducted us with their Colours Flying, drums Beating & Fifes playing to our Lodgings at the Fountain Tavern (Grants). The next day we were prevailed on to stay at Baltimore, where Colo. Washington Accompanied by the rest of the delegates reviewed the Troops. They have four Companies of 68 Men each Compleat, who go thro their Exercises extremely Clever, they are raising in that Town three other Companies which they say will soon be full. We were very Genteelly entertained here in the Court House. The next day we Breakfasted at My old Master Cheynes & dined at Susquehanah, crossed the River & Lodged at the Ferry House. As I had in some Measure been the cause of the Virginia Gentn. going round the Bay by recommending that road & being the only person in the Company Acquainted with the road I was Obligated to keep with them so that I did not call on any of my relations. I sent George in to Jos. Dallams where he left the Letters I brot. for our Friends and was informed my Grand Mother & all Friends were Well except Mrs. Dallam who had been poorly some Time. The next day we got to Wilmington where we fell in with Several of The Maryland delegates & came all into this City to Dinner on the 7th Instant. Yesterday the Congress met Agreeable to Appointment & this day it was Resolved that they enter upon the Consideration of American grievances Monday next.

Here a Greater Martial Spirit prevails if possible, than I have been describing in Virginia & Maryland. They have 28 Companies Compleat which make near 2000 Men who March out to the Common & go thro their Exercises twice a Day regularly. Scarce any thing But Warlike Musick is to be heard in the Streets, there are Several Companies of Quakers only, and many of them beside enrolled in Other Companies promiscuously. Tis sayed they will in a few days have 3000 Men under Arms ready to defend their Liberties. They are raising Men in New York & all the Northern Governments, the Yorkers I am told by their Delegates are determined to Defend their Liberties & since the Action between the Kings Troops & the Provincials scarcely a Tory is to be found amongst them. I herewith inclose you a paper in which is a List of the Killed & Wounded of the Kings Troops, But 'tis said this is not Genuine, a Much greater Number being Actually Killed. On the side of the Bostonians 37 were Killed outright 4 are Missing & I forget The Number of Wounded I think thirty odd.

Thus you have the fullest Account I am Able to give of these matters and as the Accot. is so long twill not be in my power to Commun-

nicate the same to any other of my Countrymen & friends but thro' you. You may therefore remember me in the Strongest manner to Your Uncles, Capt Bright & others of my particular Friends. Shew them this Letter, and tell them it will be a Reflection on their Country to be Behind their neighbours, that it is Indispensibly necessary for them to Arm & form into a Company or Companies of Independants. When their Companies are full, 68 private Men each to Elect Officers Viz a Capt. 2 Leut. an Ensign & Subalterns, And to meet so often as possible & go thro the exercise, receive no Man but such as can be depended on, at the same Time reject none who will not discredit the Company. If I live to return I shall most Chearfully Join any of my Countrymen even as a rank and file man, And as in the Common cause I am here exposed to danger that or any other difficulties I shall not shun whilst I have any Blood in my Veins, But freely offer it in Support of the Liberties of my Country. Tell Your Uncles (the Clk & Sher.) it may not be prudent for them so far to engage, yet awhile, in any Company as to risk the losses of their offices. But you, my Dear Boy, must become a Soldier & risk your life in Support of those invaluable Blessings, which once lost Posterity will never be able to regain. Some men I fear will start objections to the enrolling of Companies & exercising the Men & will say it will be acting against Government, that may be Answered "That it is not so" That we are only Qualifying ourselves and preparing to defend our Country & Support our Liberties. I can say no more at present But that May God Almighty protect you all & his Blessing Attend your good endeavors, is the Ardent prayer of, My Dear Child, Your Affectionate Father

Rd Caswell

P.S. Only shew this Letter to such as I have described above & don't let it be Copied, Consult Capt Bright &c.

RC (Nc-Ar). *N. C. Colonial Records*, 9:1247-50. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup>William Caswell (d. 1787?), son of Richard Caswell, and subsequently a captain in the Fifth North Carolina Continental Regiment and a brigadier general of North Carolina militia. The younger Caswell had accompanied the North Carolina delegation to the First Congress in 1774 and had kept an itinerary of their travel to and from Philadelphia as well as a record of their attendance at various social functions in that city while Congress was in session. Although internal evidence clearly reveals that this itinerary was compiled by William, the editor of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* mistakenly ascribed its authorship to Richard Caswell. *N. C. Colonial Records*, 9:1064-70; *N. C. State Records*, 13:754-56; and J. Bryan Grimes, comp., *North Carolina Wills and Inventories . . .* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1912), pp. 118-22.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 11, 1775]

Thursday 11th. Mr. Dushay opened with an excellent prayer. Day spent in examining Certifi[cate]s and ordered that on Monday Next the Congress should resolve itself into a Commee. of the whole house on the State of America. Affidavits &c respectg. Lexington Battle read & ordered to the presses.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 90.

## Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 11th May 1775

I arived here the 9th, in company with the Virginia delegates. Yesterday the Congress met when all the Provinces that sent delagates before were Represented except Rhode Island, the two Governors from that Colony are expected in aday or two. Mr Randolph is Chosen President & C. Thompson Secretary. Doctr. Franklin arived here on Fryday last and on Saturday was appointed a Delagate, by the assembly of this Province. They also added Mr. Thomas Willing & Mr. Wilson to the number. Galloway has turned apostate; he struggled hard in the House of assembly to get a majority to Condemn the proceedings of the late Congress, & to Petition the King &c. as the assembly of New York had done. By this Step he has lost the Confidence of all ranks of People. A few days ago a Box was left at his Lodgings in this City directed for Jos. Galloway Esqr. He opened it before several Gentleman then present and was much surprised to find it contained a Halter with a note in these words "all the Satisfaction you can now give your injured Country is to make a proper use of this and rid the World of a Damned Scoundrell." He is gone off no body can tell where tho it is thought to New York.<sup>1</sup> All kinds of business is at hand here. Nothing is heard but the sound of Drums & Fifes, all Ranks & Degrees of men are in Arms learning the Manual Exercise Evolution & the management of Artillery. They have now in this City Twenty eight Companies of Foot of 68 men each including Officers all of whom are out twice every day in Training. Several more Companies are forming, they have also two Companies of Light Horse in short it is impossible to describe the Spirit of these people and the alteration they have undergone since I left them in December last. All the Quakers except a few of the old Rigid ones have taken up arms, there is not one Company without several of these people in it, and I am told one or two of the Companies are composed entirely of Quakers. The people of this Province in general

are associating in Companies and employing Sarjants to teach them the exercise. I find all the Provinces are in Arms Except No. Carolina. New York has been Converted almost as instantaneously as St Paul was of old, a Tory dare not open his mouth either in that Province or this. The Battle near Boston & the Act of Parliament for restraining the Trade of all the Colonies except New York & N. Carolina has wrought the Conversion of New York. I wish to God it may have the same affect on our Province, I tremble for No. Carolina, every County ought to have at least one Company formed & exercised, pray encourage it. Speak to the people, write to them, urge strongly the necessity of it, I had rather perish Ten thousand times than they should give up the matter now in the time of tryal.

The Bearer Mr Reed is in quest of some Effects of his Father's who died lately in Pitt County, he is related to some of the first Characters here. If you can render him any Services you will oblige me. Please to offer my best Complts. to the Ladies, and to all my friends.

I am Dr. Sir your mo. obed. Servt

Joseph Hewes

[P.S.] Mr. Hooper desires his Compliments. This Opportunity happened unexpectedly. He has not time to write, nor have I time to write to any other of my friends.

J.H.

RC (Nc-Ar). *N. C. Colonial Records*, 9:1246-47. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup>Galloway was apparently at his home at "Trevose" on May 12, when he sent to several newspapers a statement directed "To The Publick" charging that "false reports have been industriously propagated, with the malicious design of injuring my character." He particularly denied that he had written letters to the North Ministry "inimical to America." "That the good people of this Province may not be deceived by such groundless falsehood," he continued, "I do declare that these reports are malicious and without the least foundation." *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:579. The same day, the Pennsylvania Assembly officially excused Galloway from serving as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, having disregarded his persistent requests to be excused for several months. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir,

Philada. May the 11th 1775

I have verry little News (as Yet) to Write you, More Than What the printers (Who are verry apt to get the Whip-hand of their neighbours in that way) have set forth in their papers, Which you will get per Posts. Billy Rodney will give you a discription of the public entry of the Bostonian deligates into this City Yesterday, it was verry grand and Intended to Shew their approbation of the Conduct of the good people of that Government, in the distressing situation of Affairs there. I believe, from the best accounts, That General Gage Was forced upon the plan of Sending Troops to Concord, by the other of-



ficers of Note, together with the Tory party in Boston, Mandamus Councillors &c.—Alledging that the people would Address, Resolve and threaten, but Would not fight. The general tho over-ruled it Seems was not Convinced, therefore Sent a Second Brigade. The purpose of the Expedition was to destroy the Amunition, Arms, provisions and Bridges, and some say to take Hancock and the other delegates Who they know to be in that part of the Country. Mr. Hancock told me he had been to See that Small Company at Lexington Exercise, and had not left them more [than] ten Minutes, When the Troops came up, and that they had no Suspition of any. Last Evening I see a verry intelligent man from Massachusetts Government Who was in the engagement, and got him to relate the Story. He says they fired on the people at Lexington as related, and Killed Seven on the Spot, they dispersed without returning The fire, That the Troops went on to Concord, distroyed [meat?] flower & pork, throw a Quantaty of Ball in the River, Broke two Cannon, and did other damage, That by this time one hundred and fifty Provincials had Collected near the Bridge, that the Troops fired on them and Killed three, That the provincials for the first time Returned the fire, Which they Continued and Encreasing in their number drove the Troops back as far as Lexington—Where when Joined by the second Brigade they made some Stand but Soon Retired again, Which they Continued without making any Stop till they got to Charles-Town. He says they retreated at the rate of Near Six Miles an Hour—That there never was more than four hundred Provincials Who See them till they got to Buncar's Hill at the Edge of Charles-Town, That there were better than two Thousand provincial who had way-laid them but were on the Wrong Road, and about two Thousand more Who followed verry fast but Could not Come up till at Buncar's Hill—That the Provincials had thirty Six Killed, That he Cannot tell how many Regulars were Killed, But that the provincials buried one hundred and three of them Which they found dead on the Road from Concord to Charles-Town.

I Should be glad you Would Call upon Joseph Pryor And know Whether I Can have that Room of his Next Doctor Ridgely's on Rent in Case I Should Stand in Need of it, & know of him What the rent must be.

There is Such a Martial Spirit prevails in the province, that I Can't get you a Drum & Colours in less that two Weeks by Which time Fleeson says they Shall be ready. The packet I desired Mr. Maurice to Call at my house for, I have since found in my Trunk. The Congress met Yesterday Chose Peyton Raldolp President, & Charles Thomson Secretary. Franklin, Willson & Thos. Willing are added. The Congress Will be opened this day With prayers by Mr. Duchee, and then proceed to business. I am &c yrs. Caesar Rodney.

P.S. I intended this Letter by Billy, but did not See him the day he left Town.

RC (PHi).

## Samuel Ward's Diary

1775 May 11th<sup>1</sup>

The Congress opened with Prayers by Mr Duchee. Credentials of the Gentn. present opened &c. Thanks to Mr. Duchee by Mr. Bland Mr. Willing & Mr. Sullivan.

Doors to be shut & the Members under the Ties of Secrecy untill &c. Circular Letter 5th Feby. last from the Agents Franklin Lee & Bollan to the Assemblies read.

A Letter from the provincial Congress of Watertown inclosing an Acct. of the late Action at Concord &c.

Congress to be resolved into a Comee. of the whole on Monday to take into Consideration the State of America: Letter from the provincial Congress referred to that Comee. Adjourned to next Day.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Since Ward did not take his seat in Congress until May 15, his entries for this day and the 13th must be based on information he received in conversations with other delegates or through perusing Secretary Thomson's rough journals rather than from first-hand observation. See Ward's Diary, May 15, 1775; and *JCC*, 2:50-51.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Friday May 12th [1775]

I wrote you a long Letter from New York which conclude You recd.<sup>1</sup> On Monday morning, the Company of Grenadiers under Capt. Lasher formed before Our head Quarters and the principal Gentlemen of the City with their Delegates being Assembled, a procession was made to the Ferry, where the Rhode Island packet lay to receive us. The Crowd had become almost as great, as on the Saturday before, & we pass'd the Ferry, (after Three Huzza's from the Shore,) just above the Man of Warr, music playing, on board, & armed Boats on each Side. When arrived the Grenadiers landed first, & formed, then We landed, & parted. On Our arrival within Three Miles of Newark a Troop of Horse, & a Company of Grenadiers met Us, but to Mr. Hancock's, & the Peoples extreme disappointment, he in his haste took another road and pass'd the Ferry direct to Elisabeth Town. At Newark, we were received, in the most polite manner,

& by as genteel a Company of Gentlemen as any I have seen, with whom we dined, and rode to Elisabeth Town; joined Col. Hancock, recd. a Salute from Four Companies of Militia, and went off for Woodbrige, where all were in arms; but these were very rough Troops & afforded us some Diversion, but they meant well, & we spent half an hour with Them, after which we rode to Brunswic, cross'd the Ferry & lodged, but with a Strong Guard. Early in the Next morning, the militia Mustered, & guarded Us to Princetown, where We were received by a Company under Arms, the president, and Students, &c. Hence we rode to Trenton, and dined, thence to Bristol, & lodged with a Guard. The Next Morning set out for Philadelphia, & were met at about Six Miles on this side the City by about Two Hundred of the principal Gentlemen on Horseback with their Swords Drawn. Here We alighted, & baited. Thence, began a most lengthy procession, half the Gentlemen on horseback, in the Van; next to them, Ten Men on horseback with Bayonets fixed; Then, Hancock & Adams, then Payne, next Mr. Dehart, Next Col. Floyd & Mr. Boerum in a Phaeton with two most elegant white English horses, Then Your humble Servant, & Col. Dyer, then Father Cushing & Jno. Adams, Mr. Sherman next, then Mr. P. Livingston, who took Jno. Webb into his Carriage, as one of his Servants had tired his horse, & took John's. Mr. Alsop tired all Four of his fine bay Horses, and was with Mr. Duane put into other Carriages. Our rear closed, with the remainder of the Gentlemen on horseback, with Swords drawn, and then the Carriages, from the City. At about Two Miles distance We were met, by a Company on Foot, & then by a Company of rifle Men in their Uniform which is very Curious. Thus rolling & gathering like a Snowball, we approached the City which was full of people, & the Crowd, as great as at New York, the Bells all ringing, and the air rent with Shouts & huzza's. My little bay Horses were put in such a Fright that I was in fear of killing several of the spectators, however No harm was done, and after much fatigue, We were landed at the New City Tavern. Happily a Rain had laid the Dust, & we were not so troubled as at New York. We found all Our Freinds from the Southward (Mr. Henry excepted) arrived, he is hourly expected. Caesar is well, and as handsome as ever.

Thus I have given You a circumstantial relation, of Our March in state for Two Hundred Miles, not thro any vanity, but to give Your Curiosity Satisfaction, and to Shew you how high the Spirit of the People is, in these parts. In this City they say they have Three Thousand of the principal Young Men exercising Twice every Day, among whom is a large Number of the Freinds or Quakers. Dr. Franklin is of the Congress the proceedings of which as before will be kept a Secret—Galloway is fled as they say. You think Your Spirit is high, believe Me it is as much warmer here as the Climate and

every kind of preparation goes on rapidly; and I seriously believe Pennsylvania will in one Month, have more then Twenty Thousand well disciplined Troops ready to take the Feild, they exercise here Twice every Day, at Five in the Morning, & Five in the Afternoon, and are extremely well armed. Mr. Mifflin is a Captn. of one Company, Mr. Wykoff his Lt. & Mr. Mifflin's brother an Ensign. The Commons west of the City, is every Morning & Afternoon, full of Troops, & Spectators, of all Ranks.

The delay of the Rhode Island Delegates as to coming up prevents Our entering at once, deeply on Business,<sup>2</sup> but You may depend all will be well, that is if I may Judge from Appearance, but believe Nothing You hear reported of Us, for Our doings will not be published but by Authority of the Whole. The scenes before us are so vast, That I can give no kind of Judgement as to The Term We Shall be detained here, and I tremble when I think of their vast importance—may the God of Wisdom preside! Mr. Dushay made a most pathetic, & pertinent prayer at Our Opening—Presidt. and Secry. the same as before.

I pray you send Me a paper, Mr. Hosmer has a Copy—*Articles of Confederation of the United New England Colonies*. It will help Me in an important Matter, it is dated 1642. I think but Mr. Hosmer will know, I have one in my Desk but it may be misfiled in the Confusion. I have no Time in This Letter to write on Business, the Drum, & Fife are hourly sounding in every Street, & my brainpan, is this moment echoing, to the beat, parading under my Window. The Southern Colonies are also all in Arms, & if I may venture a Conjecture on the Whole America has Now more than One Hundred Thousand, ready to take the Feild. Pray let good Care be taken of my Letters, & of those sent Me all must go under Cover to Mr. Hazard. You may shew my Lettrs. but let no Copies, of any paragraph, be Taken. I had determined to write, of sundry matters, on the Road, but the bustle of Attendance prevented, and I am not yet, so Settled as to recollect them, but a part of each Day shall be spent in writing to You & I may add to this before it goes. I am, &c S.D.

P.S. D. Mumford is well, & I believe agreeable to his Master, but of this hereafter. All the Brothers are hearty in the great & Glorious Cause.

Saturday the 12th. [*i.e.* 13th]

The Post waits. Tell Mr. Hosmer, I recd. his Letter, & will write him next post if anything material occurr. I recd. S. Webb's Letter.

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> See Deane to Elizabeth Deane, May 7, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Deane's brief diary entry for this day—"Adjd. without doing any Business"—further reflects this situation. *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 90.



## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 13, 1775]

Saturday 13th. Recd. Letters from NYk. A long debate, ending with postponing it untill Monday. Mr. Hall of Georgia took his Seat but the mode of his Voting, undecided as yet.

Dined in full Congress.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 90.

<sup>1</sup> "Congress din'd together at City Tavern," Robert Treat Paine noted in his diary this date, MHi; George Washington wrote in his: "Dined at the City Tavern with the Congress. Spent the Eveng. at my Lodgings." Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick) , 2:195.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 13, 1775]<sup>1</sup>

13th. Met, Dr. Lyman Hall for the parish of St. Johns in Georgia admitted for that Parish under such Regulations as the Congress should direct.<sup>2</sup> Adjourned to Monday.

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> For the provenance of this entry, see Ward's Diary, May 11, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Hall's peculiar status in Congress at this time, see Georgia Delegates to Peyton Randolph, April 6, 1775, note 3.

## Silas Deane to Samuel Webb

Dear Saml.

Philadelphia 14th May 1775.

As You will See my Letters to Mrs. Deane I shall not enlarge on incidents referr'd to, and sketchd out in them. The Military Spirit is higher in this City, even among the Freinds, than in Connecticut. Have Your Letter of the 7th and wish Your Sister, was well out of Boston. Let Effects go where they will, it is not a Time to dispute, about property, when Liberty and Life are attacked. There is a talk of Adjg. to Hartford but this is out Doors chat, so no dependance can be laid on what the Resolution may finally be.<sup>1</sup> No place offers for Your Brother, indeed Business, is but a Secondary Object, in this City. Young Mr. Gadsden is here in bad State of health, will visit Connecticut, before he returns. Our Family is small, & agreeable, give my Compts. & Love to Your Brother and the Family. I am Dear Saml. Yours

Silas Deane

RC (CtY) .

<sup>1</sup> For other references to the subject of an adjournment of Congress to Connecticut, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, May 21, 1775, note.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 15, 1775]

Monday 15th. Congress full Rhode Island excepted. Motion for the Order of the Day. Govr. Ward arrived & took his Seat. Debates held untill 6 oClock PM—when Votes pass'd with Unanimity.

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 90.

## Benjamin Franklin to Edmund Burke

Dear Sir,

Philada. May 15. [17]75

You will see by the Papers that Gen. Gage call'd his Assembly to propose Lord North's pacific Plan, but before they could meet drew the Sword, and began the War. His Troops made a most vigorous Retreat, 20 Miles in 3 Hours, scarce to be parallell'd in History. The feeble Americans, who pelted them all the Way, could scarce keep up with them.

All People here feel themselves much oblig'd by your Endeavours to serve them. I hear your propos'd Resolves were negativ'd by a great Majority;<sup>1</sup> which was denying the most notorious Truths; and a kind of rational Lying, of which they may be convicted by their own Records.

The Congress is met here, pretty full. I had not been here a Day before I was return'd a Member. We din'd together on Saturday, when your Health was among the foremost. With the sincerest Esteem, I am ever Dear Sir, Your most obedt huml Servt.

B Franklin

RC (Sheffield City Libraries, England, U.K. Courtesy Earl Fitzwilliam).

<sup>1</sup> Burke's resolutions were offered on March 22, 1775, to the House of Commons at the conclusion of an impressive and lengthy speech which was widely circulated in American newspapers and in several pamphlet editions. Edmund Burke, *The Speech of Edmund Burke, Esq; on Moving his Resolutions for Conciliation with the Colonies, March 22, 1775* (London: J. Dodsley, 1775).

## Benjamin Franklin to Jonathan Shipley

My dear Lord,

Philada. May 15. 1775

I arrived here well the 5th. after a pleasant Passage of 6 Weeks. I

met with a most cordial Reception, I should say from all Parties, but that all Parties are now extinguish'd here. Britain has found means to unite us. I had not been here a Day before I was unanimously elected by our Assembly a Delegate to the Congress, which met the 10th and is now sitting. All the Governors have been instructed by the Ministry to call their Assemblies and propose to them Lord N[orth]'s pacific Plan. Gen. Gage call'd his; but before they could meet, drew the Sword; and a War is commenc'd, which the youngest of us may not see the End of. My Endeavours will be if possible to quench it; as I know yours will be: but the Satisfaction of Endeavouring to do good, is perhaps all we can obtain or effect. Being much hurried, I can only add my best Wishes of Happiness to you and all the dear Family, with Thanks for your many Kindnesses. I am, ever, with the highest Esteem & Respect, My Lord, Your L[ordshi]p's most obliged & obedt humble Servant

B Franklin

RC (CtY) . Addressed: "Lord Bp. St. Asaph."

## Maryland Delegates to the Harford County Committee of Safety

Gent.

Philadelphia 15 May 1775.<sup>1</sup>

As there will be no Occation for Holding a Convention of our Province the 22d Instant we Shall be Oblidged to you to Notify the same to the Debutys for your County.<sup>2</sup> We Cannot at preasent ascertain [the] Time when it may be necessary to have a meeting but as soon as [we] Can Shall be Cearefull to give the Best Notice of. We are Gentlemen Yr. Most obedient Sevts.

Mat. Tilghman

T Stone

Th Johnson Junr.

Tr (DLC photostat) .

<sup>1</sup> This letter was copied into the Proceedings of the Harford County Committee of Safety under the date May 25, 1775, and introduced with the statement: "Before the Committee Proceeds to other Business the Following Letter which was Recvd. the 17th Instant by Post was Read, as Recvd. from the Delegates at the Congress to Postpon[e] the meeting of the Provential Convention to witt."

<sup>2</sup> The Maryland Provincial Convention had met in Annapolis, April 24-May 3, 1775. It adjourned to permit Maryland's delegates to attend the Second Continental Congress but was concerned lest it lose touch with efforts outside the colony to provide for the security of New England and New York. Thus before adjourning, plans were made to reconvene "on Monday, the 22d of May, unless an earlier or later day should be appointed by the Delegates of this Province, or any three of them, appointed to attend the Continental Congress." Apparently Johnson, Stone, and Tilghman, who was chairman of the Maryland Convention as well as chair-

man of the Talbot County Committee of Observation, believed that the meeting of the next convention, which later met July 26, 1775, should be postponed. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:381; and Herbert Klingelhofer, "The Cautious Revolution: Maryland and the Movement toward Independence: 1774-1776," *Md. Hist. Magazine* 60 (September 1965): 262.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 15, 1775]

15th. A Number of Members arrived. The Secry allowed to employ Tim[oth]y Mallock [Matlack] as Clerk under an Oath of Secresy; a Petition from the Murray's;<sup>1</sup> ordered that the Congress be resolved into a Comee. to morrow as above; New York asked Advice relative to the Troops; the Delegate from St. Johns did not insist on a Voice save where the Colos. were not called. Arrived myself at this Time. Advice given to N. York. Memorial from Shoemaker & Drinker relative to Vessels &c. A Comee. appointed to consider what Posts in Prov. N. York ought to be guarded, Colo. Washington &c. The Comee. then adjd.

MS (RH*i*).

<sup>1</sup> John and Robert Murray, Quaker merchants from New York, had come under fire from the committees of observation of New York City and Elizabethtown, N. J., for landing goods from England in the latter province in contravention of the nonimportation agreement. Congress responded to the Murray's petition "desiring to be restored to their former situation with respect to their commercial privileges" by resolving on the 27th that henceforth all violators of the association should seek redress for their offenses from the provincial conventions of the colonies in which the violations had taken place. *JCC*, 2:53, 67; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:144-48.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 16, 1775]

Tuesday 15th [*i.e.* 16th] Letter or Petition from Jno. Murray, & Robt. Murray read, & ordered to lie on the Table.

Resolved into a Committee of the whole house, M. Tilghman in the Chair.

Col. Lee opens the Debate and reads proposals for raising an Army.

Mr. Lynch seconds him—also Mr. Jno Rutledge who insists that previously some other points must be settled, such as do We aim at independancy? or do We only ask for a Restoration of Rights & putting of Us on Our old footing—speaks long & well.

Mr. Robt. R. Livingston succeeds him in the same way—short.



Mr. Jno. Adams, lengthy, and Argumentative—independence on Parliament is absolutely to be averrd in the Americans, but a dependence on the Crown is what We own.

Mr. Dickinson—

1st. a Vigorous preparation for Warr

2d. a Vigorous prosecution of it—

3d. To strike out still a further plan for a reconciliation if it is possible—on the last head, he speaks near an hour,—very timid is for giving up intirely the Regulating of Trade, argues smoothly but Sophistically on the Subject and gives rather disgust.

Mr. Wilson answers him generally, is not lengthy.

Mr. E. Rutledge long &c.

Adjd. at 6 oClock.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 91.

## Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Priestley

Dear Friend,

Philadelphia, May 16, 1775.

You will have heard before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated 20 miles in [6] hours.

The Governor had called the Assembly to propose Lord North's pacific plan; but before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats;—You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.

He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger.

All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

I had a passage of six weeks; the weather constantly so moderate that a London wherry might have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen by the Assembly a delegate to the Congress, now sitting.

In coming over I made a valuable philosophical discovery,<sup>1</sup> which I shall communicate to you, when I can get a little time. At present am extremely hurried. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Yours most affectionately,

B. F.

Tr (DLC) . Endorsed by William Temple Franklin: "The following is a Letter of his [Dr. Franklin's], (shortly after his Arrival) to Dr. Priestly."

<sup>1</sup> Footnote by William Temple Franklin: "Suppos'd to be relative to the different temperature of the Sea—in different Latitudes, & Currents."

<sup>2</sup> Ellipsis in MS.

## New York Delegates to the New York Committee of One Hundred

Dear Sir

New York [*i.e.* Philadelphia] 16 May 1775

Inclosed we send you the advice of the Congress on the Subject on which you requested it,<sup>1</sup> & lest the Advice to remove the military Stores might be construed to extend to those belonging to the Crown we think it prudent to suggest to you that the contrary Construction is the true one.

You would have recd. this Advice before had not sundry Circumstances not material or perhaps proper to explain concurred in deferring till now. We are Gent your very hble Servts.

Jas. Duane	Lewis Morris
Frans. Lewis	Phil. Livingston
John Jay	John Alsop

RC (NN). Written by John Jay and signed by Jay, Alsop, Duane, Lewis, Philip Livingston, and Morris.

<sup>1</sup> The New York City Committee of One Hundred sent a letter to Congress on May 10, asking what measures to take in view of the imminent arrival in the province of British reinforcements. Congress reacted to this letter by passing a resolution requesting New Yorkers to remain on the defensive after the coming of new British troops "so long as may be consistent with their safety and security." This resolution of May 15 was the enclosure to which the delegates refer here. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:531, 618; and *JCC*, 2:49–52. The New York delegates' letter and Congress' resolution were made public and were printed in many American newspapers.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 16, 1775]

16th. Met, the Letter from Murrays read & ordered to lye on the Table, resolved into a Com[mitte]e of the whole to take into Consideration the State of America, Mr. Tilghman in the chair re[port]ed that no Re[solution]s were come into & desired Leave &c.

MS (RH).

## George Washington to the Fairfax County Committee

Gentn.

Phila. May 16th 1775.

If I could have communicated any thing by the last Post certain and satisfactory, I should most assuredly have done it agreeable to my promise, but the only articles of Intelligence which came to my hands were containd in the Gazetees & went regularly to you.

This is pretty much the case at present, and leaves me little to add as the Congress are again under the Tye of Secrecy in respect to their proceedings till the business is finish'd, or particular parts of it publish'd by Order. The principal design therefore of my writing to you at this time, & under these circumstances is, to recommend strongly, in case a Convention of the Virga. Delegates should be called (as the Treasurer has been advis'd to do) in my absence, that some other person may be chosen Pro: tem to serve in my Room; in order that the County may, at this important Crisis, be fully represented. The necessity of a full, and able Representation at such a juncture as this, must be too obvious to need a comment, or words to enforce the Recommendation.

We have a very full Congress, and I flatter myself that great unanimity will prevail among the Members of it. The Colony of New York is said, not only to be hearty, but zealous in the cause. I wish, & I hope it may be so but, as I never entertaind a very high opinion of your sudden Repentances, I will suspend my opinion till the arrival of the Troops there.

The Provencial Congress of the Massachusetts bay have voted 13,600 Men. The other Governments of New Engd. have followed their example in proportionate numbers, & the Troops at Boston are confind within the neck by about 9000 of them, Intrenchd, by which means all Communication between the Town & Country is cut off, and the Army and Inhabitants of Boston, it is said, somewhat distressd for Provisions. We have no late Acct. from thence; but it is supposed Genl. Gage will keep close till he receives his reinforcemt., to consist, our Accts. say of abt. 2000 Men to be expected the last of this Month. What he will then do, time only can tell. The Depositions taken after the Action at Lexington I inclose you, when opportunity offers please to forwd a Copy or two into the back Counties.

As Mr. Milner has just given notice that he shall set out at One clock this day instead of Tomorrow (as I expected) I am obligd to write in more haste than I otherwise should have done, I am with sincere esteem Gentn. Yr. Most Obed. Ser. Go. Washington

RC (MHi) .

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 17, 1775]

Wednesday. Attended Commencement at the College<sup>1</sup> & afterwards the Congress. Adj'd. at 4 oClock.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 91.

<sup>1</sup>See *JCC*, 2:54n. The newspaper accounts of the activities at the College of Philadelphia made special mention of the enthusiastic applause given several speakers, especially one who spoke on the topic "The Fall of Empires." *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or, the General Advertiser*, May 22, 1775.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[May 17, 1775]

Fair. Attended Commencement at Philada. Academy, 8 Scholars graduated, the whole solemnity was well performed, dind at Judge Allens.

MS (MHi) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 17, 1775]

17th. Met, Shoemaker & Drinkers Petition read,<sup>1</sup> all Exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Is[lan]d St. Johns, Newfoundland, Georgia except the Parish of St. Johns & the two Floridas & for the British Fisheries on the American Coasts to cease & ordered to be immedy. published.

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Shoemaker, Abel James, and Henry Drinker, Philadelphia merchants who had been prevented by the Philadelphia Committee from shipping cargoes to Newfoundland, petitioned Congress on May 15 for permission to send their goods to this destination. But their plea was denied on May 17, as Congress, in retaliation against two recently passed parliamentary acts restraining American trade, resolved to prohibit American exports to all the places enumerated by Ward in this diary entry. *JCC*, 2:52, 54.



## George Washington's Diary

[May 17, 1775]

17. Went to the Commencemt. at the College, and dind at Mr. Saml. Griffin's. After wch. attended a Comee<sup>1</sup> at the Conistoga Waggon.

MS (DLC). Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:195-96.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the committee charged with proposing a plan for defense of New York, to which Washington had been appointed May 15. *JCC*, 2:52-53. See also Washington's Diary, May 18, 1775.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 18, 1775]

Thursday May 18th. At Congress. Brown arrived last Night, examined in the Morning before the Congress.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin*, 29 (July 1964): 91.

<sup>1</sup> John Brown of Pittsfield, Mass., brought news of the May 10 capture of Ft. Ticonderoga. He also reported on sentiment in Canada which he had evaluated during a mission to Montreal undertaken earlier for the Boston Committee of Correspondence. An account of his activities and findings, printed in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, May 22, 1775, is in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:623-24. For his work for the Boston Committee, see Samuel Adams to Arthur Lee, March 4, 1775, note 4.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

*Philadelphia May 18th 1775.* "Your favor of the 11th Instant came safe to hand this day & am much Oblidged for the Intelligence therein given.<sup>1</sup> As the Congress is Inclosed against giving Intelligence from them, I have Nothing special to Acquaint you with only that the Members are all Convened from every Colony Including one from the parish of St Johns in Georgia, the same Members as in the last except some Additions from some of the Colonies & that Nothing appears at present but there will be a firm Union in all for our Common defence and that any Hostile attempts in one part will be Considerd as an attack upon the whole. Indeed they are not all so well prepared with the means as we could Wish for." Describes the journey of the Connecticut and Massachusetts delegates from Hartford to Philadelphia and notes the "Spirit & Unanimity of the people" along the way. Continues: "In this City all in Arms not much less than two thousand a day in their several Companies daily twice a day, Morn-

ing & towards evening, exercising with the greatest assiduity, Among whom are Many Quaker officers and Soldiers. Indeed through the whole almost all ranks [and] Sects Seem Animated with one soul & Spirit for the most Vigorous defence of American rights & Liberty. As I have but a few moments to Write, Mr Brown just leaving the Town, I have only to add that Mr Galloway was dismissed from being a Member of the Congress by the Assembly of this Province justly despised and Contemned by all & Doctr Franklin who is lately arrived from London put in his place who freely took his seat in Congress. Your repeated Intelligence will be Very agreeable."

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Trumbull (1737-78), son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull and future son-in-law of Dyer, was commissary general of Connecticut troops near Boston. DAB.

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Samuel Purviance, Jr.

Dear Sir.

Phila. 18 May 1775

Mr Henry did me the favor Yesterday to deliver me your Letter. We have as yet had nothing agitated in Congress about Trade. I hope and expect that the Time for Exportation will continue as it did though I have some Expectation that it will be moved to shorten it. As the Event of any Motion of that Sort ought & I suppose will be allowed to be made public you shall have early Notice. Ticonderoga has been surprized by a small party of New England men & is now in their possession without drawing one Drop of Blood. From what I can collect in the Concord Affair upwards of 400 Regulars killed wounded & taken prisoners. It is strange but I believe only 43 Militia killed & a very small number wounded. N York & Pensylvania I have a Confidence are firm—though some Gentlemens prejudices prompt them to suspect N York Our friends in that Government have had a hard Winters Campaign and remarkable Success. I think every Thing promises very fair if we do not ever [divide?] As there can be no Occasion for a Convention of our Province before, you will not see me till the Congress breaks up. I shall attend to your Hints. Let me entreat you to spirit our people to Diligence in Exercise and as you have an Opp[ortuni]ty in your Town of planning & executing a Scheme for a speedy Supply of powder pray think of it. From what I learn it may be had out of the French Stores at the Cape. I am sorry to tell you this place, N York, Jersey & Lower Counties are very illy supplied and none of our Friends very amply—do get together and try if you cannot do something. I am dr. sr. With Esteem & Affection

Sincerely Yours  
Ths. Johnson Junr

RC (Bentley Courtenay, Madison, Wis., 1972) .

## New York Delegates to the Albany Committee of Correspondence

Gentlemen.

Philadelphia 18th May 1775.

Your Letter inclosing the Intelligence of the taking Possession of the Post of Ticonderoga has been laid before the Congress, and inclosed you have their Resolutions upon this Important event.<sup>1</sup>

We take the Liberty of suggesting to you that besides a number of Men Competent for the purpose recommended by the Congress it will be necessary that a Suitable Quantity of Provisions be immediately sent thither from Albany and also a number of Carpenters to construct a few Scows to be imployd. on Lake George in transporting the Cannon & Stores. Pitch Oakum, Nails, Ropes Gins & Carriages (to convey the Cannon across the carrying Place) will be absolutely requisite. Care also ought to be taken to supply the Men who may be employed in this Service with Ammunition, as the Quantity found at Ticonderoga is inconsiderable and not fit for use.

We are with great Respect Gentn. Your Most Obt. Servts.

Wm. Floyd	Jas. Duane
Francis Lewis	Lewis Morris
Geo. Clinton	Ph. Schuyler
John Alsop	

Tr (N) . Addressed: "To the Committee for the City & County of Albany."

<sup>1</sup>See *JCC*, 2:55-56.

## George Read to Gertrude Read

My dear Gitty.

18th May 1775.

You too justly hint at my inattention to this kind of Correspondence, but the life I lead here in some measure will Account for it. I prepare in the Morning for the Meeting at 9 O'Clock and often do not return to my lodgings 'till that time at Night. We sit in Congress generally to half past 3 o'Clock, and once 'till after 5 O'Clock & then dine at the City Tavern where a few of us have established A table for each day in the Week save Saturday when there is A general dinner. Our daily table is formed by the following persons at present, to wit Messrs. Randolph, Lee, Washington, and Harrison of Virginia, Alsop of New York, Chase of Maryland, and Rodney & Read. A

dinner is ordered for the number 8 and whatever is deficient of that number is to be paid for at 2/6 A head and each that attends pays only the Expense of the day. I have dined there thrice in this Way as I find it very disagreeable to keep A table covered for me to these late Hours at my brother's. However I am so apt to put off the beginning to write to [*the*] last Moment that I miss my opportunity that I must break thro' the Practise or I shall not mend. At this Moment the Sun is rising tho I got into my bed the last Evening just as the Clock Struck 12 being told that the Stage sets off at 6 this morning.

I send my Linnen &c and am to depend on Miss Bedford's engagement about what Katy Bradford is making up. I just saw them on Sunday Evening. I drank Coffee with Mrs. Vining yesterday having seen her at the Commencement of the College in this place where the Members of the Congress attended by special Invitation.

As to News you will see the depositions relating to the Attack of the Troops in their Expedition to Lexington & Concord. These were sent to the Congress & by them ordered for publication---this in Bradford's Paper which you get by the Post. I inclose the Evening Post. Last Night an Express came to Town from one Colo. Arnold informing that with A detachment of Men from the Colony of Connecticut &c [*he*] had taken Possession of the Fort at Ticonderoga, an important pass on Lake Champlain which if kept, will prevent any Army from Canada. I have not heard the particulars.<sup>1</sup> It is reported that Dr. Cooper the President of the College at N. York & J. Rivington have retired on board A Man of War there—that James Delancey, Peggy Allen's husband, is shouting thro the bye roads towards Colo. Johnston's in the Mohawk's Country—and that a Son of Oliver Delancey's, Captain of a Troop of Horse that is Coming over, had been on A Visit to his father but secretly retired and is travelling in disguise thro' the back parts of the Country towards Boston—that intelligence thereof is spread before him & [. . .] if he is not intercepted before he gets to his Journey's End.<sup>2</sup> Your friends that are here are all well. I dined at Gurney's on Sunday. Ned Biddle mends very slowly & will not be down shortly if at all. My love to you all and I am yrs. most Affectionately

Geo. Read

[P.S.] Geo. must trust for an answer to his Letter.

RC (DeHi).

<sup>1</sup> The subject was taken up by Congress later in the day. *JCC*, 2:55-56.

<sup>2</sup> Myles Cooper had fled from a patriot mob on May 10 and sailed for England on May 25. James Rivington did not leave New York until January 1776. *DAB*. James DeLancey (1732-1800), who married a daughter of William Allen, chief justice of Pennsylvania, fled New York in the spring of 1775. Read may have confused him with Peter DeLancey's son James (1747-1804), who was sheriff of Westchester County and later commanded a unit of partisan loyalist cavalry in southern New York. Capt. Oliver DeLancey, Jr. (1749-1822), of the Seventeenth



Regiment of Light Dragoons, later served as adjutant general of the British Army at New York. *DAB*; and D. A. Story, *The de Lanceys, A Romance of a Great Family with Notes on Those Allied Families who Remained Loyal to the British Crown during the Revolutionary War* ([London]: Thomas Nelson & Sons, [1931]), pp. 18–19, 74, 88–90.

## George Read to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir

18th May 1775.

I reced yours attended with Fifty Pounds paid of the Boston subscriptions by Mr. Tattlow but have heard nothing from Mr. Tybout though I sent your Letter the day after I came up.<sup>1</sup> It is said an express came to Town last Evening with an Account of Some Connecticut Volunteers under the Command of A Coll. Arnold had taken Possession of the Fort at Ticonderoga or Crown Point in which there is near 200 Cannon &c—this to prevent the Canadians marching down into the New England Colonies. Upon the Paymt. of the 1000 dollars to Mr. Samuel Adams as Chairman of the Committee of Donations at Boston he desired that I should in the Name of that Committee &c. give thanks to the Contributors. I am in haste yor. most Hble Servt.

Geo. Read

[P.S.] We know not how long we may stay here—all secret as before.

RC (DeHi).

<sup>1</sup> Identification of the recipient of this letter rests upon the statement by William T. Read that the letter was originally found in the papers of Nicholas Van Dyke (1738–89), who was a member of the Newcastle committee soliciting funds for the relief of Boston. William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), pp. 102–3; and *DAB*.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 18, 1775]

18th. Met, Mr. Hopkins joined us. Rules of the last Congress adopted. News of taking Ticonderoga.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brown gave much Intelligence relative to Canada &c. Resolution that the Stores be removed from Ticonderoga &c to the So. End of Lake George &c, a post to be taken there, an acct. of the Cannon to be taken &c.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> This day Congress received a letter of May 15 from Isaac Low, chairman of the

New York Committee of One Hundred, in which he enclosed copies of letters about the capture of Fort Ticonderoga from Ethan Allen to the Albany Committee of May 11 and from the Albany Committee to Low of May 12. Peter Force Papers, DLC; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:605-6. See also *JCC*, 2:55.

## George Washington's Diary

[May 18, 1775]

18. Dined at the City Tavern and attended a Comee.<sup>1</sup> afterwards at the State House.

MS (DLC). Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:196.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the committee on the defense of New York, which reported the following day. *JCC*, 2:57.

## Samuel Adams to Samuel Purviance, Jr.

Sir Philadelphia May 19 1775

Since my Arrival in this City I have receivd your favor of the 12th Instant, inclosing the second Copies of two Bills for three hundred and Six pounds 5/ Currency of this Province payable to my self on order, being the Amount of a generous Donation for the Use of the Poor of Boston from our worthy Friends of Cecil County in Maryland. I fear your former Letter under Cover to Mr Black, inclosing the first Copies of these Bills, has not reachd his hand; I shall therefore embrace the first safe opportunity of sending forward those which I have now receivd, as soon as I can be informd that they can be made Use of for the benevolent Purpose of the Donors. At present the Sufferers by the Port Bill are confin'd within the Town of Boston with the other Inhabitants and there can be no Communication between them and their friends without. Should General Gage ever condescend "to let the People go," those Sufferers will be distributed, agreeable to a Resolve of our Provincial Congress, among the Country Towns, and then the publick Charity can be again easily applied for their Reliefe. I will communicate to you such Information of these Matters as I shall receive. It is the Opinion of some of my Brethren here that as Provisions may be wanted in our Colony, it would be best to send what are now in your Store to Newbury Port; there is indeed Danger of their being seizd. You will please to be guided by your own Discretion, either in taking that Method or in waiting for further Intelligence.

I have daily the Pleasure of seeing your worthy Friend Mr Johnson, for whom I have a particular Regard. The Concern you express

for the Colony of the Massachusetts, and your opinion of Their Prudence and Integrity, are very obliging. I was with my Friend Mr Hancock near the Scene of Action at Lexington on the 19th of April. The authentick Accounts lately publishd prevent the Necessity of troubling you with my Detail of that memorable Battle. I rejoyce that my Countrymen had adhered punctually to the Direction of the General Congress, and were at length driven to Resistance through Necessity. I think they may now justly claim the Support of the confederated Colonies. I was much pleasd to be informd by you, that your Colony had observd a Day of Fasting and Humiliation. It is upon the Blessing of God *alone* that we must depend for a happy Issue to our virtuous Struggle. I will write to Mr Veazy by another opportunity, having at present not sufficient Leisure. Pray present my unfeigned Regards to your Brother, and be assured that I am sincerely Your obliged and affectionate Friend and Countryman.

Saml Adams

RC (Bentley Courtenay, Madison, Wis., 1972).

<sup>1</sup>Months later, following the delivery of donations from Maryland for the "Poor of Boston," Adams wrote another letter of thanks. "When I returned to New England last August, I found that a Part of the Committee appointed by the Town of Boston to receive Donations remained Prisoners there, & the rest were dispersed over that & the neighboring Colonies, so that I was at a Loss to whom to commit the Monies . . . a Committee of both Houses was appointed. . . . I then delivered the Monies I had received into the Hands of Moses Gill Esqr. a Gentleman of Fortune & Character. . . . As the Assembly did me the Honor to make me the Chairman, I am directed by the Committee to return you their hearty thanks for the Trouble you have taken upon yourself for the Comfort of our distressed Brethren." Adams to Samuel Purviance, Jr., November 17, 1775, *The Collector* 58 (November 1945): 190.

## Silas Deane to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Philadelphia 19th, May 1775

Sir, Your Letter of the 15th we received last Evening by Mott and Now inclose the resolutions of the Congress respecting the Military Stores at Ticonderoga.<sup>1</sup> Have not Time to mention at large the Reasons which induced them to prefer a Removal of the Stores, to the keeping the post but in general, that it was judged, a post on this Side might [*be*] seized on, and kept at much less expence, & to equall advantage. Shall write Your Honor, more particularly by Mr Mott, who does not set out, untill Monday next meantime am with the greatest Truth & regard. Your Honors most Obedient & Humble Servant

Silas Dean

P.S. Mr Mott goes earlier than I expected, am sorry he was not ear-

lier in as Mr Brown had the advantage of giving the first Intelligence, which has been handsomly rewarded, but doubt not Mr Mott will receive Such marks of Notice & generosity from the Colony as his Zeal, ability and firmness richly Deserves, and it is my humble Opinion that he, & Mr Allen, are the most suitable Men that can be found, for the Defending & maintaining, of the Frontiers, & such Posts, as may be taken to the Northward.

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup>See *JCC*, 2:55-56. Edward Mott of Preston, Conn., and captain in the Sixth Regiment, May 1775-February 1776, was the leader of the Connecticut men dispatched by Deane April 29 to implement the plan for capturing Ticonderoga. Henry P. Johnston, ed., *The Record of Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service during the War of the Revolution, 1775-83* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard & Co., 1889) , pp. 29, 76; and *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 87.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[May 19, 1775]

Fair. Dined out. Honble John Hancock Esq. Chosen President in the room of Payton Randolph Esqr. resigned.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Paine's entry regarding Hancock's election was made at a later date and with a different pen. No supporting evidence has been found to indicate that Hancock was elected on the 19th rather than the 24th of May. *JCC*, 2:58-59.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 19, 1775]

19th. Met, report of the Comee. for N. York made & refd. to the Comee. of the whole which went into the Cons[ideratio]n of the State of America. After some Time Mr. Ward reported no Resolutions were come into & desire Leave to sett again.

MS (RHi) .

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[May 20, 1775]

Fair. Dind at City Tavern with Congress.

MS (MHi) .



## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 20, 1775]

20th. Met & resolved into a Comee., Mr. Ward reported as above.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> That is, asked permission to reconvene the committee of the whole. See Ward's Diary, May 19, 1775.

## John Adams to James Warren

My dear Friend.

Phyladelphia May 21, 1775

I am vastly obliged to you for your Letter<sup>1</sup>—it was like cold Water to a thirsty Soul. We Suffer, greatly for Want of News from you and Boston.

I am very unfortunate, in my Eyes, and my Health. I came from home Sick and have been so ever Since. My Eyes are So weak and dim that I can neither read, write, or see without great Pain.

Our unweildy Body moves very Slow. We shall do something in Time, but must have our own Way. We are all secret—But I can guess—that an Army will be posted in New York, and another in Massachusetts, at the Continental Expence.

Such a vast Multitude of Objects, civil, political, commercial and military, press and croud upon Us So fast, that We know not what to do first. The state of fifteen or sixteen Colonies, to be considered, Time must be taken.

Pray write me by every opportunity and intreat all my Friends to do the Same. Every Line from you, any of you does good.

One half the Group is printed here, from a Copy printed in Jamaica.<sup>2</sup> Pray Send me a printed Copy of the whole and it will be greedily reprinted here. My friendship to the Author of it.

The martial Spirit throughout this Province is astonishing. It arose all of a Sudden, Since the News of the Battle of Lexington. Quakers and all are carried away with it. Every day in the Week Sundays not excepted they exercise—in great Numbers. The Farmer is a Coll. and Jo[seph] Reed another. Their officers, are made of the People of the first Fortune in the Place—Uniforms, and Regimentals are as thick as Bees.

America will Soon be in a Condition to defend itself by Land against all Mankind.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>2</sup> James Warren (1726–1808), Plymouth merchant, whig political leader, subse-

quently president of the provincial congress and speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 11:584-606.

<sup>2</sup> *The Group, a Farce as Lately Acted, and to be Re-acted to the Wonder of All Superior Intelligence, Nigh Headquarters at Amboyna* (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1775), written by Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814). It was reprinted in New York, Philadelphia, and Jamaica. The author, a leading Massachusetts radical intellectual, was the wife of James Warren and the sister of James Otis, Jr. *DAB*.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia May 21st. 1775

My last brought Me to Our Arrival here and the military Situation of this City, or rather its Military Spirit which will I fancy lay the Foundation for surprizing future Effects on a certain System so long predominating here. I have bought Me a Suit of Cloaths and put them on for the first Time this Day, a Sample I send You per John whom I might easily get a birth for, in the Militia, but can find at present no other. I mentioned adjourning to Hartford, but No Motion has as yet been stirred or made publicly on the Subject and all is uncertainty.<sup>1</sup> If We do not adjourn, am not in expectation of returning soon for however great the S[acrifice] is it cannot be greater than all, and I can by [no] means desert the Cause in which I consider, my [life] itself, embarked. The Congress did little more the first week than form themselves and the Rhode Island Members not coming untill late last Week little more has been done than just to Enter on the great Subject before Us. Capt. Chester I hear is going into the Service. Pray secure my Gunn, and let No one have it, as *Beckly* was to make it on purpose for my Use, and I choose not to be taken, Unarmed. If gone your Journey hope You have told somebody to let Me know it, & what Time you will expect to Return.<sup>2</sup>

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> Although the subject of an adjournment of Congress to Connecticut was mentioned frequently during May, June, and July 1775, the topic apparently was discussed primarily "out of doors" and was only considered informally in Congress. See Deane to Samuel Webb, May 14, and to Elizabeth Deane, June 2, June 16, and July 23; Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston, June 5; Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, June 20; John Hancock to Dorothy Quincy, June 21; Dyer and Roger Sherman to Jonathan Trumbull, June 26; Sherman to Jonathan Trumbull, July 6; and Benjamin Harrison to George Washington, July 23, 1775. Deane also mentioned the subject to Titus Hosmer, for in a reply to Deane of May 28, 1775, Hosmer stated: "The removal of the Congress northward is, as you observe, a very delicate point. The Union of the Colonies is our safety; should it endanger that, although remotely, it would countervail any proposed advantage. I own, I *fear* were you near us you would have too many questions referred to you, and too much business cast upon you by the New England Colonies, to leave you the leisure you ought to have to digest and perfect matters of greater importance; but if a station nearer the present scene of action should be thought eligible, might it

not answer some very good purposes were it chosen in or near New York? Wherever the Congress is, there will be the Spirit of Liberty." *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, 2 (1870): 241. For a hint that a desire to escape smallpox in Philadelphia was one of the motives for seeking an early adjournment, see Stephen Hopkins to Ruth Hopkins, May 25, 1775. See also William Bradford to James Madison, July 10, 1775, James Madison, *The Papers of James Madison*, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962-), 1:154-55.

<sup>2</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, May 24, 1775.

## Richard Henry Lee to Francis Lightfoot Lee

Dear Brother

Philadelphia 21st May 1775

An Express is just arrived here from Williamsburg informing of the Assembly being called to the 1st of June, Which carries our Speaker away. We suppose the design is chiefly to lay Ld. Norths conciliatory plan before the house. Tis most [sure?] that if this is done you should, after making [. . .] proper spirited observations on the folly, injury and insidiousness of the proposition; refer him to the united opinion of N. America in Congress. Many and powerful are the reasons that render it necessary you should fully approve in Gen. Assembly of the proceedings of last Continentl. Congress, of this present appointment and of your Delegates. Ministry and their Tools have constantly informed the Nation that the Provincial Conventions were factious meetings, that their proceedings were not the sense of the people, and that the Constitutional Assemblies (as they contrast the two) would not be of such opinion. To prevent a contradiction of this they have prevented the meeting of Assemblies, unless when they had some special wicked purpose to answer. The Assemblies that have been allowed to meet, all except New York, have reprobated this Ministerial lye, and have resolved as above mentioned. For heavens sake avoid compliments (except to the Soldiery) on the Indian expedition last summer. Nothing has given more concern and disgust to these northern Colonies than our unhappy vote of that sort in last Convention.<sup>1</sup> Yesterday one of the first Men on the Continent for wisdom sound judgment, good information, and integrity said to me "I was much grieved and concerned for the honor and good sense of Virginia, when I saw that ill founded ill judged Compliment." Perhaps the scheme is to get another invasion Law and your approbation of another ruinously expensive excursion on the frontiers. A few [inter-lopings?] Indians will never be wanting to commit irregularities for the encouragement of these Land exploring schemes. But the Land hunter ought to accomplish his purpose upon terms less destructive than £100,000 charge to the public annually. Never encourage by complimenting the last, a second tour among the Indians

and Frontier men. The Continent looks with jealous eyes on the visits of Governors to such places at this crisis. "We know the plan of ministry is to bring Canadians and Indians down upon us. For this reason the Provincial Troops of Connecticut & Massachusetts have wisely taken by a brave coup de Main, possession of the Forts at Ticonderoga & Crown Point. In the former they got 200 pieces of large Cannon, some field pieces, Swivels, Powder &c. The Congress have directed N. York, Connecticut & Massachusetts to remove these Stores &c. to the South end of Lake George and take strong post there to intercept the communication and march of Canadian & Indian forces into those Colonies. The taking of Ticonderoga last war cost G. Britain many thousand lives and an immense expence, but now it has been taken from them, tho strong & well garrisoned, by the bravery and enterprise of a few Provincials and at a very small expence. There never was a more total revolution at any place than at New York. The Tory's have been obliged to fly, the Province is arming, and the Governor dares not call his prostituted Assembly to receive Ld. Norths foolish plan. Two Delances, Watts, Cooper, Livingston, Colo. Philips & the rest of the Tory Leaders are fled some to England and some to private places in the Country where they are not known.<sup>2</sup> The Congress have advised the Yorkers to make provision for carrying their Women & Children into the Country, and to remove their warlike stores before the arrival of Troops there, whom they are not to suffer to encamp, or commit with impunity any hostilities against the people.<sup>3</sup> The latest and best accounts from Boston make the loss of Regulars in killed, wounded, & missing 1000 Men. The Provincial loss was trifling. 10,000 Men are now encamped before the Town between which and the Country there is no intercourse. G. Gage refuses to let the people out in consequence of which their distress presently must be grievous indeed. The Beseiging Army keep the one Beseiged in constant alarm, so that 'tis said, they rest neither Night nor day. Every day is expected to bring 2000 Men more from Ireland, and seven Regiments to N. York where the Torys had informed Ministers they would be well received, but now behold they come to a Country universally hostile, and in Arms to receive them. Connecticut has 12000 Men in Arms, the Jerseys a good many, and this Province at least 8000. There are 2000 in this City well armed and disciplined Men. In short every Colony this way is well prepared for War and appear to be secure against any Force likely to be sent against them. It would seem as if the Southern Colonies were alone vulnerable at present, and this should be remedied as soon as possible."<sup>4</sup> We are just informed that the Dutch have imported a large quantity of powder into Statia and that two English Men of War are laying off the Island to prevent its exportation to N. America—That a large quantity is also landed at Cape Francois



where no guard is yet placed. The Treasurer should be prevailed with to employ a Mr. Goodrich in Norfolk, a famous Contraband Man, to send immediately some swift sailing Pilot Boats for 20 or 30000 weight to supply the Counties whose money will no doubt be collected before the powder arrives. I hope Capt Brown is near full by this time and I suppose Mr. Lees chartered Ship, as well as Outram, is arrived in York River. You will have time to load these Vessels as it is not now probable that the Congress will stop the Exports sooner than the 10th of September, except provision to the British fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland. "It seems the Bill for restraining the Trade of the Colonies is not to have force until a certain time after its arrival in N. America. So that in this instance the whole power of the Legislature is given to Ministry, for it will depend on them when the Act shall arrive here since they may send it when, or never, as they please." Mr. Brown should be immediately informed that there is no prospect of exportation being stopt, that he may act on full knowledge about buying or not Tobacco. "We find by the late accounts that Ministry will be more puzzled than they imagine to accomplish their detestable purposes against us. Mr. (Lee)<sup>5</sup> writes the 26 March, that the embarkement from England has been delayed by the impossibility of getting Seamen for the Ships, but he adds, let not this delay your vigorous efforts for defence. From Ireland we learn, that the people there have interposed to prevent the embarkement, and that a contest has happened in which several lives were lost on both sides. The other day G. Gage (hearing that all the provincial Troops, except 1500 were retired to sign an association prepared for them at some distance from the Encampment,) marched with his whole force out of Boston, but seeing the 1500 Provincials drawn up in order of Battle, and disliking their Countenance, he returned within his Lines.

A Man of Wars Tender at Rhode Island lately Seized a Vessel loaded with provisions for the Army at Boston and the Country People in Boats attacked and took both the provision Vessel and the Tender, having wounded the Lieutenant of the M. of War and taken his Men prisoners whom they conveyed Captives into the Country. Thus you see our infant Struggles on the water are not unsuccessful." You have all the news of this place. I am hurried, as I suppose you will be tired, with the length of this Letter. Let me know by every Post how you go on at Williamsburg & the objects of your deliberations. Remember me to all Friends and particularly to Mr. Treasurer. Farewell.

Richard Henry Lee

RC (MH). Endorsed: "Liberty, Quos nolumus, Arthur Lee" in the hand of Arthur Lee. However it is obvious from the content of the letter that the recipient was Francis Lightfoot Lee, who was currently representing Richmond County in the Virginia Assembly.

<sup>1</sup> On March 25, 1775, the Virginia Convention had passed a resolution praising

Lord Dunmore's expedition against the Indians. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:170. See also Lee to John Dickinson, April 7, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> For further comment on New York loyalists, see George Read to Gertrude Read, May 18, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 2:52.

<sup>4</sup> An extract of this letter, comprising the three portions within quotation marks, was printed in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), June 1, 1775.

<sup>5</sup> In the extract printed in the *Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney substituted "A gentleman of the strictest veracity" for "Mr (Lee)."

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 22, 1775]

Monday 22d. At Congress in Committee. Spent Evening at Mrs. Yards with Mr. Hancock, Adams &c &c.

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 91.

## New Hampshire Delegates to the Provincial Committee of New Hampshire

Gent

Philadelphia May 22d 1775

We Take this Early opportunity of Informing you by Capt Partridge that The Congress upon hearing of The Forts at Ticondaroga & Crown Point being Siezed by the people of New England to prevent General Carlton<sup>1</sup> with his Canadians & Indians Taking possession of them to Annoy our Frontiers & finding by about Thirty Indian Chiefs Now in Philadelphia as well as by persons Sent to Sound the Dispositions of the Several Indian Nations that Such a Design is really on foot & that Guy Johnson the Superintendent for Indian affairs<sup>2</sup> has really Endeavoured to persuade the Indians to Enter into a war with us & that many other Steps have been Taken by a Bloody Minded & Cruel Ministry to Induce those Hereditary Enemies of America to fall upon & Butcher its Inhabitants. We Say upon Those Things appearing to the Congress they have ordered the above Forts to be Demolished & The Warlike Stores to be Removed & another Fort Erected and Maintained at the Lower part of Lake George if the Committee of New York Shall Think it Necessary & to Call upon all the New England Governments to give assistance if Required by New York.<sup>3</sup> We Earnestly Entreat you for the Honor of the Province if Such a Requisition is Made to give them Every possible assistance to preserve our people from the Incursions of a barbarous & Savage Enemy. We are Sorry Gentlemen that Honor will not permit us to give

you the Least Information Respecting our proceedings. We can only Say 'That all the Colonies are firmly united & are preparing for the worst. We hope That you will In Imitation of the other Colonies proceed to Choose your officers & Establish your militia upon The New Plan which has been adopted by Every Colony upon the Continent. We Shall bring with us Governor Wentworths Letters to Lord Dartmouth for 12 months past that you may Judge whether he is your friend as he pretends or whether he is not Rather your Inveterate Enemy. Gentlemen we are with great Respect your most obedt Servts

Jno Sullivan

John Langdon

P.S. We Earnestly Entreat you to prevent our General Court from making any application to Great Britain for Redress of Grievances as that would Draw the Resentment of all America upon our Province it being agreed that no one Shall make terms without the advice & Consent of the whole.<sup>4</sup> Yrs as above.

Jno Sullivan

Jno Langdon

RC (Nh-Ar) . Written by Sullivan and signed by Sullivan and Langdon.

<sup>1</sup> Guy Carleton (1724–1808), governor of Quebec, major general and commander of British forces in Canada. *DNB*.

<sup>2</sup> Guy Johnson (c. 1740–88), longtime deputy superintendent of Indian affairs in the northern department, became superintendent upon the death of his father-in-law, Sir William Johnson, in 1774. *DAB*.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 2:55–56. For New Hampshire's response in opposition to Congress' recommendations, see *N.H. Provincial Papers*, 7:497–500.

<sup>4</sup> See Edmund Pendleton's Proposed Resolution, May 24–26? 1775.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 22, 1775]

22d. Met & resolved as above & Mr. Ward reported as above.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Ward's Diary, May 19, 1775.

## James Wilson to John Montgomery

Dear Sir

Philadia 22d May 1775

I write this Letter just to tell you that I am in a Hurry and have Nothing to say.<sup>1</sup> The public News you will learn from the News-papers, which I have sent to Mrs Wilson. The Proceedings of the Congress, you know, are secret. I must beg of you; and I know

you will do it chearfully; to promote, as far as lies in your Power, the military Spirit that so laudably prevails in Cumberland County. Every Thing depends on it. I will not fail to transmit to you by every Opportunity, any remarkable News we may have; or any Thing done in Congress which I am at Liberty to communicate. I am Dr Sir  
Your very humble Servant  
James Wilson

RC (PHC).

<sup>1</sup> John Montgomery (1722–1808), colonel of militia, Carlisle, Pa., member Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, 1775–76, and delegate to Congress, 1783–84, was at this time chairman of the Cumberland County Committee of Observation. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 23, 1775]

Tuesday. Met in Congress, the Question shall We Treat.

Col. Lee against it.

Mr. Wilson against it.

Col. Dyer—ditto.

Mr. Jay in favor of the Motion.

Mr. Dickinson—ditto—for regulating Trade, pay for Tea &c.

Mr. Henry against the Motion is lengthy and in Answer to Mr. Jay and Mr. Dickinson, says the Bill of rights must never be receeded from.

Mr. McKean against the Treaty on various Accts. which he enumerates.

Mr. Hooper *(against)* for it, in his flowery way.

Col. Lee again in Answer.

Mr. Chase up in favor.

Mr. Johnson, in short all the speakers up, finally, at five oClock the Motion pass'd agreeable to all. Dined with Mr. Moore, Governor Franklin &c.

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 91.

## John Dickinson's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[May 23–25? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

We may act in any of these 3 Ways.

- 1st. We may prepare with the utmost Diligence for War, without petitioning, or sending Agents to England, to treat of an Accommodation.



- 2d. We may prepare as mentioned and also petition, but without sending Agents &c.
- 3d. We may prepare, petition, and send Agents &c.

The 1st Measure will hold up the Appearance of an undaunted Firmness ready & not afraid to meet the utmost Indignation of Great Britain. This may encourage our Friends—terrify our Enemies—persuade the Nation that they will have a bloody & tedious Contest attended with Injury to their Trade, if they persevere in violence—which contest may become more dreadful by France, Spain & other powers falling upon her. And these apprehensions may procure Relief of all our Grievances.

But on the other Hand, if the Ministry stand their Ground & persevere, We have the War instantly brought upon Us with greater Fury before We are properly prepared—and in the mean Time it rages & many valuable Lives lost that perhaps may otherwise be saved & much other Destruction that might perhaps be prevented.

Many Reasons to think the Ministry will stand: 1. Their having stood so long a Time against so many shocks [. . .] Men's Character [. . .] by Opposition. 2. Their artful Conduct in changing the old Custom of promising Support from Parliament into the new one of only executing Advice of Parliament. 3. Great Majority in both Houses. 4. Year 7 Yet to come of this Parliament. 5. The Resolution of the Ministry apparent from their treating the most respectable Bodies—the principle Cities of England, with London at their Head—The Merchants &c who have petitioned in our Favor. 6. If a Change it must be to bring in our Friends—but the Chief of them are personally odious to the King, Chatham, Cambden, &c. The Principal of our Friends are detested at Court. They are Whigs & old Whig Families. Revolution principled Men. The Tories & old Tory Families are the Court Servants. 7. The general opinion of Parliament is, that Great Britain is contesting for her very Existence in this Dispute with America. "As a Member of Parliament I hold myself indispensibly called upon to take up the Question upon this important, *now* this unparalleled moment in English History, when we tamely suffered Government to be suspended, when we sit here the mere shadow of Authority, the Phantom of a Parliament, assembling only to lament the substance we have lost, & to propose & subtilise Questions of our own Impotency. On the Support of these Sentiments (i.e. the Supreme Authority of Parliament) both here & on the other side of the Atlantic, the Existence of this Country & Constitution directly, emphatically, & conclusively depends." Genl. Burgoyne's Speech.<sup>2</sup> "We are contending in the Crisis & for the Fate of the British Empire" id.

"This is a Crisis in which this Country has not been involv'd in a more intricate one since the Revolution. The more Americans struggle to be independent, the more it is our Duty as Englishmen to

watch over them, & not let the evil Day be anticipated by any Remissness or Want of firmness on our Part—for that would not only be highly criminal towards our King & Country, but also leave an everlasting Stain on the present Age, if We meanly shake off the Task of preventing it from Ourselves & leave it for Posterity to struggle with as they can.” Captain Harvey’s Speech.

“I should not rise to trouble You this Day, could I reconcile to my own breast the giving a silent Vote on a Question upon which depends not only the Existence of this Country but the Happiness of Millions. If conciliatory Measures shall fail, this Country has no Alternative left, but to make use of that power they enjoy, under Heaven, for the protection of the whole Empire; & to shew the Americans that as our Ancestors deluged this Country with their Blood, to gain this Constitution for Us, We like Men, in Defence of faction at Home & Rebellion abroad, are determined, in glorious Emulation of their Example to transmit it perfect & unimpair’d to Posterity or perish in the Attempt.” Sir Wm. Mayne’s Speech.

“Whether the Americans will accede to this (meaning his Motion 20th of February) I know not. If they reject it, their Blood must be on their own Heads.” Ld. North’s Speech. “The Question lies within a very narrow Compass. It is simply whether We shall abandon our Claims and at once give up every Advantage arising both from the Sovereignty & the Commerce; or whether to ensure both We shall resort to the Measures indispensably necessary on such an occasion.” id.

“Life itself is not worth keeping in a State of Uncertainty & Fear. Things are now brought to a Crisis. The Conflict must be borne, & I hope will never end, but in relinquishing our Connection with America, or fixing them on a sure & lasting Basis.” Sir Wm. Meredith’s Speech. Yet he is against the Taxation of America.

“If the Colonies reject just Conditions, they must be reduced to *unconditional* Obedience.” id. [i.e. Ld North’s Speech].

Even Governor Pownall so long advocating our Cause now approves of the Ministerial Violence. A great Number of other Speakers.

It is evident that these Persons spoke not only their own Sentiments but those of the whole House. A proof of this & [. . .] of a most memorable Nature.

A 9th Reason.<sup>3</sup> When Lord North made his Motion on 20 February, the whole Body of Court Troops in the House were likely to desert him—only because his proposal had something like the Appearance of a conciliatory Measure, till Sir George Elliot rose & “desired them not to divide among themselves”—& afforded Mr. Dunning an opportunity of exercising his severest Wit upon him.<sup>4</sup>

10. The Measures of Administration are popular at Home. A

great Number of indisputable Evidences to this proposition now in Town from Friends to America. Almost the whole landed Interest is against Us—the whole Hosts of persons in Office, with their immense Connections composing the vast Mass of People breathed upon & tainted by Ministerial Influence—almost the whole trading & manufacturing parts of the Nation not intimately connected with America—and very many of those who are thus connected. I can procure clear Evidence of these Facts. Who then are on our side? The Dissenters—parts of the Traders & Manufacturers immediately concerned in our Commerce—and the small Band of independent virtuous Spirits in the Kingdom.

Besides the very Motion which appears so contemptible to us & was not calculated merely for the Mind of America. It had 2 Objects. To divide [. . .]<sup>5</sup> The other was To render the Measures of Administration still more popular in that Kingdom by holding up to the People there the Appearance of Humanity, Condescension, Forbearance & I know not what gentle, generous Virtues—in descending from the dignified Preeminence of the Supreme Imperial State—and offering us a Plan of Reconciliation—and a Plan formed on the most equitable Principles of bringing the rich & luxurious Colonists to bear an equal share with the People of Great Britain of the heavy & oppressive Burthens under which the latter labour & ease them at least of one half of their Loads, or as the Motion artfully expresses it—“contributing their *proportion* to the *Common Defense*.” A motion so reasonable says Mr. Jenkinson “that if the Americans reject it, it leaves them without Excuse in the Eyes of all Mankind.”<sup>6</sup> And in Case this mild system of Negotiation, Reconciliation & Benignity is rejected by the Colonies, to kindle the People of Great Britain into tenfold Rage against Us. This system is level to the understanding of every Porter & Chairman, and who knows here, but this may be the Effect of this Manoeuvre? Who knows, but this may be the Effect of their receiving Intelligence of the unhappy Hostages in Massachusetts Bay—it may terrify but it may also irritate. General Gage has procured Depositions to prove our brave Brethren fired first. This Circumstance, contemptible as it is, &c, may cause them to be regarded as Aggressors.

They may be provoked at such a Dishonor to their Arms returned from despised America & may be the more animated to restore their Lustre by revenging the Disgrace. No person here knows with Certainty how these several Events may operate on the Minds of a high spirited People—drunk with Success. The Reliance of Administration on N.Y. has led them into a great Error. In Policy they should have sent a greater Force. They may correct their Error. The most stupid Pilots will shun the Shoals upon which they have once been aground. They will know they have nothing now but their own

strength to trust to. Will so great an Empire give up such a Cause ingloriously? The whole Band of Ministers will know that nothing but the utmost vigor & Dispatch can save them. They will remember that the last glorious War began with British Defeat—& this of Colonel Smith will be called a Trifle in Comparison with that Misfortune.<sup>7</sup>

We have been once already deceived in our Calculations of the Effects to be produced by Our Firmness. The Impression made at Home by the Magnanimity of the late Congress was not so great as there was Reason to apprehend. The only Rescript We have received to our humble Petition to our Sovereign was written in Blood.

Yet notwithstanding all these Reasons, I am inclined to think that the Unanimity & Firmness of these Colonies will within a 12 month dethrone the Ministry.

Yet I fear there is more of Hope than Reason in that Expectation. One Thing I am sure of—that no Man here is sure—that our Firmness & Unanimity let it be ever so extraordinary, will procure Us immediate Relief of our Grievances by a change of Ministry or of ministerial Measures. It is impolitic then in the utmost Degree to depend on the realizing an Event, which is indisputably uncertain. Our Firmness & Unanimity may conduct Us into the Miseries of War or the Blessings of Peace. We have no Prophet among us who can predict which part of the alternative will take Place. In this Situation our Affairs will stand if We only prepare vigorously for War.

There is another Mode We may pursue.

2dly. We may prepare as has been mentioned and also petition.

There is great Reason to believe that a Petition may be so framed as to be more likely to open a Way to our Relief than the former. That dwelt on our Rights—several of which are denied at Home. Those Rights have therein been fully & recently set forth & claimed. A Repetition is needless.

A Petition now may proceed on the single unexceptionable Ground of praying Relief from our Fears & Jealousies occasioned by the System of Colonial Administration adopted since the Conclusion of the late War. To this prayer may be added Expression of Loyalty to the King—Attachment to his person, Family & Government—Love to our Parent State—our Readiness & Willingness at all Times with our Lives & Fortunes to support, maintain & defend the Interests of his Majesty & our Mother Country by every Effort that can be reasonably expected from the most faithful Subjects & the most affectionate Colonists that for this purpose We shall always be disposed cheerfully to contribute to the Common Defence as the public Exigencies may require and our Circumstances will permit, & earnestly beseech that by doing Justice to the Sincerity of these professions in believing them to be as they are most strictly true; we may be restored by the abolishing our apprehensions to the happy & fer-



vently wished for Opportunity of expressing in the most acceptable Manner our unfeigned Devotion to his Majesty & the State from which We derive our Origin.

I have very particular Reasons to believe it will produce good Effects. But still it will be uncertain how far such a Petition may be satisfactory. If it produces no favourable Effect; the same Events must happen as if We had only prepared for War. And while Great Britain is silent from Notions of Dignity & America from Notions of Firmness each rushes on blind with their respective Passions to the Destruction of the other.

Is there a Necessity for this Mode of Conduct that may lead Us into an useless Effusion of Blood? Or can any thing less than absolute Necessity justify such a Conduct in the Sight of the Creator not only of Us but of our Enemies?

While We are expecting Concessions from them, & they are expecting Concessions from Us—our Trade stagnates—our Merchants & Citizens, our helpless Women & Children & aged are reduced to Distress—some to poverty—& every Species of Wretchedness—our best & dearest Blood is sluicing from our Veins—& all the Variegated Miseries & Horrors of War are advancing & surrounding Us—& offers to us not even the Choice of Calamities—shocking as such a Choice might be—but close compacted Complication of them—circularly complete & utterly inevitable.

3dly. We may prepare, petition, & send Agents to treat of an Accommodation.

In order to determine whether this is not the proper Time to treat, I would beg Leave to call the Attention of Gentlemen to 3 Points relating immediately to ourselves—& to 3 other Points relating to Great Britain. As to the 3 for America. 1st. We are now *successful* in the first Engagement. 2. We are *united* from one End of the Continent to the other. We are vigorously *preparing* for Resistance—If not fully *prepared* already. 3. Common Sense & soundness declare, that We ought *therefore* to treat if no other Reason offered. Certain it is that Delay is as much our Ally as Winter was the Ally of the King of Prussia in the late War. It is almost universally so in defensive Wars. This is a defensive War on our Part. Three Points immediately relating to Great Britain to be regarded. 1. Changes or Accidents in the Court or Kingdom. 2. Alterations in the Affairs of Europe. 3. Our Commercial Opposition should be allowed Time to be *felt*.

Blisters applied to extract Humours from gross diseased Bodies sometimes prevent the Necessity of *bleeding*. But after applying Blisters, a prudent Physician will certainly strive to avoid *bleeding* if there is any Danger in the Operation untill the Blisters have been allowed Time to *draw*—& during that Interval he will endeavour to keep the Patient in as calm a Temper as may be possible.

There are some other Considerations that deserve the Attention of Gentlemen. We have not yet tasted deeply of that bitter Cup called the Fortunes of War. A bloody Battle lost—The peculiar Distress of the brave Defenders of American Liberties in the Massachusetts Bay—The Multitude thrown out of Employ by the Loss of their Fisheries & the stoppage of their other Trade—Disease breaking out among their Troops unaccustomed to the Confinement of an Encampment—Divisions in any one province which might interrupt provisions or Relief going to their Aid by Land—the Enemies superiority forbidding it by Sea—The Difficulties from Distance if no other Objections—The Danger of Insurrection by Negroes in Southern Colonies—Incursions of Canadians & Indians upon the Northern Colonies—Incidental Proposals to disunite Us—false Hopes—selfish Designs—Giving up the Point of Taxation or some other partial Concession that might be greedily caught at by a peaceable People jaded out with the tedium of Civil Discords—may all operate hereafter to our Disadvantage.

Great Britain lately had the golden Opportunity in her own Hands. Had any mighty spirit presided over her Colonies, he would have sent over 20,000 Men & a formidable naval Armament to Boston. The bravest Man in this Assembly would have then felt his seat not quite so easy as it is now. Then thus armed He should have prepared Terms fit for Freeman to offer & for Freeman to receive. She missed the lucky Moments—Thanks be to the Traytors, so far meritorious even in their Guilt, who persuaded her We were a divided People & she is sending over 3 Generals & 3 thousand Men to conquer this Continent.

She has lost a Battle—& all America is more united & more determined beyond all Comparison than We were during the Course of the last Winter. Now the Turn is in our Favor. Let us improve it.

I suppose no Gentleman will deny, that one of these Events will take place, if the War continues. Either it will be on our Part successful, or unsuccessful. If unsuccessful We may pretty well guess the Consequences. I leave them to every Gentleman's Guess. But suppose We have every Success our warmest Wishes & Resentments could prompt us to desire—over whom shall We triumph? Our Fathers—From whom We derive our Lives—& every Blessing of our Lives. We know the Value of their protection against the Powers of Europe. Our Fathers are high spirited. An ill directed Courage may so far exhaust her strength already tottering under an enormous Burthen of Debt, as to render her an unequal Match for her old Enemies. I must confess my greatest Fear for America in this Contest is least she should receive the deepest Wounds thro the sides of Great Britain. For whatever may be the Events of this Contest, We must at last return to the Place from which We set off. The Ship of Our

State, whatever weather she meets with must at last return to the Port from which she sailed, & I trust in Heaven it may be with all the Precious Cargo, however shattered her Condition.

My Principles were formed very early in the Course of this unhappy Controversy. I have not yet found Cause to change a single Iota of my political Creed. I have never had & now have not any Idea of Happiness for these Colonies for several ages to come, but in a State of Dependence upon & subordination to our Parent State. Every other aspect presents to me an Ocean perpetually tempestuous without Bottom & without Shore. If there are in it any Islands, or Spots of Terra firma, they are too distant & too small to be discovered by my weak Sight. I cannot perceive a speck where a Dove might pick up any green [. . .]

I believe these Words are not so pleasing to the Ears of some worthy Members as they are to mine. I'm sorry for it. For I know the Men who differ from Me on this Point to be Gentlemen of such clear Integrity, such perfect Affection to the Liberty of America, & of such enlightened Understandings, that while the Dictates of my Conscience command Me boldly to speak on the naked Sentiments of my Soul in a Time of such Exigence on a Point of such Moment to my Country, I greatly fear least the slightness of my knowledge may have betrayed Me into an Error—& I feel an Awe upon my Mind justly proportioned to my Reverence for the Qualities & abilities of those who dissent from Me & the Magnitude of the Question in which they so dissent.

By Dependence & Subordination I mean, that the King as King of England has a power in *making* Laws—a power in *executing* them—a power of finally determining on *appeals*—a power of calling for *supplies* in Time of War or any Emergency—the Powers of *Prerogative*—& the Power of Parliament to regulate our Intercourse with Foreigners—exclusive of every Idea of Taxation. These are Powers our Parent State has been always in the possession & Exercise of—and I cannot forget thinking from what I have lately seen & heard, that if the late Congress had acknowledged this last Power to be rightfully vested in her, the two Nations would not at this Instant regard each other with such hostile Eyes. That Honor of Human Nature Lord Chatham declares, if he was American, he would acknowledge it. Sir, I came into the late Congress &c. It is both just & politic to acknowledge it. It is just—because it arises from the very Nature of the Constitution. These Colonies were settled under the protection of their Parent State. They ever looked up for it—& received it—sometimes in [Actuality?], always in Effect. The Terms imposed by her Power on other Kingdoms & States has silently & [continually?] protected them. Besides who can reconcile it to Reason or [Equity?] that Colonists emigrating from a State, undeniably with her permis-

sion, should be at full Liberty to carry on their Settlements & their Commerce in such a Manner as to wound & perhaps destroy the Mother Country. If their Intercourse with foreign Nations is thus unlimited & unrestrained, that must be the inevitable Consequence, for such is human Nature that Men will seek immediate profit without attending sufficiently to remoter Consequences. We should therefore deal unboundedly with foreign Nations—& such in the Circle of European Powers at this Time—that their prosperity depends on the Extent of an advantageous Commerce. The advantages Great Britain has reaped from our Commerce, other Nations would have reaped. The advantages she will receive from our Commerce being restrained to her, other Nations will receive if it is not restrained. I tremble at the Consequences. I detest & abhor them. I would dye cheerfully to prevent them. This is the Ground America has always stood upon. Our Mother Country has not only exercised this Power without Objection from our very Infancy—but it has been expressly recognized by every Colony, the Constitution, & by the Congress of 1765.

But I not only think these Colonies dependent & subordinate, but I wish they may continue so, and that Wish implies another—that our Mother Country may continue a fit Head for such Members—that her Wealth, Power, & Fame may be equal to the vast Charge & high Dignity. And the wish comes from my Heart. And if Gentlemen will seriously consider the Matter—Whether they use the Terms Dependent, Subordinate, or Coordinate I believe they will all agree in this Point—that the martial Power of Great Britain has been & may be a mighty Blessing to these Colonies in securing their Commerce & protecting them from the proud rapacious & ambitious Nations of the World & from civil Convulsions among ourselves—and such Power depends on the Right of Regulation. It would be the Height of Imprudence to push a Quarrel with Great Britain to Extremity—untill these Colonies are grown so strong & united, that in Case she should be ruined, We should have nothing to fear from any other Power. That Time is not yet arrived.

This is the Substance, the rest is but Name. We are engaged then in a War of so unnatural & astonishing peculiarity, that the very Object aimed at, as all other Wars, Success, may to Us become a Misfortune. Our Victories may be worse than Defeats—& like the Macedonian Monarch, We may conquer—but to—Weep.

Sir, I may be singular in these Sentiments at this Time, but be assured, they will be the Sentiments of many an honest American hereafter. They will soon begin to think themselves in the same Case with the two Generals of the great Gustavus Adolphus. They asked Leave of the King to fight a Duel to vindicate their honor—tho he had publickly forbidden such Duels on Pain of death. However he granted their Request. A Day was appointed & the Combatants ap-



peared in View of the whole Army to decide their Quarrel. The King said to them—"Gentlemen, fight bravely & vindicate your Honor—& do You (says he turning to the Executioner, who attended with all his Apparatus) as soon as one falls, immediately behead the other." They embraced & became Friends. This will be thought the Nature of our Feuds.

In order to strengthen & conform the Minds of our Countrymen for this Contest, Let Us try every Method of avoiding Extremities, that when the Wheels of War shall begin to grind a little harder upon Us, People may not upbraid Us with having omitted proper applications for obtaining Peace—for Man is a variable Animal—and if once that Notion is produced & fed by the Disasters & Differences of a continued War, it will grow with irresistible Force, & in a tumultuary Passion or rather Phrenzy for Peace, the whole advantage gained by Years of Blood may be cast away in one Day of Haste & Weakness—as memorably appear'd in the Instance of the Restoration. Sir, I am well informed what will be one of the greatest Difficulties in obtaining Accommodation. It will be the Act for changing the Government of Massachusetts Bay. We must come to treat some Time or other. Will this whole Continent be more disposed to insist on that Article after being tired of a dreadful War—or now. For my part my Sentiments & Resolutions are decisive—to endure all the Extremities of even an unsuccessful War rather than sacrifice the Constitution of that generous, glorious Colony. But will this be the Opinion of Men in general under such Circumstances. Let this Point be deliberately considered. When Peace after a bloody & afflicting War comes to be weighed against that Constitution—there will be Reason to dread the general Opinion of America. Let Us imitate Administration in this single Article. Let Us propose Terms of Accommodation, which, if they answer no other purpose, may convince the World & particularly America that We have done every Thing in our Power to avoid the War. This was the Policy of that experienced Statesman Lewis 14th—in the Terms he offered at Gertruydenburgh. And well he was repaid for them. For the Rejection of them excited such a Spirit among his Subjects as enabled him to hold out to the End of the War against Armies flushed with a Campaign of uninterrupted Victories, with a Marlborough & an Eugene at their Head—& at last to conclude an advantageous Peace.

But it may be said, that treating now will shew Fear, & may thereby encourage Administration to rise in their Demands upon Us. If We cannot treat without shewing Fear, let Us avoid it as We would Infamy. But I beg Leave to deny the Consequence. I say We may treat in such a Manner as to shew our Courage—& that We are influenced not by Timidity or Despondence, but by such Sentiments as ought to animate Men, Freemen, Christians. I go further—I say, We

may treat in such a Manner as to shew our Magnanimity and yet most exactly to regulate our Demands with the Precision of a Burleigh, according to the Dictates of Reason & Policy, by the Exigencies of Affairs, whatever they may be, and to calculate the Concessions We will make, in every Event favorable or unfavorable, that can possibly occur.

My Position is This—a treaty may do Us Good. It can do Us no Harm. Without it, We have only 2 Things to look for: A Change of Men & Measures produced by the Unanimity & Firmness of these Colonies—or 2. A severe Civil War. We are not sure which will be our Lott. A Treaty opens a new Prospect of Relief. This is a Civil War. No Mediator to interpose good Offices. Our Silence & Stiffness may only enrage & encrease our Enemies.

If a Treaty does not immediately produce all the good Effects We desire, by obtaining immediate Redress of our Grievances, [*it*] may yet produce some very valuable Effects. It may prevent Effusion of Blood. It may prevent more Reinforcements from being sent over. It will allow Time for our Commercial Opposition to operate. It may enable Us to be better prepared. It may enable Us to form Confederations with the Minority & our Friends in England. A Point of first Importance. Bad Effects it cannot Produce.

If We send Agents to treat—they certainly will find on their Arrival, Administration & Parliament enraged & resolved to prosecute the War—or fluctuating—or rather inclining to Accommodation.

Suppose the 1st. It becomes this Assembly to consider well what they wish done & what they would be willing to do in that Case. Whether there is any Concessions whatever which in such Case We should be willing to make in Order to procure—& what those Concessions are. I will only say at present—I am clear to acknowledge the Right of Regulation—if absolutely necessary for obtaining Peace. Whatever they are—let your Instructions to your Agents in the most minute & exact Detail, what You would have done. Otherwise the Storm comes upon Us, merely because We offer them no other Mode of Conference than in the Din of Battles.

Suppose the 2d. Our Instructions may be so framed for that Event, as to strike Terror into the boldest Administration—& convince them, it is not Timidity induces Us to treat. I will not now descend to particulars—tho the Mode is clearly conceived in my Mind—but your Instructions may be formed with such an honest Art as to be accommodated to every Event that can turn up.

Besides in Case of such a Disposition as is last mentioned, our Agents may be instructed, & by being on the Spot may take Advantage of the Opportunity which once seen it may never return again—to obtain some further Terms not insisted on in our late Petition. The Anxiety, Trouble, & Expense of Treasure & Blood to which this

Continent has been put since that Petition was sent Home, gives Us a Right to ask for more than We then asked. We ought to secure to our Countrymen by profiting of their noble spirit now roused among them —by gaining a fixed Establishment of some other Points. I will mention only two—The Independence of our Judges by their holding their Commissions during Good Behaviour and a permanent & unalterable Settlement of the most important parts of our Commerce—to be confirmed by Statutes & Acts of our Assemblies. Acknowledging Right of Regulation will lead to this Establishment. I mean not to depart absolutely from the Ground taken by the late Congress but to quit it gradually by Treaty.

I move, that it be resolved—<sup>8</sup>

MS (PHi) . In the hand of John Dickinson.

<sup>1</sup> This MS is one of several surviving documents pertaining to Dickinson's attempts during the third week of May to marshal support for his plan to initiate negotiations with Great Britain. These notes undoubtedly relate to debates in the committee of the whole that took place shortly before the committee reported out the resolutions adopted by Congress on May 25 and 26. Silas Deane's record of the debates in the committee strongly suggest that Dickinson delivered these remarks on the 23d or 24th. See Deane's Diary, May 23 and 24, 1775.

Dickinson's notes, written in a small hand and full of interlineations and crowded marginalia, present great difficulties in preparing a printed text, and since Dickinson repeatedly used abbreviations representing a form of personal short hand, no attempt has been made here to indicate the expansion of abbreviations. It has been possible, nevertheless, to reconstruct nearly the entire document, and this printed text undoubtedly reflects the views Dickinson expressed at this time. An earlier draft of these notes bears the label: "Arguments in Congress in Favour of a Reconciliation & sending over persons to lay the Colonies at the Feet of his Majesty & pray[ing] for Peace." The resolves Dickinson offered at the conclusion of the speech survive in another, greatly expanded version and have been printed as a separate entry.

Little is known about the background of the debate in which Dickinson delivered these remarks. A report that reached London early in July suggests that Dickinson had previously proposed linking negotiations to an offer of an annual grant to the crown, but that the idea met a hostile reception. In any event, if Dickinson did propose such a subsidy he did not long advocate it, for there is no mention of the topic in his surviving notes, the comments of other delegates, or the resolutions he offered. The account printed in London obviously became garbled in transmission, for certainly the mention of Otis is erroneous, but it is possible that Dickinson could have delivered a lengthy speech on this topic before May 18. It is interesting to note that on this date the delegates considered the capture of Ticonderoga (news of which reached Philadelphia the night of May 17), an event that substantially altered the circumstances confronting Congress. Thus it is not unlikely that if Dickinson had suggested an annual grant before the 18th, the proposal encountered considerable criticism, and subsequent events led him to drop the idea. The full text of the *London Chronicle* report, whose accuracy and provenance must remain conjectural, was printed as follows: "By letters from New York there is an account of the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia, as low down as the 18th of May; by which it appears, that from what had transpired of their proceedings, they were very far from being unanimous; that Mr. Dickenson had, in a most elaborate speech of two hours long, proposed a plan of reconcilia-



tion, by offering to his Majesty a yearly revenue, on certain conditions: The ground-work of this plan was founded on the ancient grants of Parliament to the Kings of England, in lieu of royalties, court of wards, and other hereditible rights; and some particular grant of this kind in Charles the Second's reign was particularly referred to. The speech was acknowledged to be very ingenious, and shewed Mr. Dickenson to be well versed in the history of England, and well acquainted with the great constitutional part of it; but was much disliked by many of the Delegates, and so very ill relished by Mess. Otis and Hancock, that they left the house abruptly. Dr. Franklin had not yet spoke." *London Chronicle*, July 6-8, 1775.

<sup>2</sup>This quotation is taken from the report of a speech delivered by Gen. John Burgoyne on February 27, 1775, which was part of a series of debates on American affairs in the House of Commons that took place after Parliament reconvened January 19 following the Christmas recess. However, the excerpts that follow, taken from speeches by Capt. Augustus John Hervey, Sir William Mayne, Lord North, and Sir William Meredith, were gleaned from debates that took place on February 6, 20, 2, 10, and 27, 1775, and do not represent views expressed upon any single occasion. The reports of these debates can be found in *The Parliamentary Register*, 1:133, 146, 150-53, 177, 197-98, 249, 252-54.

<sup>3</sup>Dickinson failed to designate his eighth point in developing this portion of his argument.

<sup>4</sup>*The Parliamentary Register*, 1:213-14.

<sup>5</sup>In another draft of this speech, Dickinson wrote at this point: "To divide the Colonies. 2. if that fails then to unite the people of G. B."

<sup>6</sup>For the remarks of Sir Charles Jenkinson delivered in the House of Commons on February 20 in defense of Lord North's conciliatory motion, see *The Parliamentary Register*, 1:205-6.

<sup>7</sup>Lt. Col. Francis Smith commanded the British detachment that marched through Lexington to Concord on April 19, 1775.

<sup>8</sup>For a fuller version of the resolutions Dickinson offered at this point, see the following entry.

## John Dickinson's Proposed Resolutions

[May 23-25? 1775]

1. That Directions be given for putting these Colonies immediately into the best State of Defence—that on a short Day We will enter into Consideration of the Ways & Means of raising Money and embodying Troops, particularly for affording the speediest Assistance to the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay [and?] New York And in the mean Time, that all the [Colonies] be requested immediately to send out several vessels to France, Holland, the West Indies and other proper Places, to procure Arms and Ammunition.

2. But as the only Objects We propose to ourselves by the Measures before mentioned, are the Defence & Preservation of ourselves from the utter Destruction of our Lives and Liberties, meditated against Us & in part already executed by the British Ministry, and as We most ardently wish for a Restoration of the Harmony formerly subsisting between our Mother Country & these Colonies, the Interruption of which must at all Events be exceedingly injurious & may



in the Conclusion be destructive to both Countries, that for the purpose of contributing by all the Means in our Power to the Promotion and Completion of this most desirable Accommodation

We will present an humble & dutiful Petition to his Majesty, praying Relief from our Fears and Jealousies occasioned by the System of Colonial Administration adopted since the Conclusion of the late War—expressing our Loyalty to the King—our Attachment to his person, Family and Government—our Love to our Parent State—our Desire to preserve our usual Connection with her—our Readiness & Willingness at all Times with our Lives & Fortunes to support maintain & defend the Interests & Rights of his Majesty and of that State by every Effort that can be reasonably expected from the most faithful Subjects & the most affectionate Colonists—that for effecting these purposes we shall ever be cheerfully dispos'd to contribute to the Common Defence by Aids of Money, and also of Men, as the public Exegencies and our Circumstances will permit. Earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that Justice may be done to [*the*] Sincerity of these professions by believing them to be as We solemnly declare them to be, strictly true, that so the Relief for which We supplicate being afforded us by the Wisdom & Goodness of his Majesty & Parliament We may be restored to the happy and ardently wished for Opportunity of demonstrating, as we are resolved with one Mind to do, in the [most] acceptable Manner, our Gratitude for the attention given to our prayers, and our [. . .] Majesty & that beloved Country from [. . .] rejoice & glory that we derive our Origin.

3. That we will send Home part of our Body in behalf of themselves & the other Petitioners to present the said Petition & to treat of an Accommodation. That for this purpose, we will give Instructions to our said Agents, suited as nearly as may be to every possible State of Affairs that may exist on their Arrival in England, or may afterwards happen there, containing full & most exact Directions how they are to conduct themselves in every Part of their Behaviour, and what Concessions and what Demands they are to make in every Event favorable or unfavorable that shall occur, reserving to ourselves an Exemption from all Obligation upon Ourselves or our Constituents by any Act of our said Agents untill the same shall be ratified by this Body.

4. That after We have resolv'd and agreed upon the said Demands & Concessions, and have thereby fully settled the Conditions of Accommodation, the obtaining of which we are determined to persevere in our Opposition to the Measures of the British Ministry, at all Hazards, we will associate and confederate with one another in our own Names & in the Name & on the behalf of our respective Constituents, in the most solemn Manner, by the Ties of Honour, Virtue, & the Wellfare of our Country, to continue our said opposition in the Man-

ner that shall be directed by this Congress and by any succeeding Congress to be appointed by the Inhabitants of the Colonies represented in this Congress, by our most Strenuous efforts & utmost vigour, untill we obtain such Redress of the Grievances of these Colonies, which this Congress shall determine as aforesaid to insist on. That we will furnish in due Time our respective Quotas of Men & Money, for the Service and during the Time, to be agreed on, and that We or our respective Colonies shall not & will not accommodate or treat of an Accommodation but jointly with all the Colonies represented in this Congress.

5. That We will write a Letter to General Gage, informing him that we are making the most vigorous preparations for Resistance against the British Forces & the Defence and Preservation of our Lives & Liberties, that the Colonies represented in this Congress have entered into a solemn association & Confederacy, to carry on their Opposition to the Measures of the British Ministry, at all Hazards, and never to treat of an Accommodation unless it be jointly. That we have a strong Hope founded on an humble Confidence in the protecting Goodness of Divine Providence, and the Means which he has graciously been pleased to put into our Hands, of a successful Issue to our just Exertions, should We be reduced to the Necessity of employing them, yet at the same Time We most earnestly desire, that a Period may be put to this unhappy Dispute. That for this purpose, We intend to present an humble & dutiful Petition to his Majesty, & to send over some Members of this Congress with proposals of Accommodation which, we hope, will bring this Contest to an End, & restore the former Harmony between the Mother Country & these Colonies. That We judge it proper to give him this Information, that if he can think it consistent with the Orders he has receiv'd from Administration, to forbear further Hostilities against the Inhabitants of these Colonies or any of them, and to remove the Apprehensions of such Hostilities, untill an answer can be receiv'd to our Answer & proposals, the farther Effusion of British Blood by British Hands may be stopt—& mutual Resentments be no more heighten'd by mutual sufferings. That he will favour Us with an Answer to this Letter as soon as possible—and if he does not chuse to return an answer, that we will consider this Silence [as a] Refusal to forbear Hostilities as is above mentioned.

6. That we will approve of the Resistance that has been made & is now making in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay against the British Forces, and that We with our Lives & Fortunes support them therein.

7. That the Delegates of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay be requested to procure & give to this Congress Information of the Names and Places of Abode while living of the Officers & Men who

fell fighting for their Country in the late Engagement in that Colony, in order, that their Memory may be perpetuated, as far as it is in the power of this Congress to preserve it; that their Families may receive our Thanks for the patriotic Spirit of their deceas'd Relatives, our brave Country men, our Condolence for their private Afflictions, and such Compensations for their particular Losses, as their respective Circumstances may require, and the Situation of public Affairs may enable us to make.

MS (PHi). A continuation of John Dickinson's Notes for a Speech in Congress, May 23–25? 1775. These resolutions are an expanded version of the six resolves with which Dickinson concluded his notes printed in the preceding entry. At the top of this MS, written in a smaller hand, probably on May 27, Dickinson wrote: "Recommend Observance of Association." Congress resolved the 27th that violators of the Association "shall satisfy the convention of the Colony, where the offence was or shall be committed." *JCC*, 2:67. For additional notes appended to this document, see John Dickinson's Notes of Debate, May 23–25? 1775.

## John Dickinson's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[May 23–25? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

No Gentleman has taken up the Plan of Treaty upon the Ground proposed. Mode not mentioned. But either by appointing persons in England Agents or sending over Agents. The latter the best.<sup>2</sup>

1. It is the mode amongst all Nations in all ages. Free Conference, different proposals discover the Media in [. . .] both that may be satisfactory.

2. Petitioners should present their Petitions. The Indian mentioned by John A.

3. It is most respectful, may soften the Minds of our Enemies. I know it to be salutary. My Name mentioned. I detest ambition in such a Cause. Too unhappy. But if this not approved, The other may be adopted. We have many Friends. Natives hearty in our Cause & as able as any We can send. As to extent & Cautions, Not interested that they [. . .] If We can agree to any Concessions that we will absolutely offer. There they may be at Liberty to propose as what we will certainly confirm, and some such there may be. But my Idea is that our Instructions should be suited to all possible Contingencies favorable or unfavorable that may occur & our proposals to be accommodated to them—with a Liberty of actually conceding what We shall agree to concede at first if thought necessary by Us.

One of those Points may be the Right of Regulation—but that has not been taken up with the Restrictions I meant—which are the Exclusion of every Idea of Taxation, internal or external, as in the 4th Resolve of late Congress—which in fact will be granting the same

Power & no more but in the most acceptable & pacifying Manner. Another Restriction I mentioned is—at the same Time settling the great Outlines or most important Parts of our Commerce on an unalterable Establishment—to mention only one Part for Example, our free & [. . .] [Transportation?] of every kind & [. . .] other articles with the southern parts of Europe & [. . .] shores.

I have Evidence that the Offer of some such Compact has been expected by Administration.

As to a standing Army—if that Point of Prerogative cannot be settled—at least for the sake of Peace—& under the Idea of satisfying Minds at present, the Troops may be removd—& I believe We shall not have the same Cause of Complaint soon again.

As to Quebec Bill—if We cannot obtain a total Repeal, We may a Contraction of Boundaries. Letter to that purpose.

Courts of Admiralty—Established before 1763, perhaps something may be done as to a better Regulation of them by vesting the Powers or a Controul of them by appeal in the Councils of the several Provinces—which [*is*] preferable to an appeal to England.

As to Independence of Judges, Means may be agreed upon for settling that Point in a satisfactory Manner.

I cant recollect all the Instructions, but these are sufficient to shew the Importance & Necessity of treating. And these Points never can be settled but in a Treaty—unless We state every particular we demand—& then confederate never to end the War unless they are every one granted to Us—a Plan full of insurmountable Difficulties.

But suppose We do not gain Relief from our Grievances. That is not the only Point aimed. I would treat if I was sure of being treated with Contempt—for that very purpose. The most desperate prosecution of the War & the most pacific Negotiations at the same Time. Heroes in the Field, Philosophers & Christians in the Cabinet. Stamp the Character of our Country for every brave Quality & every good one. That We may take Rank among the Nations of the Earth for undaunted assertion of our Liberty & the most passionate Lovers of Peace.<sup>3</sup>

If We dont obtain a Redress of Grievances, We may gain these Advantages. So much at present on this Head.

2. Objection. If We grant the Right—They may distrust Us or Answer a Counter for a shilling. I always have declared, that I mean that a Concession of the Right should be attended with a settlement of the Capital Branches of our Commerce on a permanent Foundation so that tho We leave them the Right, it never can deeply affect Us.

3[r]dly. A Member from Boston acknowledges it *just & equitable* that Great Britain should have this Right—but he says they may plague Us with Acts like the Boston Port Bill. Answer, That is not a



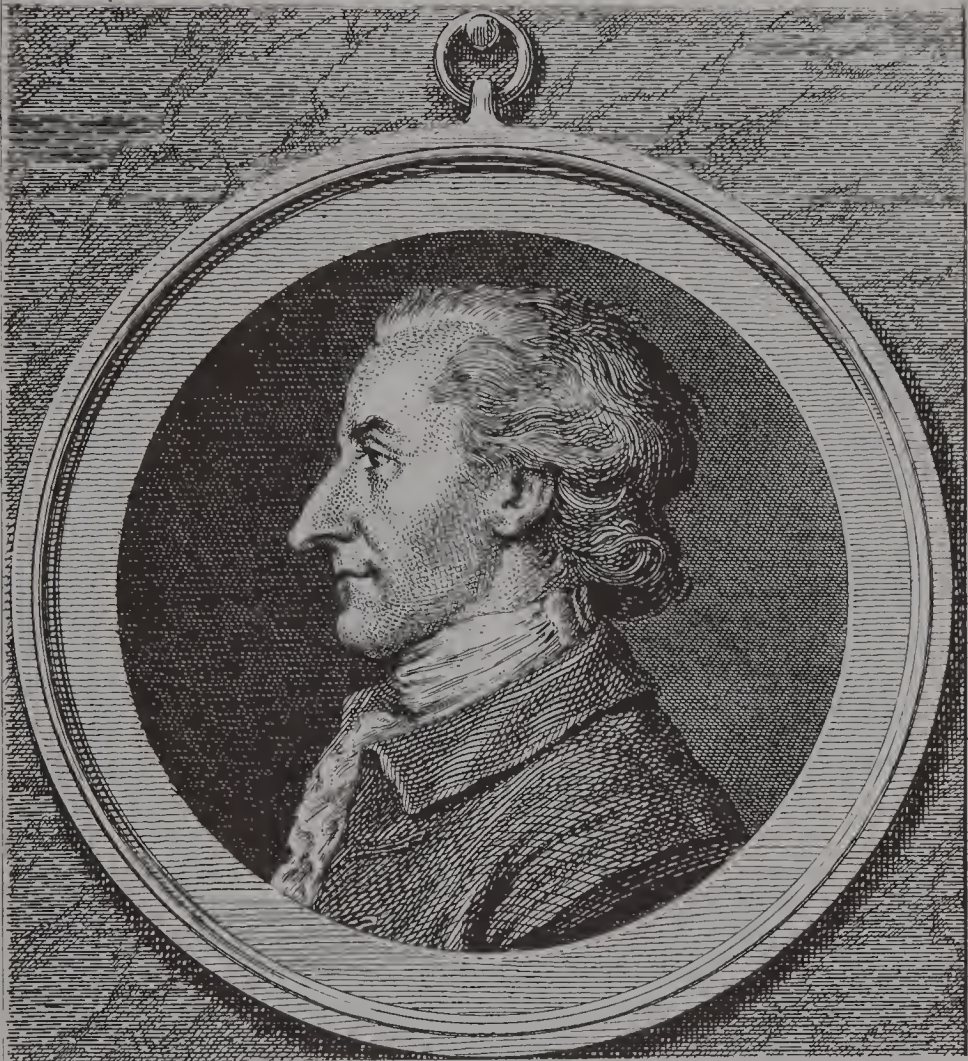
Regulation of *foreign* Trade. Briefly—Time will settle this Matter fully in our Favor. Let us only keep quiet for 40 or 50 Years.

4[th]y. If they can regulate, They can legislate. Answer, the [. . .] essential to internal [. . .] to external Acts. It formerly was in the Crown in England [. . .] no Freedom without it. [. . .] Power vested in Crown in England. Declarations of Peace and War, Leagues, Treaties. Our Legislative consent internally, Not externally. Where shall the Right lodge? It must lodge somewhere. What is Consent? In Congress or Assemblies? Difference of opinion. They have the Power, We cant take it away. A confirmation of a Right. Regulation Exclusive. Tax internal or external. Regarding Us as much a [. . .] subjecting us to Reproaches. No Danger our Trade willing itself in process of Time by our Power & the Insults of Great Britain. The more & more every Day dependent on our Commerce, our Remonstrances will be regarded more & more. Lord Chathams. I fear He insists on it.

[. . .] Recognition of this Power in every Colony. It has had fatal Effects. N. York has divided on that Point & every Colony I believe to the Southward of that province will acknowledge it if ever it comes before them. The acknowledgment now the Ought of Parliament & essential to shew to our Friends. Confirmation of Acts of Navigation—by Acts of Assembly. If denied it opens a bad omen to our Union & Success.

I have the like Complaint to make on the Arguments I offered concerning a Treaty. Gentlemen have confined themselves singly to this Question, Whether it would procure Us Redress of our Grievances. That is not the Ground on which I offered it to Consideration. I say—1st. It may open a Channel to Accommodation. 2[nd]ly. If it does not procure an Accommodation & a Redress of Grievances, Yet it will be attended with such other Advantages that it would be an inexcusable Want of Policy to omit it—(1) Encreasing our Friends in England (2) confirming our People here. 3[rd]ly. It may prevent Reinforcements coming over. 4[th]ly. It may prevent Effusion of Blood. 5. It will enable Us to be better prepared. 6. It will allow Time for our Commercial opposition to work its Effects. 7. It will give us an opportunity to consult with Ld. Chatham & our Friends in general in England to form Agreements with them [. . .] act in Concert with [them?], stipulating strenuously to support them, pave the way to some bold Steps on the other side of the Atlantic that may be decisive. A Point of vast Magnitude.

As to Letter to General Gage, it will be attended with the happiest Effects, let him answer it as he will. If he agrees to stop Hostilities till an Answer comes, nothing can be done this summer & all the Time We are preparing & exercising, &c. If he refuses—the Question of defense & offense is at End. Every American & every Englishman



John Dickinson

after such a Request & Refusal will think Us justifiable in taking every advantage. It will evidence a humane & considerate Disposition. Throw into this Letter all the bold Expressions of our unalterable Resolutions—& Trust of Success—rather than into our Petition &c. It will be more respectful.

As to Confederation, We must see our Way clear in Reason & Conscience to an Iota, before We proceed to Extremities. I shall not stir a Step till every Thing is thus adjusted. That being done, I will stand or fall by that solemn Compact.<sup>4</sup>

MS (PHi). In the hand of John Dickinson.

<sup>1</sup> One of several documents pertaining to various arguments Dickinson advanced in the committee of the whole during the early weeks of the Second Congress. It is probable that he prepared these notes about the same time he delivered the longer speech printed in the earlier entry designated John Dickinson's Notes for a Speech in Congress, May 23–25? 1775. The only explicit identifying information on the MS is Dickinson's notation: "Arguments in Congress to shew the Dependence of these Colonies on the Mother Country."

<sup>2</sup> The following cryptic notes appear in the margin: "Olive Branch in an armed Hand/Caduceus not on a Wand/ but a Roman Fasces/ Resentment at such a Councillor as Hutchinson/Fable of a Traveller."

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to follow the development of Dickinson's thought from this point in the MS. Because the next brief sentence begins a new paragraph at the bottom of a sheet of paper but is followed by a notation to continue to the next sheet at a point designated in the middle rather than at the top of the page, the following five paragraphs may not have been written in the order printed here. The mystery is compounded by the fact that Dickinson apparently did not complete the paragraph he intended to develop at that point in the MS and as a consequence interlined and crowded into the margins much of the material that appears in the fourth paragraph below. It seems clear, nevertheless, that the substance of Dickinson's remarks on this occasion have been recovered from his notes and that a rearrangement of the paragraphs that follow would provide no greater insight into his intended meaning.

<sup>4</sup> At this point Dickinson penned in the margin: "Adhere with Roman Firmness."

## John Dickinson's Notes of Debate

[May 23–25? 1775]

Motion seems calculated to inflame.

Motion is not pointed.

Involves Matters [radical?] in their Nature.

Recommendation of Association proper

Recommendation to procure arms & amunition proper maybe.

As to rais[ing] armies, That Recommendation must go *pari passu* with Measure of Reconciliation. We must know the one Measure will be taken before We assent to the other.



If We will go on with Measure of War, They must go on with Measure of Peace.

I forebode a fatal Issue to our Union & our Cause—if We do not feel a [Brotherhood?] In only [. . .] Conscience.

If some of Us cannot go as far as others let them not strain us too far—to put us out of breath to discourage Us.

Lee—Consent. Hooper—Answered our Consent implied—original &c.

MS (PHi). In the hand of John Dickinson. These cryptic notes appear separately on the last sheet of the four-page MS containing Dickinson's Proposed Resolutions, May 23–25? 1775, and may pertain to debates that took place on May 23 or 24. See Silas Deane's Diary, May 23, 24, 1775.

## James Duane's Notes for a Speech in Congress

[May 23–25? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

### On the State of the Colonies

I. The importance of the subject—it concerns our liberties, our lives our property.

II. The eyes of Europe and America are fixed on this Assembly, and the fate of one of the greatest empires on earth, in no small degree, depends on the issue of their deliberations.

III. We are contending with the State from whence we sprung, with those who were once our fathers, our guardians, our brethren, with those fleets and armies which were lately our protection, and contributed to rescue us from Gallic tyranny and oppression.

IV. Cemented by the ties of blood, religion and interest, victory itself however decided must be fatal: and whichever side prevails must weep over its conquests. On our side we tremble for the dearest and most inestimable of all earthly blessings, our liberty and for those rights and that most excellent constitution and free government, which (resources)<sup>2</sup> were procured by the blood and handed down to us by the wisdom and the bravery of our renowned ancestors.

V. Doubly exposed to the cruel projects of an unrelenting and despotic Ministry, and if they are defeated to the danger of foreign invasions from bigots and tyrants, no condition can be more alarming.

VI. How necessary then while we summon up all our fortitude and rise superior to fear and every selfish regard while we are ready to lay down our fortunes and even our lives in the defence of the best of causes, that at the same time we restrain every emotion of intemperate zeal—every sally of anger and passion; and coolly and deliberately examine and consider the state of the Colonies uniting with one heart and one voice our best and wisest counsels for the preservation of our country.



VII. However diffident of my own abilities, and conscious that I can contribute but very little in this great and arduous enquiry, silence on this momentous occasion would ill requite the confidence reposed in me by my constituents.

VIII. I am the more encouraged to offer my sentiments, because I have the happiness to find, that they are confirmed by some of the most respectable authorities which distinguish the bright catalogue of American Patriots and in whose steps I may tread with some degree of confidence.

IX. I shall not spend the time in reviewing that wicked system of ministerial oppression which has reduced America to its present deplorable situation. It has been done with precision and elegance by the worthy member from Virginia.<sup>3</sup>

X. Nor need I enter upon the question whether all the united Colonies are to be considered as in a state of War, or Peace?

XI. It is a sufficient ground for my conduct, that the sword of ministerial vengeance has been drawn against our Brethren in the Massachusetts Bay and their innocent blood been shed. That they suffer in our common cause; and that we are bound by the most solemn engagements by every tie of duty interest and policy to succur and support them and to hazard our all in the tremendous conflict.

XII. One common danger therefore awaits us and we must share one common fortune. May that gracious being upon whom we depend inspire our councils with wisdom and bless our efforts with success! and speedily restore us to that Peace and harmony with Great Britain on principles of liberty and mutual advantage—which is the ultimate wish of every virtuous patriot.

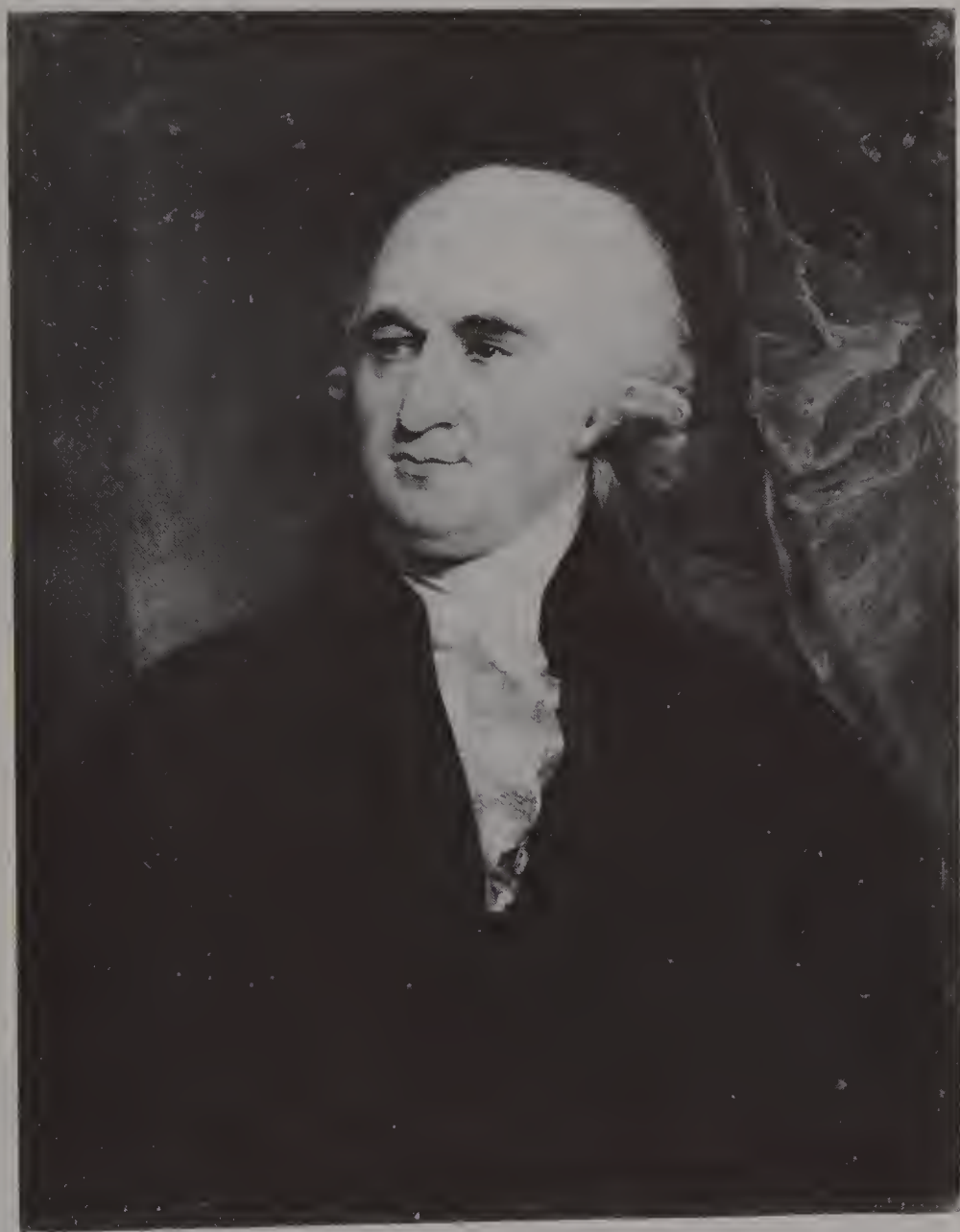
XIII. The subject of our debate divides itself into two general heads.

1st. A vigorous preparation for our common defence—for Sir, I wish we may never part with the idea that every hostile measure on our part is undertaken for and shall be conducted to our own *self preservation*: and that however injured and provoked the desire of conquest, of independence and much less of revenge may be banished from every American breast.

Let this be ever considered as a *family quarrel, unnatural, disgraceful and ruinous* into which we are innocently plunged by intolerable oppression, and which we are sincerely disposed to appease and reconcile, whenever the good providence of God shall put it in our power, consistent with the preservation of our just rights.

This loyal and benevolent sentiment which to the honor of injured Americans under all her grievances so universally prevails will open the next head of debate vizt.

2dly. Whether any means of reconciliation are left in our power which we can propose with a prospect of success, and a just regard to



James Duane

our invaded Rights.

As to the

1st point—a vigorous preparation for our common defence.

I have no military skill and considering the critical state of the Colony which gave me birth, I have reason to lament it.

Our capital may be surrounded with ships of war, which we are wholly incapable of resisting—Hudson's River affords an easy communication for vessels of force upwards of 100 miles into the heart of our best settlements.

Our western frontier covered with scattered villages interspersed to the distance of 100 miles from Albany are exposed to the ravages of the Western nations of Indians while our northern and Eastern frontiers are at the mercy of the Canadians and the savages long in their alliance.

The fertility of the Colony, its advantageous situation to supply the ministerial armament and to cut off the communication between the Eastern and Western provinces are circumstances which render it of the utmost moment to the contending powers.

We must therefore expect that every effort will be put in practice to secure it for the Ministry.

The force of America must consequently be divided into two bodies—one to defend the Massachusetts the other to secure New York.

Two large armies must be kept on foot for these purposes; sufficient to overawe the Ministerial troops and confine them to the port they may under cover of the fleet be able to secure.

The army which is to defend New York must again be subdivided—a sufficient number to overawe and confine the troops which may be landed in the City of New York, and the rest to oppose the attempts of the Indians & Canadians.

In our operations we must hazard all upon the success of our small arms—there is no prospect that we shall be able to erect forts or batteries which will prove the least serviceable. We have some cannon but no engineers; no apparatus necessary for fortifying and what is worse very little powder of any kind, and no cannon powder or ball though with the latter we might speedily be supplied.

Besides if we had both materials and capacity to construct fortifications they would probably only serve as decoys to ensnare us, for it would be opposing inexperience to discipline and meeting regular troops in their own way and on their own guard.

In short the examples and success of the Massachusetts point out the only way in which we can meet our tyrants with any prospect of success.

Under this head of preparation for defence will be considered—  
2dly. The number of men to be raised in each Colony and

3dly. The means of their support.

But these are subjects which can only be investigated by a thorough knowledge of the abilities and circumstances of each Colony of which I am too ignorant to venture any estimate.

[As to the]<sup>4</sup> I come now to the

II. General Head—whether any means of reconciliation are still left in our power which we can prepare with a prospect of success, or a just regard to our invaded rights.

Many are the reasons which ought to induce us while we are preparing vigorously for the last appeal to open a door for reconciliation.

I shall mention only three.

1. That we can g (cetera desunt)<sup>5</sup>

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Duane's notes are undated, but their emphasis on the twin themes of colonial defense and reconciliation with the mother country suggests that they pertain to debates that occurred May 23, 24, and 25. During this period the delegates heatedly discussed both issues in Congress, finally adopting resolutions relating to the defense of New York on the 25th and to colonial defense in general and pursuit of peaceful redress of American grievances on the 26th. Duane composed his notes sometime before the passage of the first series of resolutions, but in the absence of other evidence it is impossible to date them with greater certainty. Moreover, it is curious that Silas Deane, who kept a record of congressional debates at this time, fails to mention Duane's participation in them. Silas Deane's Diary, May 23, 24, 25, 1775; and JCC, 2:59-66.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Richard Henry Lee. See Silas Deane's Diary, May 23, 24, 25, 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in MS. George Bancroft inserted this parenthetical Latin phrase to signify that this is where the original MS notes ended.

## Benjamin Franklin to Humphry Marshall

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, May 23d, 1775.

I received your favour of the 13th inst.<sup>1</sup> I think, with you, that the non-importation and non-exportation, well adhered to, will end the controversy in our favour. But, as Britain has begun to use force, it seems absolutely necessary that we should be prepared to repel force by force, which I think, united, we are well able to do.

It is a true old saying, that *make yourselves sheep and the wolves will eat you*: to which I may add another, *God helps them that help themselves*.

With much esteem, I am, sir, Your most obedient humble servant.

MS not found; reprinted from William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall; with Notices of their Botanical Contemporaries* (Phila-



delphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1849), p. 521.

<sup>1</sup>Humphry Marshall (1722-1801), Pennsylvania botanist, corresponded with Franklin chiefly on matters of scientific interest. *DAB*; and Darlington, *Memorials*, pp. 485-93, 515-23.

## Joseph Hewes to James Iredell

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, 23d May, 1775.

I know your anxiety to be informed what is doing in Congress, and wish I was at liberty to gratify it, but the secrecy enjoined the members puts it out of my power to give you any information worth your attention. You will see by the papers which I send to Mr. Smith, the advice that is given to the people of New York relative to their city; to those papers I must beg leave to refer you for news; you will find by them the New Yorkers have taken an active share in the opposition; a tory dare not show his head amongst them; the cry of liberty is irresistible in most of the colonies; a military spirit has seized all orders of people; this city is full of armed men; they have now 28 companies of foot and two of horse; each company consists of 68 men including officers; they are called out twice every day to learn the military discipline, and I can assure you some of the companies perform it equal to any regular troops.

Capt. Gillis makes so short a stay here that I fear I shall not have it in my power to send any shoes by him. I have urged the shoemakers to get them done, but they had so many orders not completed when I applied, that I fear the ladies and yourself must wait till the next opportunity for them. I received the shell per Capt. Gillis, and shall get it made into a box for Miss Penny as soon as possible. The ladies have always my best wishes, make my compliments acceptable to them. I have wrote to Mr. Johnston, so has Mr. Hooper; if he is not at home when Gillis arrives, I desire you will open our letters to him, and read the contents before you send them.

I am, very respectfully, dear sir, Your obliged and very humble servant,

Joseph Hewes

[P.S.] I beg you will excuse haste. I now trespass on Congress hours.

MS not found; reprinted from Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1857-58), 1:254-55.

## Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 23d May 1775

I wrote to you<sup>1</sup> some days ago by a Mr. Reed who said he should

pass thro' Edenton, but he went off before I had finished my Letter. I sent it by a vessel to Currituck. We have done very little in Congress, the Secrecy enjoined the Members puts it out of my power to communicate any thing worth your attention. The Congress had entered into a Resolve that no Vessel shall be suffered to Load for Newfoundland, St Johns, Nova Scotia, or the British Fishery on any of the Coasts of America, to take place immediately, thereby to prevent the British Fishery from being supplied with Provisions & Stores. It was moved to amend this resolve by prohibiting all importation from these places to take place instantly, to this it was objected and very Justly too, that many persons in these places were indebted to the other Colonies and that such a resolve would prevent them from sending their Effects to this & other of our ports, and would injure ourselves. So the whole matter was put of[f] for some days in order to debate the latter part of the resolve, the first part being agreed to Unanimously, this prevents me from sending the resolve to the Edenton and Chowan Committee. Advice has been given to the People of New York, this you will see in the papers which I have sent to Mr. Smith.<sup>2</sup> The New Yorkers have stepped forward and taken an Active share on the opposition, not a Tory to be seen amongst them, all ranks of People are embarked in the Common cause determined to oppose ministerial Vengeance. A military spirit has diffused itself in an extraordinary manner thro' this Province, it is said a Majority of the Quakers have taken up Arms certain it is that many in this City have done it, some of which are Officers and appear in Uniform. This strong current of opposition to ministerial measures in some instances bordering on licentiousness calls for the most prudent and temperate deliberations of the Congress. To bear and forebear is a precept of Morality calculated exactly for these times and as we must draw the Sword I hope Necessity, not resentment will influence our measures. It is highly necessary that North Carolina should be putting her self in a State of defence, a Company of Militia ought to be formed in each County and Trained frequently. You prevailed on Hooper and my self to be elected delegates to attend the Congress, you have been instrumental in putting the halter about our Necks, if we should be obliged to promise too much for our Province we shall want your abilities and influence to carry us through. In the interim you ought, I think, to Exert yourself in getting the Province put in a state of defence, encourage the People to Associate in Companies for that purpose and to make themselves acquainted with Military discipline, this you may do without appearing active in it yourself. Hooper calls to me from the next room and says he is writing a long Letter to you, he is much better qualified to give you information than I am therefore I beg leave to refer you to him for a further account of politicks.

When you have read our Letters & the Newspapers I believe you will think it unnecessary to give any Orders for Goods, no person here thinks of it at present, if any alteration should happen I will give you the earliest account I possibly can of it.

I have sent you all the Articles you mention in your letter of the 2d except [Stares Porter?] none of which can now be had. My best Compliments to your Family. Adieu, and believe that I am with great Sincerity, Dr Sir, Your obliged huml Sert Joseph Hewes

RC (CSmH).

<sup>1</sup>This letter is unaddressed, but that Hewes intended it for Samuel Johnston (1733–1816) can be deduced from his comment that William Hooper was in “the next room and says he is writing a long letter to you,” as Hooper did indeed do this day. Johnston, a lawyer, assemblyman, governor, and delegate to Congress, 1780–82, was one of the most influential leaders in the North Carolina revolutionary movement. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*; and *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup>Congress’ resolve of May 15, urging New Yorkers to remain on the defensive for as long as possible after the arrival of British regulars in their province, was printed in *Dunlap’s Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser* on the 22d.

## William Hooper to Samuel Johnston

Dear Johnston

Philadelphia May 23 1775

The close attention which I am compelled to pay to the business of the congress scarce gives me an opportunity to pay my duty to my friends. As we meet at 9 oClock in the morning and set till 4 in the Afternoon you will readily conceive that the little leisure we have is not sufficient for the common functions of life & exercise to keep us in health. While I am writing I encroach upon congress hours, & if I could furnish you with any thing entertaining it might be some apology for the transgression, but the strict secrecy which is enjoined upon the members leaves us at large to communicate nothing worthy attention, that happens within the Walls of the State House. Let it suffice that the most perfect harmony subsists among the Members, the Character of the New Yorkers is no longer suspicious, they take a forward and an active share in the Opposition, all ranks of people amongst them are embarked in the common cause and are sacredly resolved to preserve the Cargoe or perish with the ship.

The few Tories amongst them are silent, the cry of liberty is irresistible. The Clergy who are never happy but when dabbling in faction have met a just reward for their misguided Zeal & have been compelled, (6 of them) to seek protection on board a Kings Ship. Rivington follows their fortunes, & his printing Shop which forged Calumny and sedition for the whole Continent is shut up. New York must now become the seat of War, the Taking of Ticonderoga will

convert the attention of Government to that Quarter so the N Yorkers will not long be suffered to be indifferent Spectators of its operations. Believe me, I do not think they wish to be.

Their City is fitted with armed Men whom they have raised & disciplined, to be called into action when Hostilities begun on the part of Lord North & Troops shall render it necessary. Govt has sent them the Asia Man of War, We suppose to protect their Trade—rather to give Spirit to the tories, but that day is past, they are sunk never to rise again.

This City has taken a deep share in the Infection which is so generally diffused thro' the Continent. Men Women & Children feel the patriotick glow, & think every man in a state of Reprobation beyond the power of heavenly mercy to forgive, who is not willing to meet death rather than concede a tittle of the congress creed. Quakerism has received a shock from which it will never recover. An attempt to restrain the other Sects in their spirited conduct has only shew'n the weakness of their efforts & the insignificancy of their numbers when in competition with those who think & act differently from them. Their *Testimony* to their eternal dishonor, accompanied with the proceedings of the New York Assembly gave encouragement to Administra[ti]on to adopt the present compulsory measures, which at this Hour we all lament. For certain it is till those got to hand the plan prepared by Administration was conciliatory.

If it should be thought expedient to raise troops in each Colony, Money of course must be supplied, from whence must it come in our Province. Would the Provincial Convention think it prudent, to emit for that purpose, or are not the Circumstances such as to leave no alternative to their Choice. Whether this; or what will be recommended is still in suspence, this however is certain that it will be necessary that a Convention should be held immediately upon the return of the delegates. I would therefore advice Mr Harvey to warn the several Counties immediately to elect representatives to set in Convention, & I would propose that each County should send 10 at least. This is consistent with the New York policy who thereby have given strength to the cause, by interesting so many in the protection of it. Every man let his property be ever so small, has still his right to preserve & claims a share in the publick Consultations which must eventually affect him. Such a step with us would be prudent. The Spirit wants resuscitation in N Carolina I think. Perhaps you may think so too many.

Hewes sends you the Newspapers. Pray make my Compliments acceptable to every branch of your Worthy family. Remember me affectionately to Mr Iredell, Jones & Charlton whom I beg leave to refer to this hasty scrawl for every thing which is not retailed in the newspapers. Only let me add to the Members of the Committees—that a



Resolve has passed the Congress and ordered to be published. That no vessell shall be suffered to load for Newfoundland, St John's, Nova Scotia to supply the British fishery there or any where along the Coast of America. This is much to be noticed, it is a just retaliation for restraining the American fishery.

Hewes orders me to congress, that he may have an Opp[ortuni]ty to dispatch his Vessell, and as Caswell is indisposed I must obey & thereby save your patience a further trial. I am your Affectionate Friend & Obedt. Humble Sert

Will Hooper

RC (PPRF).

## George Read to Gertrude Read

My Dear G[itty]

Philadelphia, [May 23, 1775]

That you may not charge me with inattention, I take pen in hand, at a late hour, to chat with you, before I retire to my nest, as Mr. Van Luvenigh, whom I met on the Common this evening, returns to your town to-morrow, and promised to call upon me.

I really begin to tire of my confinement. I attended at nine o'clock in the forenoon [to-day], and did not stir till after five; this is common; could we separate at three, I could bear it tolerably well. On Monday I dined with a select company of two or three persons at Mr. Dickinson's, where you were inquired after. He was, and indeed still is, much affected with the loss of his youngest child—the surviving one is a fine, hearty girl. I had an invitation to dine at Mr. James Allen's the same day, but subsequent to the other. An invitation is sent me this evening by Andrew Allen to dine on Saturday; but we distress these people by our late hours, though there is but little entertaining at this Congress compared to the last. The delegates are not such novelties now.

There is a paragraph in the New York paper, brought by this day's post, that the regiment of horse, expected from England, had refused to embark, and also that the troops from Ireland were stopped on occasion of some disturbance there,—very lucky for America, if this be true; as it was our great dependence to save fighting here that the people at home would rouse and exert themselves to prevent a civil war here; however, no great dependence can be put on this intelligence. A private letter from New York mentions that one regiment was detained, but the rest were coming, which, or whether either is true we cannot learn with any certainty yet.

James Read had the ague yesterday; the rest of the family and all your friends here are well.

I bid you good-night, and am yours, most affectionately,  
George Read

[P.S.] Kiss our little ones for me.

MS not found; reprinted from William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence* . . . (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870) , pp. 108-9.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 23, 1775]

23rd. Met & resolved into &c, Mr. Ward reported as above.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Ward's Diary, May 19, 1775.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 24, 1775]

Wednesday. Col. Hancock chosen president. Resolved, into a Com[mittee] of the whole house. Report respecting New York read. Mr. Ross for a full Consideration of the whole Continent. Mr. Wilson for considering the state of NYork in the first place.

Col. Bland speaks to Order.

Mr. Chase—in his old strain recurs to the old affair of the right of regulating Trade.

Mr. Paca—follows him in the same Strain.

Mr. Pendleton—answers him in particular.

Col. Harrison for letting the Motion lye, & Consider, at large, in order to end the affair.

Mr. Wilson, again for arming New York, speaks earnestly.

Mr. Dickinson in his old Way lengthy, and concludes in his old Way with a Fable.

Mr. Mifflin animadverts with spirit on him and exposes his reasoning &c.

Mr. Johnson, on a reconciling plan and offers a Motion.

Col. Lee for a different mode of expression in the Motion and is severe on Dickinson.

Mr. Jno. Rutledge—against any Concession whatever, that Lord North has given Us his Ultimatum with which We cannot agree—Treats Dickinsons plan with the utmost Contempt—and is so severe that *Chase* rises to explain himself.

Col. Lee up again.

Mr. Stone of Maryland—so disagreeable that one half of the Congress withdraw.

Mr. Lynch up.

Adj'd. at Four oClock.

Dined with Friend S[tephen] Collins, & supp'd with C[hristopher] Marshall.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 91-92.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

May 24th [1775]

Our discourse about adjourning is somewhat abated. Our President left Us Yesterday, on Acct. of Attending as Speaker of the House of Burgesses now called in Virginia, & Mr. Hancock presides in his Room. I need not say how agreeable a Letter from You would be. My Love to Sally, Jesse, &c. &c. I am Yours  
Silas Deane

[P.S.] 24th. I have detained Johnny, in order to carry some Letters of importance to New York and he sets out This Day.<sup>1</sup> I have nothing new to add and write thus much, to shew You, I am not unmindful of You.

RC (CtHi) . A continuation of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, May 21, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> According to Deane's diary, John Webb, his stepson, did not leave Philadelphia until Friday, May 26, no doubt carrying the resolutions of the 25th and 26th respecting military preparations for the defense of New York. *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 88. *JCC*, 2:59-61, 64.

## Edmund Pendleton's Proposed Resolutions

[May 24-26? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee that the Members of the Present Congress ought to bind themselves & their Constituents by every tie which Wisdom, prudence & common danger suggest in a firm and Indissoluble league & union to stand by & support each other in defence of American liberty & procuring by all possible means a reconciliation with Our mother Country. And therefore that no terms of Accommodation which may be proposed from Great Britain to any Colony Separately, ought to be accepted or treated of by the Assembly of such Colony, but such treaty shall only be made & agreed to in a Representation of all in Genl. Congress.

At the same time waving all resentment for the unmerited & un-

provoked severities they have experienced from the British Ministrey & Parliament, & influenced by the most sincere & Ardent desire to return to their Connection & intercourse of Affection with that their Parent state, from which misrepresentations & evil Counsels have unhappily divided Us; that terms of Accommodation ought once more to be proposed thro' the Medium of Our common Sovereign, and therefore

[Resolved?] As the Opinion of this Committee that a dutiful & a Loial Address ought to be presented to our [King] reiterating Our sincere Alliegiance to his Crown & dignity, and our unshaken fidelity to his Royal person, Family and Government.

*(To lament Our unhappy situation, which subjects Us to the grossest misrepresentations so that Our dutiful & peaceable attempts by Petition & remonstrance to preserve a Right to dispose of our own money as English freemen, and a preparation to defend our lives & families.)*

To declare in the most Explicit terms that the foundation of the present unhappy dispute between the British Ministry & Parliament & America, is a Right claimed by the former to tax the Subjects of the latter without their consent—and not an inclination on Our part to set up for independency, which we utterly disavow & wish to restore a Constitutional Connection upon the most solid & reasonable Basis.

From a perswasion that the Negative of our Sovereign to all our Laws & the Power in Parliamt. of Regulating foreign trade for the Common benefit of the whole, are sufficient to preserve that connection & give the Parent State all her necessary weight in the Empire, we chearfully “consented to the Operation of all such Acts of Parliament as are bona fide confined to the Regulations of trade for common benefit excluding every Idea of taxation Internal or external for raising revenue in America.” If we were misunderstood in this Point, to declare [that we are to?] be bound by the Acts of Navigation [. . .] to the year 1763 and to all future acts which should [. . .] limited in their Object & operation. And we shall be willing on Our parts to have proper Commissioners to settle a [mode?] of giving Constitutional Stability to that great Pillar of Connection & prevent all future disputes.

To repeat our undeviating willingness to Contribute our just proportion to the necessary expence of defending the whole Empire; To make an honourable & stable provision for the Administration of Government in Our Respective Colonies, provided our Legislators and Civil Officers are put upon a proper independant footing, and in time of Peace to provide for Our own internal Safety and security; that we consider & ever must consider the Monpoly of Our trade in Point of Proffit to Britain & disadvantage to Us, as a full compensation for our proportion of the Expense of the Navy, so necessary for



the Protectn. of the whole Empire; But if we are mistaken in this, and Parliament shall think proper to put us on a footing with Our fellow Subjects in Britain by as free a trade as they enjoy, we shall be ready, as in justice we ought, to pay a settled proportion of that expence.

That we are greatly concerned to find the only proposition made by Parliament for an Accommodation is of such a nature that we can by no means accede thereto, since It is for the substantial right of giving & granting Our own money by a free Aid that we are contending, & not for the Shadow, or only the Mode of raising what a Superior shall command us to provide—and therefore, tho' we have always with sincerity expressed Our readiness to exert ourselves for the Common defence in times of War, we always did it & must continue to grant supplies upon Constitutional requisitions by our Sovereign, on which we must judge of the Occasion and quantum of the Aid as well as the Mode of raising & application of it, And therefore to offer a sum of money without any Object to direct Us as to the Quantum, or any Satisfaction to Our Judgements of the necessity of any grant, would be a Step in the Dark we do not choose to make, more especially as 'tis to be disposable by Parliament & may be employed for our distruction, as we think a great deal of the National Treasure has lately been.

Once More To beseech his Majesty to Interpose his Roial Influence for Opening a treaty of Accommodation between his Subjects there & here in Order to a lasting reconciliation & tranquility, before it is too late, & Our common Ennemies shall have availed themselves of the unnatural conflict. And in Order to this desirable end, that the Troops may be withdrawn from Us & the several Acts of Parliament formerly Objected to and those of the last Session on the disagreeable Subject, repealed; when we on our part will do away [*with*] all associations & other things disgusting to our brethren in Britain & then we may treat on terms becoming freemen & friends & lay the foundation of a lasting & reasonable Connection: But if Our fate is determined & there is no choice left us but absolute Submission to the Mandates of a British Ministry Or resistance, We are determined to embrace the latter & pursue it to the last Period of Our breath—appealing to Heaven for the Justice & Rectitude of Our intentions; and Trusting in the Almighty & as Vigorous exertions of all the Means he shall be pleased to Afford Us, for Our Protection & defence.

Resolved, That this Committee highly approve of the Conduct of the people in the Massachusets Bay in their Spirited & Successful Opposition to the Troops under General Gage who on the 19th of April marched into the body of their Countrey to ravage & Oppress them; And are of Opinion that all America ought to join in Supporting that

Province in such Opposition and their necessary defence against all future Attempts of the like nature.

That for this purpose as well as to guard against all Invasions or Insurrections which may be meditated or attempted in other Colonies, The Number of Men following ought to be raised and embodied in the Sevl. Colonies & Provinces that is to say in New Hampshire in the Massachusets Bay in Rhode Island and Providence Plantation in Connecticut in New York in New Jersey in Pensa. in the three Counties on Delaware in Maryland in Virginia in North Carolina in So. Carolina & [in the] Parish of St. Johns in Georgia to be employed, as occasion may require, either for the [. . .] defence and security of the Colony wherein they are raised, as for the Assistance of any other part [of] America where their Services may be wanting. Besides which the Militia throughout the Whole ought to be provided with Arms and Amunition & kept in constant training & exercise in the best manner.

Resolved, That for raising, Arming & Maintaining the Men so to be embodied, a sum of money ought to be raised by a Continental contribution in the following Proportion, that is to say, By New Hamp. £ By the Massachusets Bay £ By Rhode Island and Providence Plantation £ By Connecticut £ By New York £ By New Jersey £ By Pennsylvania £ By the Counties on Delaware £ By Maryland £ By Virginia £ By North Carolina £ By South Carolina £ and by the Parish of St. Johns in Georgia £ .

And in Case money cannot be borrowed immediately in any Colony to answer their Quota as aforesaid, such Colony to Issue notes of credit for the Redemption of which [the Public Fai]th of such Colony shall be pledged by their Provincial Convention, and in the sd. [Parish] of St. Johns such Security given as shall be approved of by [ ]<sup>2</sup>—the Redemption to be made by annual Proportions of the sum to be redeemed in each Province, so as to Call in & sink the whole within years after the Restoration of Peace between Great Britn. & the Colonies and the Respective Legislatures of the latter shall have it their power to provide for such Redemptn. in a Constitutional way: And it ought to be earnestly recommended to every freind of American liberty to receive such notes in all payments & use their best endeavours to give them Credit & assist their Genl. Currency throughout the Continent. The Genl. form to be as follows—

“The Public Faith of the Colony of Virginia is hereby Pledged for the Redemption of this Bill (which is to pass for the sum of ten shillings) by the Payment of its amount *in gold at per Ounce, in*

*Silver at            per Ounce, or in good Bills of Exchange upon Great Britain with a discount of            per Centum for the difference of Exchange, according to the terms agreed on by the Amer[ican] Congress at Philadelphia the            day of            1775."*

The device to be now fixed (or if fixed in each Colony to be immediately commun[icated] through the whole & signed by the Deputies of each Colony to Congress & also the Treasurer to be chosen in each Colony to Issue and Accot. for the money, who shall give proper Security to & Account wth. his Colony Convention. It is also recommended to the Sevl. Committees of Counties & Corporations & all others to be vigilant in their endeavours to prevent & detect all attempts to Counterfeit the notes of Credit, & Publish discoveries of such attempts.

That the Surplus of the money to be raised in each Colony beyond what is necessary to support its Troops to be raised as aforesaid, be as soon as Possible paid by the Treasurer to the Committee of Correspondence. who are to remit it to [            ]<sup>3</sup> to be applied to the Pay & Provn. of the Troops so to be kept in the New England Governments & New York, & charged to Account of those Colonies respectively as they shall receive proportions thereof.

MS (MHi). Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Mr Pendleton's Motion."

<sup>1</sup> The content of these resolves suggests that Pendleton offered them to the committee of the whole sometime during the debates of May 23–26 on the state of America. In his diary for this period, Silas Deane notes that Pendleton was an active participant in the debates, and it seems probable that Congress considered these resolves before the adoption on May 26 of several resolutions pertaining to defence and reconciliation. The more specific questions of the numbers of men to be raised and their means of support remained topics of consideration during much of June. See Silas Deane's Diary, May 23, 24, 25, 1775; and *JCC*, 2:64–66.

<sup>2</sup> Approximately one line left blank in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Approximately half a line left blank in MS.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 24, 1775]

24th. Met. Mr. Randolph going to the Assembly, Mr. Middleton chosen,<sup>1</sup> declined on Acct. of his ill State of Health & Mr. Hancock chosen, then resolved into a Comee. & Mr. Ward reported as above.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention in the journals under this date of Middleton's election. *JCC*, 2:58–59.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 25, 1775]

Thursday. In Congress New York Matter taken up. Wrote 5 Letters to Mrs. Deane, &c &c.

Motion read—dispute about the Number of Men—4000. proposed.

Mr. McKean against so large a Number.

Mr. E Rutledge in favor.

S Deane in favor of the Number.

Jno. Adams in favor.

Mr. Pendleton for altering to 3000

Agreed To

To be left to the Congress at NYork To raise, Officer &c, &c.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 92.

<sup>1</sup> This debate concerned the fourth of six resolutions relating to military preparations in New York that Congress passed this day. *JCC*, 2:59–61.

## Stephen Hopkins to Ruth Hopkins

Beloved Ruth

Philadelphia 25 May 1775

The Day we parted with you at Voluntown we reached Scotland and there lodged, then we travelled on to East Hartford and Stayed the Second Night, passing through Hartford the next Morning, we saw every body going to Election. We pursued our journey to North Haven that Day. The next Day we reached Fairfield, on Saturday we arrived at the very Western border of Conecticut Colony, Sunday we Crossed New York Colony Hudsons River at Dobbs Ferry reached into the Jersies at Hackinsack, Monday brought to Elizabeth Town, Tuesday to Prince Town, Wednesday we crossed Delawar River entered Pensilvania and in the evening reached Philadelphia, and are lodged at our kind Friend William Redwoods.

Thus we finished our journey out without any unlucky accident happening to us, Your Mother growing weller and weller all the way. The Members of the Congress are nearly all here, had entered on business a Week before I arrived,<sup>1</sup> but go on Slowly, and Heaven only knows when we Shall leave this place. The Small pox is much here and whether we Shall escape it or not no body knows yet. A Vessel is arrived here which left Surinam about the 5th of April and says George would Sail in about a Fortnight after him.<sup>2</sup> All News is expected from New England and therefore I can write you none from here. Remember me kindly to all Friends, especially to every branch of



our own Family; I wish to hear from You and am with the kindest  
Love Your Affectionate Father Step Hopkins

RC (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Hopkins took his seat in Congress May 18. *JCC*, 2:55.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Smith Hopkins, the daughter of Hopkins' second wife, Anne, was married to Hopkins' youngest son, George.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 25, 1775]

25th. Met, resolved into &c. Mr. Ward reported the Resolutions relative to N. York, desired Leave to sett again on the other Business.<sup>1</sup> Resolvd. a Post at Kings bridge the highlands &c in N. York be taken & the Milita kept in Readiness &c.

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> That is, to resume consideration of "the state of America." *JCC*, 2:59.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

*Phyladelphia* May 26. 1775. Introduces Aquilla Hall (d. 1779) and Josias Carvill Hall (1746–1814), two volunteers from Maryland headed for the army at Boston. Adds: "I have not so good Health as I had before—and I have harder Service. Our business is more extensive, and complicated—more affecting and hazardous. But our Unanimity will not be less. We have a Number of new and very ingenious M[embers]."

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:206–7.

## John Adams to James Warren

*Phyladelphia*, May 26. 1775. Introduces Josias and Aquilla Hall from Maryland, urging Warren that "it will be of great Importance that these Gentn should be treated with the utmost Delicacy and Politeness; their Letters to their Friends will have a great Influence on the Southern Colonies." Concludes: "I can not inform you of any Thing passing here that is worth knowing. I hope We shall give Satisfaction. But it must be a work of Time."

MS not found; abstracted from *Warren-Adams Letters*, 1:52.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 26, 1775]

Friday—S Adams, J Jay, & S Deane a Com[mitte]e to write to Canada.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 92.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:64.

## Benjamin Franklin to Jane Mecom

*Philada. May 26. 1775.* Has just heard of his sister's move from Boston to Rhode Island. "I write this Line just to let you know I am return'd back from England, that I found my Family well; but have not found the Repose I wish'd for, being the next Morning after my Arrival delegated to the Congress by our Assembly. I wish to hear from you, and to know how you have left your Affairs in Boston."

RC (OMC) . Carl Van Doren, ed., *The Letters of Benjamin Franklin and Jane Mecom*, American Philosophical Society, *Memoirs*, vol. 27 (Princeton, 1950), p. 156.

## John Hancock to the President of the New York Provincial Convention

Sir,

Philadelphia, 26th May, 1775.

I inclose you the resolves of the Continental Congress, respecting the Measures they Conceive more immediately necessary for the defence and Safety of your City and province,<sup>1</sup> and which it is Expected will be carried into Execution with all possible despatch, and with as much Secrecy as to the particular Operations intended, as the Nature of the Service will possibly Admit of.

I am, Sir, Your most obedt. hum. servt.

John Hancock, President.

RC (N) . *Journals of N.Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:3. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> These resolves, approved the 25th, are in *JCC*, 2:59–61.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 26, 1775]

26th. The Delegates from N. Jersey laid before the Congress the Resolutions of that Assembly relative to the Resolution of the commons which was referred to the Comee. of the whole,<sup>1</sup> addition to the first resolves concer[nin]g N. York<sup>2</sup> relative to the Uncertainty of the Success of concilia[tor]y Measures, then resolved into a Comee. of the whole. Mr. Ward reported some Resolutions & desired Leave to sett again. The report being read several Resolutions relative to the dangerous Situation of the Colonies & the Necessity of putting them into a State of Defence &c were come into.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup>The resolution of the House of Commons of February 20, 1775, offering America an intricate compromise on the issue of parliamentary taxation, and a resolution of the New Jersey Assembly of May 20, referring this offer to their delegates in Congress, are printed in *JCC*, 2:61-63.

<sup>2</sup>That is, Congress' resolves of the 25th concerning the defense of New York. *JCC*, 2:59-61.

## Samuel Ward to Henry Ward

Dear Brother

Philadelphia 26th May 1775

When I saw Dr. Bowen arrive I hoped for Letters from you.<sup>1</sup> It would have given me the highest Pleasure to have received an Acct. of the State of the Colony & your Sentiments upon any Subject relative to the common Defence.

It is with the highest Pleasure that I can acquaint you that the Congress is very full & that the greatest Harmony subsists; advice hath been given to the Province of New York to move the Cannon & Stores from Ticondera. & to take a Post at Fort George, another at Kingsbridge another in the highlands in order to stop any Vessels of War from taking Possession of Hudsons River & besides a Number of men for Protection of the City the Militia are to be trained & ready at a Minutes Warning & it is agreed to put every Colony in a good State of Defence. You may see in our Letter to the Depy. Govr. some hints upon that Subject whether besides the Measures there proposed it will be best to keep some standing Troops in Kings County on the Sea Coast, on Block Island or any other Part of the Colony. I should be glad of your Advice & that of every judicious Friend to the Colony whom you may have Opportunity to consult. Present my Compliments to Colo. James Angel in particular & tell him a Letter from him on this Subject would be very acceptable.

There is a Letter in the City *(from the famous Waxwork Woman Mrs. Wright)*<sup>2</sup> which says that all American Charters are to be abrogated & new ones given like that of Quebec & Dr. Franklin with whom I have had the Pleasure of conversing often assures me that it was said by ministerial People when he was in England, that We had forfeited our Charters by our Readiness to march to the Relief of Boston & that the Attorney General<sup>3</sup> publickly said that the Quebec Model was the only proper one for Us, that We ought to have had such charters at first & never should be happy until we had such; the Wretch *(who entertains such Sentiments)* ought to be banished [from] Society.

We are told that two of the Assistants have given Govr. Wanton the Oath of Office. If so They & he both ought to be removed & as there is no doubt but an Act will be passed for taking away our Charter & reducing Us to the most abject Slavery their Places ought to be filled.<sup>4</sup>

RC (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Henry Ward (1732–97), Samuel's youngest brother, was provincial secretary of Rhode Island, 1761–97. Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg), pp. 9, 214.

<sup>2</sup> Patience Wright (1725–86) was a New Jersey-born wax modeler whose skill was widely celebrated in America before the Revolution. She moved to England in 1772 where she continued to excel in wax portraiture, and where she reputedly also worked as a spy for Benjamin Franklin during the War for Independence. *DNB*; and Edward T. James et al., eds., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950. A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1971), 3:685–87.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Thurlow (1731–1806), English attorney general, 1771–78, whose inflexible support of royal and parliamentary authority in America was symbolized by his proposal to pillory an English radical who had praised the American victory at Lexington and Concord. *DNB*.

<sup>4</sup> Remainder of MS missing.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dear Son

Philadelphia 26th May 1775

This I hope you will receive in Roxbury or Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> if not I dare say it will not be your Fault. That Love of Liberty & your Country which you sucked in almost with your Mothers Milk I flatter myself will excite you to the most noble Exertions & support you under the most arduous Labours; esto perpetua you was taught in your Infancy & I hope will ardently wish it to the last Moment; but remember my dear Son that besides Bravery, Prudence, Wisdom & Oeconomy are necessary when your Country calls for your Life; risk it freely but never wantonly or foolishly expose yourself or your Men, let Sobriety Temperance & Virtue direct your whole Conduct



as you have never been much exposed be as careful as your Duty will admit of your Health, be extremely careful of your Men see as much as possible in Person that they have good Provisions & every Comfort their State will admit, compel them to be clean to dress their Provisions well & suffer as little Debauchery & Drunkenness to take footing amongst them as possible; you can recollect so many Instances of Armies being destroyed by the Negligence or Imprudence of the Generals or other officers that I doubt not but you will as much as possible see that all under You do their Duty at all Times particularly when on Guard.

Give my most affectionate Regards to the General & other Officers & tell them that it is with the highest Pleasure that I assure them that the Congress is very full that the greatest Unanimity prevails & that New England will be most powerfully and effectually supported by all the Colonies.

Remember my Son that unless the Lord keep the City in vain do the Watchmen watch. May his infinite Wisdom preserve & direct you.  
I am Your very affece. Father

Sam Ward

P.S. The military Ardor which prevails here is already amazing & continually increasing.

RC (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Ward, Jr. (1756–1832), was at this time a captain in the Rhode Island Army of Observation which was charged with assisting Massachusetts against further attacks from British troops stationed in Boston. Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg), pp. 40n, 216.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 27, 1775]

Saturday—Mr. Price of Montreal examined before the Congress. Col. Washington, Col. Schuyler, Mr. S. Adams, S. Deane & T. Mifflin a Com[mittee] to provide Ammunition.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday dined at New Tavern with the Congress.<sup>2</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 88, 92.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Morris was also a member of this committee. *JCC*, 2:67.

<sup>2</sup> This last sentence appears in the section of the diary Deane normally devoted to his accounts and private affairs.

## John Hancock to the New Jersey Provincial Convention

Gentlemen

Philadelphia 27th May 1775

Your Letter of the 25th Inst. by William Peartree Smith and Elias Boudinot Esqrs. was duly Receiv'd and Laid before the Congress, and by them Referred to a Committee of the whole Appointed to Take into Consideration the State of America.<sup>1</sup> In the Course of their Deliberations, the State of your Province will come into View. At present I have only to Inform you that the Congress are not prepar'd to Give you any Advice, as soon as they have Come to any Resolutions respecting your Colony, the earliest Intelligence will be Communicated to you.

By Order of Congress

John Hancock Presidt.

RC (PPRF).

<sup>1</sup> On this point see Samuel Ward's Diary, May 26, 1775, note 1. The "Letter" to which Hancock refers was in fact a "true Copy" of an extract from the journal of the New Jersey Assembly for May 20. PCC, item 68, fol. 9.

## New Hampshire Delegates' Report

May 27. 1775

The Delegates from New Hampshire beg Leave To Inform the *(Congress)* Committee<sup>1</sup> That Two of the Principal Towns in That Colony viz Portsmouth & New Castle are Situate on Piscataway River near the Entrance of The Harbour and are Much Exposed To Naval Attacks: That Those Towns are about five Miles Distance from Each other: Portsmouth The Capital Lying Farthest up the River & not Quite So Much Exposed as New Castle which Lies at The Entrance Defended only by a fort Capable of Mounting about Thirty pieces of Cannon on The Rampart; but The Fortifications are Extremely weak.

That to Defend The Entrance of The Harbour against a Naval Force would be Extremely Difficult if not Impracticable. That Batteries might be Erected between Those Towns which with Booms Chains &c might possibly Secure Portsmouth from Such attack.

That to Defend the Pass & Secure The Retreat of the Inhabitants *(of New Castle)* will require at Least Fifteen hundred Men. But as they have a well Regulated Militia in That Neighbourhood which may Suddenly be Called Together for that purpose They are of opinion That there will be no necessity of Enlisting Men at the Continental Expence Especially as The Militia will Readily agree to Serve in Turns for the Defence of Those places.

They beg Leave further to Inform the Committee That There are Sixteen Regiments of Foot & Two of Horse in That Colony The Foot amounting in the whole to upward of Sixteen Thousand Effective Men: Tolerably well provided with Arms & Amunition That the Number of Horse is uncertain & Those but Ill provided.

That great Numbers of their Foot Soldiers have been in Actual Service & That out of those they are Ready to Raise & Send to Serve in Massachusetts So many as the Committee Shall please to order.

That the Number of their Inhabitants are very uncertain as persons are Continually Emigrating from Other Colonies & Settling in that more than in any other of The Northern Colonies.

That The persons Thus Emigrating are Extremely poor for which Reason The wealth of the Province bears no proportion to the number of Inhabitants.

With Respect to the amount of their Exports and Imports No Accurate Account can be given as the officers of the Customs have Long Since Refused to Suffer the Books to be Inspected.

MS (DLC). In the hand of John Sullivan and endorsed by Charles Thomson: "State of New Hampshire as delivered by their delegates. May 27. 1775."

<sup>1</sup>The journals do not mention a report by the New Hampshire delegation. It was probably submitted to the committee of the whole, which still had under consideration "the state of America."

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 27, 1775]

27th. Acct. of the State of Canada given us,<sup>1</sup> a Comee. appointed for ways & means of getting Powder, Power of forgiveness given to each provincl. Congress.<sup>2</sup>

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup>Although the journals deliberately fail to mention him by name, Congress' informant on Canadian affairs this day was James Price, a wealthy English merchant from Montreal whose support of the American cause in Canada was a function of his opposition to the Quebec Act. *JCC*, 2:66-67; and Gustave Lanctot, *Canada & the American Revolution, 1774-1783*, trans. Margaret M. Cameron (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1967), pp. 30-31, 46-48.

<sup>2</sup>On this last point see Ward's Diary, May 15, 1775, note.

## James Duane to Mary Duane

Philadelphia 28 May 1775.

I wrote to you my dearest Polly by every Opportunity till I heard

of your departure for the Manour. By a Line from Brother Robert I learn that you arrived safe in a fine passage of only one day. I now long much to hear of your and my dear Children's Health which will make me easy; for I thank God I am myself as well, and as free from my late disorder, as if I never had been attacked, and considering the Business I am sent upon in tolerable Spirits, being quite at home with Mr and Sister Patterson who treat me with great Regard And Attention.

I hope our Stay here will not be very long, tho' we have not gone very far in Business as it takes time to hear the different Views and Sentiments of the members, and to produce one way of thinking, before essential points can be determined.

Every body here, who is capable, is learning military discipline, not excluding the young Quakers of whom there are several Companies. Gentlemen of the greatest Fortune and Distinction have accepted the Command of the Regiments Mr Dickinson and Mr Cadwalader being of the number. I wish their Example may have Influence in our province. You know my Opinion that every Province will hereafter be respectable only in proportion to their knowledge in Discipline and their Resolution in Spirit.

I have no news to write to you. It is still uncertain whether any Troops will come to New York. If there should a sufficient Force will be raised to prevent this doing us any Injury.

Kiss my dear Children for me. Pay my dutiful regards to our parents and friends and believe me to be ever My dearest Polly Your most faithful & most affectionate Husband

Jas Duane

RC (NH). .

## Richard Henry Lee to Gouverneur Morris

Dr. Sir,

Philadelphia 28 May [17]75

The friends of virtuous liberty in New York have certainly effected a most important change in the political system of that flourishing City. I congratulate you Sir and your worthy Associates in this happy revolution. It is most certain that a profligate Ministry have greatly relied on the assistance of your fine fertile province for carrying into execution their cruel System. A System by which existing millions, and Millions yet unborn are to be plunged into the abyss of Slavery, and of consequence deprived of every glorious distinction that marks the Man from the Brute. But happily for the cause of humanity, the Colonies are now united, and may bid defiance to Tyranny and its infamous Abettors. You will see that Mr. Rivingtons case is involved in all of a similar [nature?] which are to be determined on by the



Colony Conventions where the offence is committed.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry, for the honor of human Nature, that this Man should have so prostituted himself, in support of a cause the most detestable that ever disgraced Mankind. But he repents and should be forgiven. It is not yet too late to exert his powers in defence of the liberty and just rights of a much injured Country. I wish you happy Sir and assure You that I am, with singular esteem, Sir your friend and Countryman

Richd Hen Lee

FC (PPAmP).

<sup>1</sup> The New York City Committee of Observation had requested that Congress consider the case against James Rivington for publication of divisive statements in his newspaper, and Morris had urged Lee to support a favorable ruling for Rivington. However, as Lee implies, Congress had already decided that all cases involving violations of the association should be determined by the appropriate provincial conventions. See the resolve of May 27, 1775, *JCC*, 2:67. Documents concerning Rivington's case are printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:726, 836-37, 899-900.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia May 29. 1775

Our amiable Friend Hancock, who by the Way is our President, is to send his Servant, tomorrow for Cambridge. I am to send a few Lines by him. If his Man should come to you to deliver this Letter, treat him very kindly, because he is a kind, humane, clever Fellow.

My Friend Joseph Bass, very cleverly caught the Small Pox, in two days after we arrived here, by Inoculation and has walked about the streets, every day since, and has got quite over it and quite well. He had about a Dozen Pimples upon the whole. Let his Father and Friends know this.

We are distressed here for Want of Intelligence and Information from you and from Boston, Cambridge &c. &c. &c. We have no regular Advices. I received one kind Letter from you, in one from Coll. Warren. An excellent Letter, I had from him. It has done him great Honour, and me much good.

My Duty and Love to all. I have had miserable Health and blind Eyes almost ever since I left you, but, I found Dr. Young here, who after scolding at me, quantum sufficit for not taking his Advice, has pill'd and electuary'd me into pretty good Order. My Eyes are better, my Head is better, and so are my Spirits.

Private.<sup>1</sup> The Congress will support the Massachusetts. There is a good Spirit here. But We have an amazing Field of Business, before us. When I shall have the Joy of Meeting you and our little ones, I know not.

The military Spirit which runs through the Continent is truly amazing. This City turns out 2000 Men every day. Mr. Dickinson is a Coll. Mr. Reed a Lt. Coll. Mr. Mifflin a Major. He ought to have been a Genl. for he has been the animating Soul of the whole.

Coll. Washington appears at Congress in his Uniform and, by his great Experience and Abilities in military Matters, is of much service to Us.

Oh that I was a Soldier! I will be. I am reading military Books. Every Body must and will, and shall be a soldier.

John Adams

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:207-8.

<sup>1</sup> Appears in the margin in MS.

## John Adams to Joseph Palmer

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia May 29. 1775

We have had but little Intelligence from Cambridge or any Part of Massachusetts since I left it. Your Difficulties press upon you So fast, as to take up all your Time I Suppose—so do ours.

I believe no Assembly ever had more extensive and complicated objects before them than our Congress. We shall be united. But I can Say no more.

Mr. Aquilla Hall and Mr Josias Carvill Hall the Bearers of this will inform you of the state of the Colonies. They are two young military adventurers—Volunteers, joining the Army in the Massachusetts, to gain Experience & skill. They are of one of the first Families in Maryland and have independent Fortunes. Their Letters will make Impressions on the Southern Colonies. It is of Importance that they be treated with Respect. I beg you would introduce them to our Friends, &c &c. My Respects to your Family & to all Friends. News of every Kind will be told you by the Bearers. I am yr Friend

John Adams

RC (CSmH). Addressed: "To Coll Joseph Palmer, Braintree. to be found at Watertown or Cambridge probably. favd. by Mr Hall."

## John Adams to John Winthrop

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia May 29. 1775

The Bearers of this are two young Gentlemen from Maryland. Aquilla Hall and Josias Carvill Hall, both of one of the best Families in Maryland, and both of independent Fortunes. Their Errand to

Cambridge is to join our Army as Volunteers, against the Enemies of their Country in order to gain Experience, in the Art of War, in which they have already made good Proficiency.

As it is of importance that they should be treated with Politeness and Respect, I have taken the Freedom to give them this Letter—and to beg the favour of you to shew them Harvard Colledge.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress, Sir, have great Objects before them in[deed]. All is Secret but what you will see in the News Papers. If the Ministry, upon receiving Intelligence of the Battle of Lexington, dont receed all Ceremony will be over. As at present We shall be fully United and I hope shall do well. My respectfull Compliments to all Friends. News of every Kind will be told you by the Bearers. Yr huml Sevt

John Adams

[P.S.] We Suffer excessively for Want of Letters and Intelligence from Cambridge. I must beg you would do me the Honor to write me, and desire all our Friends to do the same.

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> John Winthrop (1714–79), scientist and political ally of John Adams, was Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard College. *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 9:240–64.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[May 29, 1775]

Monday—Mr. Douglass came in in the Morning.<sup>1</sup> At Congress &c &c.

The Lettr. to Canada read in Congress—and pass'd.<sup>2</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 92.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Douglas (1739–75), New Haven lawyer and Deane's personal friend. Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, 6 vols. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1885–1919), 2:650–51.

<sup>2</sup> This day Congress approved a new address to the people of Canada, one thousand copies of which it ordered translated into French for dissemination among the Canadians. *JCC*, 2:68–70; 3:507.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 29, 1775]

29th. Approved the Letter to Canada, no Provisions &c to go to Nantucket unless from the Massachusetts. A Comee. appointed to

consider of a speedy & safe Conveyance of Letters &c throughout the Cont[inen]t.

MS (RHi) .

## New York Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia 30th May 1775

We received your Favour of the 26th inst & have the pleasure of informing you that the Manner in which you have executed your Trust was very acceptable to the Congress to whom we communicated it. We shall pay a particular Attention to what you Say on the Subject of a Paper Currency since we are well apprized both of its Difficulty & Importance And we wish you to be speedy in your Determinations upon it as it may throw some Lights upon the Subject that we may otherwise want. You see by the Order of the Congress heretofore sent you that they have trusted to your Prudence the Appointment of Officers.<sup>1</sup> As we have the Pleasure to hear that the Principle People in every County have stepped forth upon this Important Occasion we make no Doubt that they will continue the same Conduct and not refuse to accept those Commands which we imagine you will see the Propriety of placing in no other Hands; both on the Account of the Influence they will have among yourselves and the Effect it may probably have in England. If Gentlemen there is any Thing you may think serviceable to you either on the Subject of the above Resolves or any other you will oblige us by a free Communication of your Thoughts upon the same to which you may be persuaded we shall pay the greatest Deference. We woud just hint that if there are any Counties in which no Committees have been chosen as we are informed there are, that it woud be proper to recommend that they be immediatly elected, as the Numbers interested will give Strength to the Cause. We observe that Tryon County has not sent Deputies to your Convention and woud Submit it to your Consideration whether it would not be proper to send them a Message suggesting the inconvenience attending such Conduct & the necessity it will lay you under of breaking off all Connection with them.

We Shoud be glad to have a particular Account from you of any Measures that you may have taken to establish Post Riders,<sup>2</sup> and are Gentlemen with great Respect your Most Obedt. Humble Servts.

Jas Duane

Lewis Morris

John Alsop

Robt R Livingston Junr

Geo Clinton

Phil. Livingston



RC (N). Written by Clinton and signed by Clinton, Duane, Alsop, Morris, Robert R. Livingston, Jr., and Philip Livingston. Tr (MH). RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> Congress agreed on the 25th to authorize the New York Provincial Congress to appoint New York's militia officers. *JCC*, 2:60.

<sup>2</sup> On the 29th Congress appointed a committee to "consider the best means of establishing posts for conveying letters and intelligence through this continent." *JCC*, 2:71.

## Edmund Pendleton to William Woodford

Dear Sir

Phila. May 30. 1775

I was yesterday favd. wth. yrs. of the 23d the first & only L[ett]er I have received from Caroline since I left home,<sup>1</sup> except from my wife & shall have a long score to settle with my freinds on this Subject. I Wrote you my Sentiments on the publications in Approbation or censure of the Hanover March & am much pleased wth. the part Our Committee took.<sup>2</sup> The Variety of Opinions on that Subject, makes it prudent to have it as little Agitated as may be, lest difference of Sentiment should be wrought into dissentions, very injurious to the common Cause; at the same time Mr. Henry need not doubt a firm & united protection from all, should any Attempt be made to give serious effect to a Proclamation,<sup>3</sup> which I consider at present as Waste Paper, or a mere Subject of Ridicule. The Congress will not meddle with the Subject, nor did the Deputies from Virga. choose to dispose of the money, but left it to the Colony Assembly or convention. Yr. Strictures on Ld. Dunmore & his dirty Capt. Mountague were well placed, and should a Lieutenancy be the reward of A Brokenbrough's dirty & Impudent behaviour in King George, I hope it will rouse that worthy Committee into a more Spirited treatment of him, than he has hitherto experienced. I have consulted Colo. Washington about the device, & will procure a suit of Colours, Drum & 2 Fifes for your worthy Company, which I hope they will be so obliging as to accept of from me; as a small acknowledgement for their Polite treatment of me & the other Deputies on our departure from Virginia. Colo. Washington tells me a Fife is not to be had here.

Your Tent & Marquie has been delayed by the enormous expence of it, which Colo. Washington thought you would not be pleased with & stop'd the man till he saw me. I yesterday saw his Model & prevailed on him to come down to £25. This money, for which you'll have it very genteel of fine Duck, & I ventured to engage it, he has promised it shall be done next week. He had talked of £ 40. Johnny Taylor is Innoculated & broke out with a fine Pock yesterday, so that you will not hear from him: Mr. Henry is in the same Condition. The Speaker has left us to Attend the Assembly. The rest of Us are

well. Nothing New from Boston, but an unhappy fire which consumed many Houses. No certainty of any General's or Troops landed there. No Troops yet come to New York, the Man of War is come there from Boston without Soldiers. The Seat of Action seems shifted into Lake Champlain. To the Conquest of Ticondaroga Our freinds have Added that of all the Vessells on the Lake, one a War Sloop of 10 Guns—taken by Surprise at St. Johns & 14 Soldiers & 5 Sailors made Prisoners. A Heroe with a Party of 70 would stay there for some further exploit but was Attacked by 200 (sent from Montreal to reinforce the Garrison at Ticonda. not knowing it was taken) & glad to retreat wth. the loss of 3 men; they will probably be reinforced on both sides & bring on some smart Action. Present my respects to all my Freinds & acquaintances & beleive me to be Dr. Sr. Yr. most Hble Servt. Edmd Pendleton

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> William Woodford (1734–80) was a member of the Caroline County Committee of Correspondence and Pendleton's alternate at the Virginia Convention in July 1775, before assuming important military duties in August and taking command of the Second Virginia Regiment early in 1776. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Henry led the Hanover volunteers on a march toward Williamsburg and on May 4 secured £330 as compensation for Governor Dunmore's seizure of the public powder. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:539–41. The Caroline committee disapproved of this means of reprisal. See Pendleton to Woodford, June 14, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Dunmore's proclamation of May 6 charging Virginians to oppose Henry and his followers. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:516.

## George Ross to the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence

Gent

Philada 30th May 1775

Your Express has brought safe the Letters directed to the Members of the Congress. The one to the Pennsylv. Delegates Contains a Copy of a Resolve of the Committee of Correspondence at fort Pitt the purport of which is "That the uncertainty of the Boundaries between Virginia & Penna. is the Cause of Great uneasiness." As the Express came to town after the Congress broke up yesterday I gave the Letter for Mr. Randolph to Coll. Washington—it contains a Copy of the resolve above & a Petn. from the Committee &c relative to their fears of the Indians & Containing some reasons for such fears among which is that a Treaty has not been held there by Ld. Dunmore according to promise.<sup>1</sup>

The Letters from the Several Govrs. are Containd in a Monthly London paper Called the Parlimentary Register. They are only in the hands of one or two gent. in Town if it is possible I will Borrow one

& send you. Since the taking the Fort at Ticondaroga, They have also taken the Sloop of Warr & all the Batteaus on the Lake's George & Champlain. A great fire has happened at Boston, but how or what damages it has done we Expect to hear every moment.

I hear with great pleasure the Spirit prevailing thro' our County And have not the least doubt but the [*members*] of the Committee will do all in their power to Cultivate Harmony & Friendship among the Officers & Soldiers. I wish you all happiness and am with much Esteem & affection Yr. much obliged Friend & very Hble Servt.

Geo. Ross

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:76.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 30, 1775]

30th. Met, Mr. Willing presented the purport of a Conversation between Lord North & a Gentn. now in this City reduced to Writing by Mr. Cooper Under Secry to the Treasury,<sup>1</sup> resolved into a Co-mee. of the whole, Mr. Ward reported as before.

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> On this point, see *JCC*, 2:71-72.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia 31st May 1775

Your favour 25th We received, & would have Instantly replied to but the Congress having Matters of Importance before them uncompleted, we delayed untill this Day, when we had the pleasure of Yours of the 27th inclosing Colo Arnold's Letter which tho' recd. late in the Day was laid before the Congress whose resolution on that important Subject is inclosed, & a duplicate transmitted, by the President.<sup>1</sup>

It is thought that One thousand Men will be necessary at Ticonderoga, & posts adjacent for the present to keep them free from all sudden attempts of the Enemies of America. Mr Edwards goes to Morrow, when, hope to have the Pleasure writing more perticularly. Meantime We are with great Truth & Respect Your Honors most Obedient & very Humble Servants

Eliphalet Dyer

Roger Sherman

Silas Dean

[P.S.] We wish to know the Estimate of the Expences of the Colony the present Year, as particular as may be, also A Copy of the Late Act of Assembly respectg post Offices, & the general Sentiment as to any Addition or Alteration in the late Establishments & directions on that Subject.<sup>2</sup>

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 2:74.

<sup>2</sup> Congress had appointed a committee to study establishment of a continental postal service. JCC, 2:71.

## Connecticut Delegates to William Williams

Sr

Philadelphia May 31st 1775

We receivd your favor of the 25th Instant wherein you express your Concern with respect to the resolve of the Congress as to the removing the Canon Stores &c from Ticonderoga to the south end of lake George.<sup>1</sup> What was then ordered, was Very much on a sudden, from apprehensions that Govr Carlton then having possession of the lake, & of the Armd Sloop of 70 Tons on the lake, whereby it might be in his power soon to retake that fortress & the Valuable Stores & Artillery there, but we soon heard of the Success of Coll Arnold in taking the Sloop & destroying the Battoes &c, which would give some Considerable delay to Govr Carlton in bringing any forces down the lake which much altered the opinion of the Congress on that head, beside their being much more Convinced since of the Importance of that post or of others in that quarter to Secure against the Incursions of the Canadians into the frontiers of the Country, & now for fear New York may be too slow in raising Men for the defence of that part of the Country they do heartily approve of the Steps taken by the Colony of Connecticutt, & have now recommended to the Colony Immediately to forward such a Number of additional Troops as they think Necessary to secure that Important post for the present. About 1000 Men have been mentioned by some of the Congress to be sent forward from Connecticutt of which they are to Judge how many as it is left with them.<sup>2</sup> They have ordered the Provincial Congress att New York to see that Battoes & Boats are prepared on the lakes & provisions to be forwarded with all dispatch. At the same time they expect that all Surpluss Cannon Stores &c att Ticonderoga & Crown Point not Necessary for use & defence there, or thereabouts, to be sent down to some place of Security as soon as possible. If New York should raise a Sufficient Number of Men for the purpose it is likely our Men will be reliev'd by them when they can be forwarded there. I have just receivd a letter from Mr Wales Dated New York. Tell him



I am much oblidgd to him for his Intelligence and many Usefull hints therein given but the express now waiting Cannot give him an Answer at this time. Affairs bare a good Aspect at present in Congress, we are slow but hope sure & firm, but in Cases that happen (as those from the Northward by expresses waiting & Impatient) & where we are oblidgd to act too much on a sudden, but as we have time to deliberate & to gain a True Understanding the disposition I dare say is to Act the best for the whole. Am oblidgd to write in Utmost hurry & am Sr with most Sincere respects Your Hle Servts.

Elipht Dyer

Roger Sherman

[P.S.] Care must be taken that our Men are provided for from New York.

RC (NN) . Written by Dyer and signed by Dyer and Sherman.

<sup>1</sup> See the resolve of May 18. *JCC*, 2:56.

<sup>2</sup> See the resolve of May 31. *JCC*, 2:74.

## John Hancock to the New York Provincial Convention

Sir,

Philadelphia, 31st May, 1775.

I am directed by the Congress to transmit your Convention their resolve,<sup>1</sup> and to desire an immediate compliance with it, so far as it respects the furnishing batteaux provisions, stores, &c.

I am, sir, Your most hum. servt. John Hancock, Presidt.

MS not found; reprinted from *Journals of N.Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:3.

<sup>1</sup> This day, upon receiving intelligence from Col. Benedict Arnold of an imminent British counterattack against Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga, Congress resolved to request Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut to furnish reinforcements for these two outposts and the New York Provincial Convention to provide these reinforcements with supplies. *JCC*, 2:73-74.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[May 31, 1775]

31st. Met, resolved into a Comee. Mr. Ward reported as before. A Letter from Coll. Arnold [May] 23d. contg. Intelle. of 400 Regulars at St. Johns preparing to cross the Lake, upon which the Govr. of Connect. was desired to send a strong Reinforcement, & New York to supply them with Provisions.

MS (RHi) .

## George Washington to George William Fairfax

*Philadelphia May 31st. 1775.* Discusses matters pertaining to Fairfax's business affairs. Mentions Lexington and Concord and encloses affidavits taken after the engagement.<sup>1</sup> "General Gage acknowledges that the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Smith was sent out to destroy private property; or, in other Words, to destroy a Magazine which self preservation obliged the Inhabitants to establish. And he also confesses, in effect at least, that his Men made a very precipitate retreat from Concord, notwithstanding the reinforcement under Lord Piercy; the last of which may serve to convince Lord Sandwich (and others of the same sentiment) that the Americans will fight for their Liberties and property, however pusilanimous, in his Lordship's Eye, they may appear in other respects.

"From the best Accounts I have been able to collect of that affair; indeed from every one, I believe the fact, stripped of all colouring, to be plainly this, that if the retreat had not been as precipitate as it was (and God knows it could not well have been more so) the Ministerial Troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off, For they had not arrived in Charlestown (under cover of their Ships) half an hour, before a powerful body of Men from Marblehead and Salem were at their heels, and must, if they had happened to have been up one hour sooner, inevitably intercepted their retreat to Charlestown. Unhappy it is though to reflect, that a Brother's Sword has been sheathed in a Brother's breast, and that, the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched with Blood, or Inhabited by Slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous Man hesitate in his choice?"

Tr (DLC). Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 3:290-92.

<sup>1</sup> Affidavits concerning the engagement at Lexington and Concord are printed in *JCC*, 2:28-44.

## Benjamin Franklin's Proposed Resolutions

[May ? 1775]

Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Congress, and of all America, and in our Opinion of Britain likewise, are due to the Right Honourable the Earl of Chatham; for his benevolent Endeavours to accommodate the present unhappy Differences, and particularly for the wise & excellent Plan he offer'd in the House of Lords for that purpose, which was rejected by their Lordships without Consideration, and which if it had been received & attended to, might have been the Basis of a Reconciliation & lasting Agreement.<sup>1</sup>

Resolved,

That the Thanks of the Congress be presented likewise to Edmund Burke Esqr. and to David Hartley, Esq. for their generous Endeavours in the same common Service to the whole British Empire.

Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Congress be also presented to the Right Reverend The Bishop of St. Asaph, for his most excellent Sermon & Speech on American Affairs.<sup>2</sup> And to all the noble Lords & Commoners in both Houses of Parliament who have been pleased to espouse the Cause of our much injured & oppressed Country.

MS (PPAmP). In the hand of Benjamin Franklin and endorsed by Franklin: "Resolutions of Thanks." Although it is undated, it seems probable that Franklin drafted the document during the early weeks of the Second Congress.

<sup>1</sup> Chatham's plan "for settling the Troubles in America," which he had developed in collaboration with Franklin, was introduced in the House of Lords on February 1, 1775, and rejected the same day by a vote of 61 to 32. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (Garden City, N. Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1941), pp. 510-13; and Great Britain, *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, 36 vols. (London: T. C. Hansard, 1806-20), 18:198-216. An account of Chatham's plan and its rejection was printed in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or, the General Advertiser*, April 17, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> See Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, September 12, 1774, note 2.

## Fragment of a Speech in Congress

[May ? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

The great God, Sir, who is the searcher of all things, will witness for me, that I have spoken to you, from the bottom and purity of my heart. We have heard that this is an arduous consideration. And surely, Sir, we have considered it earnestly. I may think of every gentleman here, as I know of myself, that, for seven years past, this question has filled the day with anxious thought, and the night with care. The God to whom we appeal, must judge us. If the grievances, of which we complain, did not come upon us unprovoked and unexpected—when our hearts were filled with respectful affection for our parent state, and with loyalty to our King—let slavery, the worst of human ills, be our portion. Nothing less than seven years of insulted complaints and reiterated wrongs, could have shaken such rooted sentiments. Unhappily for us, submission and slavery are the same; and we have only the melancholy alternative left—of ruin or resistance.

The last petition\* of this Congress to the king, contained all that our unhappy situation could suggest. It represented our grievances;

\*In 1774, presented last Christmas. [*Almon's footnote.*]

implored redress, and professed our readiness to contribute for the general want, to the utmost of our abilities, when constitutionally required.

The apparently gracious reception it met with, promised us a due consideration of it; and that consideration relief. But, alas! Sir, it seems at that moment the very reverse was intended. For it now appears, that in a very few days after this specious answer to our agents, a circular letter was privately written by the same Secretary of State, to the Governors of the Colonies, before parliament had been consulted, pronouncing the Congress illegal, our grievances pretended, and vainly commanding them to prevent our meeting again. Perhaps, Sir, the ministers of a great nation, never before committed an act of such narrow policy and treacherous duplicity. They found parliament, however, prepared to support every one of their measures.

I forbear, Sir, entering into a detail of those acts, which, from their atrociousness, must be felt and remembered for ever. They are calculated to carry fire and sword, famine and desolation, through these flourishing Colonies. They cry, "Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war." The extremes of rage and revenge, against the worst of enemies, could not dictate measures more desperate and destructive.

There are some people who tremble at the approach of war. They fear, that it must put an inevitable stop to the further progress of these Colonies; and ruin irretrievably those benefits, which the industry of centuries has called forth, from this once savage land. I may commend the anxiety of these men, without praising their judgment.

War, like other evils, is often wholesome. The waters that stagnate, corrupt. The storm that works the ocean into rage, renders it salutary. Heaven has given us nothing unmixed. The rose is not without the thorn. War calls forth the great virtues and efforts, which would sleep in the gentle bosom of peace. "*Paulum sepultae distat inertia celata virtus.*" It opens resources which would be concealed under the inactivity of tranquil times. It rouses and enlightens. It produces a people of animation, energy, adventure, and greatness. Let us consult history: Did not the Grecian republic prosper amid continual warfare? Their prosperity, their power, their splendor, grew from the all-animating spirit of war. Did not the cottages of shepherds, rise into imperial Rome, the mistress of the world, the nurse of heroes, the delight of gods! through the invigorating operation of unceasing wars! "*Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso duxit opes animumque ferro.*" How often has Flanders been the theatre of contending powers, conflicting hosts, and blood! Yet what country is more flourishing and fertile? Trace back the history of our parent state. Whether you view her arraying Angles against Danes; Danes against Saxons; Saxons against Normans; the Barons against the usurping



Princes, or the civil wars of the red and white roses, or that between the people and the tyrant Stuart—you see her in a state of almost continual warfare. In almost every reign, to the commencement of that of Henry the VIIth, her peaceful bosom (in her poet's phrase) was gored with iron war. It was in the peaceful reigns of Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Charles II. that she suffered the severest extremities of tyranny and oppression. But amid her civil contentions, she flourished and grew strong. Trained in them, she sent her hardy legions forth, which planted the standard of England upon the battlements of Paris; extending her commerce and dominion.

“Those noble English, who could entertain  
With half their forces, the full power of France,  
And let another half stand laughing by,  
All out of work, and cold for action.”

The beautiful fabric of her constitutional liberty was reared and cemented in blood. From this fullness of her strength those scions issued, which taking deep root in this delightful land, have reared their heads, and spread abroad their branches like the cedars of Lebanon.

Why fear we then, to pursue, through apparent evil—real good? The war, upon which we are to enter, is just and necessary. “*Justum est bellum, ubi necessarium; et pia arma, quibus nulla, nisi in armis, relinquitur spes.*” It is to protect these regions, brought to such beauty through the infinite toil and hazard of our fathers and ourselves, from becoming the prey of that more desolating cruel spoiler, than war, pestilence, or famine—absolute rule and endless extortion.

Our sufferings have been great—our endurance long. Every effort of patience, complaint, and supplication, has been exhausted. They seem only to have hardened the hearts of the ministers who oppress us, and double our distresses. Let us therefore consult only how we shall defend our liberties with dignity and success. Our parent state will then think us worthy of her, when she sees that with her liberty we inherit her rigid resolution of maintaining it against all invaders. Let us give her reason to pride herself in the relationship.

And Thou, great liberty! inspire our souls.  
Make our lives happy in thy pure embrace,  
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence!

MS not found; reprinted from *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events*, 17 vols. (London: J. Almon, 1775–84), 2:35–37, where it appeared under the heading: “*Fragment of a Speech made in the General Congress of America, by one of the Delegates in 1775.*”

<sup>1</sup> Although this document was reprinted in several documentary works during the 19th century and apparently accepted as authentic, Burnett chose not to publish it and suggested that it may not have been actually delivered. In speculat-

ing upon the identity of the delegate who might have made such a speech, he offered no new suggestions and simply quoted Charles Francis Adams' conclusions, which seem as pertinent now as then. "By whom this was furnished," Adams wrote, "or whence obtained, does not appear. Mr. Austin, in his *Life of Gerry*, inserts it in a note to page 188, vol. i., with the intimation of his belief that it was made by John Adams. If genuine, the ownership probably lies between him, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Edward Rutledge, as there were no other eloquent men on that side of the question in this Congress. The difficulties are, that it has too much rhetoric for Mr. Adams, too much learning for Patrick Henry, and too much vigor for R. H. Lee, whilst its political tone is too high for Rutledge. With these comments, the reader will be left to form his own opinion from the perusal." Adams, *Works* (Adams), 3:13-14.

Although both Burnett and Adams entertained doubts about the document's authenticity, undoubtedly because of its rhetorical qualities, it is quite possible that it represents the substance of a speech delivered in Congress by a delegate who subsequently rewrote it in a more florid style and sent it to Almon for publication. No additional evidence bearing on its authorship has come to light.

Charles Francis Adams discussed the document in the context of John Adams' autobiographical account of Congress' response to the receipt on June 2 of the Massachusetts Provincial Convention's letter of May 16, 1775. Its content suggests that it was written before Congress began to make substantial preparations for war, and it may well have been a product of the debates in the committee of the whole during the last week of May.

## John Hancock to the New York Provincial Congress

Sir

Philada. June 1st. 1775.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress have a full confidence that the Colonies of New York and Connecticut will heartily Unite their endeavours in carrying into execution the measures necessary for the Common Defence. Under this Confidence the state of preparation in the two Colonies as represented to the Congress induced them Yesterday to direct the Troops ready raised immediately to march, in order to re-inforce the Garrisons at Crown-point and Ticonderoga, which are in imminent danger and that these Troops be furnished with Provisions &c. by the Colony of New York.

That this may be effectually carried into execution so as to answer the end proposed, the Congress have this Day come to the inclosed resolution which I am desired to transmit to you.<sup>2</sup>

I also inclose you another Resolve of Congress for the direction of the Commander at Ticonderoga which please to forward.<sup>3</sup> I am Sir  
Your Most obt. Servt. John Hancock President

Tr (N). Addressed: "To Peter V. B. Livingston President of the Provincial Congress of N York."

<sup>1</sup> Under this date Hancock also sent a letter to Governor Jonathan Trumbull of

Connecticut consisting entirely of the first two paragraphs of this letter to Livingston. Hancock to Trumbull, June 1, 1775, Ct.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 2:75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to John Dickinson

My dear Sir.

Thursd[ay] Morn[in]g [June 1, 1775]<sup>1</sup>

We shall have an Expedition to Montreal again under Consideration very soon after our Meeting this Morning. I am not fully acquainted with the facts and Circumstances on which a Change of Resolution is desired. In my Calculation a good deal will depend on your being present. I do not know but that even so much as whether the project shall be undertaken or not may depend on your Vote and as I imagine you would wish to concur in a dissent from a Measure of so much Importance I have presumed to give you this Information which will rest with yourself. I am dear Sir Your most obed. Servant

Th Johnson Junr

RC (PPL). On the reverse side of this RC are draft resolves, in the hand of Dickinson, which apparently are an anticipation of those on the colonial militia adopted by Congress, July 18, 1775. *JCC*, 2:187-90.

<sup>1</sup> Although this letter is undated, there is good reason to believe that Johnson wrote it this day. On May 31, Congress received a letter from Benedict Arnold, American commander at Ticonderoga, reporting that an expedition of British regulars and their Indian allies was preparing to march on Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Apparently the reception of this intelligence led immediately to the appointment of a committee to consider the feasibility of forestalling the anticipated attack by an American invasion of Canada. See Thomas Willing to John Dickinson, June 1, 1775. In any event, Congress took up the question on June 1, and, for reasons not explained, resolved against an expedition against Canada, ordering copies of its resolution to be sent to Arnold and to be translated into French and distributed among the people of Canada. *JCC*, 2:73-75; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:840.

## George Ross to the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence

Gent

Philada. 1. June 1775

I fear the Military Ardor in our County may in some Measure cool without the Assistance of our Committee in its support. I am informed that the Want of arms will prevent many persons from Associating who might be supply'd by those whose Conciences are scrupulous on the Occasion. If therefore the Committee could come to a Resolve to Recommend to Such Persons to lend their Arms to those who are not Able to purchase for themselves and take the Capts.

rec[eip]t for them to be return'd unless lost in Actual Service I think it would be of the Greatest use to the cause And if it could be recommended also to furnish in the Respective townships the poor persons in the Comp[an]ys with Hunting Shirts many Clever fellows would engage who can't now afford to pay the Expence & bear the loss of time. I have Just thrown out these hints & leave them for The Consideration of the Committee.

We have heard of a Detacht. of 400 Men sent by Genl. Carlton to retake Ticonderoga whose Garrison Consists of 150 Men but a Reinforcemt. of 400 from Connecticut I hope will Arive before Carltons. And we have Ordered another Reinforcemt from Connecticut of 1000 being determined to keep the Post.<sup>1</sup> I am with great Esteem  
Your very Hble Servt. Geo. Ross

P.S. The Quakers & others of Scrupulous Conciences here Are taking the Steps I have mentioned to you as to Arms & Cloathing.

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> JCC, 2:73-74.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 1, 1775]

June 1st. A Report made from the Comee. for supplies of Powder, Commissaries to be appointed by the Govr. of Connecticut to receive the Provis[ion]s at Albany & the Comee. of New York to give all necessary Assistance in transporting them to the Places where wanted.

Invasions or Incursions into Canada forbid.

MS (RHi).

## Thomas Willing to John Dickinson

Dear Sir

Thursday Mornng [June 1, 1775]<sup>1</sup>

A Matter is to be brot. on the Carpet this Morng. which I think must be highly disagreeable to you; it was moved for yesterday & a Committee ordered to report this Morng. & from the Complexion of the Committee chosen, I fear we shall want every help to avoid it. All your friends wish for your presence & none more than your obliged hum. servt.  
T Willing

[P.S.] The old Question Respectg. Cannada—it's not safe to say more—but come to the Congress I beseech you this Morng.



RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the date of this letter and the "Question respecting Canada" to which Willing cryptically alludes, see Thomas Johnson to Dickinson, this date.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia June 2. 1775

I had Yesterday the Pleasure of two Letters from you, by Dr. Church.<sup>1</sup> We had been so long without any Intelligence from our Country, that the Sight of the Dr. gave us great Joy. I have received no Letters from England, untill the Dr. brought me one from Mr. Dilly.

Mr. Henly goes, tomorrow, to the Camp at Cambridge. I am not so ill, as I was when I left you, tho not well. Bass has recover'd of the Small Pox.

Our Debates and Deliberations are tedious, from Nine to four, five, and once near Six. Our Determinations very slow—I hope sure. The Congress will support Us, but in their own Way. Not precisely in that Way which I could wish, but in a better Way than We could well expect, considering what an heterogeneous Body it is.

The Prospect of Crops in all the southern Colonies never was exceeded. What will become of immense Quantities of Provisions, when the Non Exportation takes Place I cant conceive. Surely We shant starve.

Poor Bostonians! My Heart Bleeds for them, day and Night. God preserve and bless them.

Was you frightened, when the sheep Stealers got a drubbing at Grape Island? Father Smith prayed for our Scough Crew, I doubt not, but how did my dear Friend Dr. Tufts sustain the shock? My Duty and Love to them and all others who justly claim them.

My Dear Nabby, and Johnny and Charley and Tommy are never out of my Thoughts. God bless, preserve and prosper them.

You need not send me any Money; What I shall want will be supplied me here, by my Colleagues to be repaid after our Return.

Dr. Warren writes me, about my Brother. My Love to both my Brothers, my Duty to my Mother and your Uncle Quincy. Tell him I hope, our Company continue their Exercises. He would burst to see whole Companies of armed Quakers in this City, in Uniforms, going thro the Manual and Maneuvres like regular Troops. J.A.

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:208–9.

<sup>1</sup>Benjamin Church (1734–76), Massachusetts physician and first director of the army hospital at Cambridge, was later suspected of passing information to General Gage and was convicted by court martial in October 1775 of "holding criminal

correspondence with the enemy." *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 13:380-98. He came to Philadelphia as the emissary of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress carrying a May 16 letter requesting the advice of Congress on assuming "the reins of civil government" in Massachusetts and urging that the Congress take control of the army gathered around Boston. This letter is printed in *JCC*, 2:76-78. Adams' recollection of Congress' response to the letter appears in his autobiography, Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:351-52.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Friday June 2d. 1775

This comes by express, this Moment setting out, have therefore only to say that I am well,<sup>1</sup> but the City grows extreme warm & I wish for the Northward Air but must wish for a While in Vain. I am in hopes, that the Congress will, on their Adjournment, appoint a large Committee of their Body to sit constantly at Hartford or elsewhere near the scene of Action.

I send You a Newspaper of To Day &c., & am &c S. Deane

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> Deane wrote to his wife May 31, 1775, pleading "Want of Time" as the excuse for his infrequent and brief letters. CtHi.

## Benjamin Franklin to Nathaniel Seidel

Reverend & dear Sir,

Philada. June 2. 1775

I am much oblig'd by your kind Congratulations on my Return; and I rejoice to hear that the Brethren are well and prosper.<sup>1</sup> I am persuaded that the Congress will give no Encouragement to any to molest your People on Account of their Religious Principles; and tho' much is not in my Power, I shall on every Occasion exert my self to discountenance and prevent such infamous Practices. Permit me however to give a little Hint in point of Prudence. I remember that you put yourselves into a good Posture of Defence at the Beginning of the last War when I was at Bethlehem; and I then understood from my much respected Friend Bp. Spangenberg, that there were among the Brethren many who did not hold it unlawful to arm in a defensive War. If there still [*are*] any such among your young Men, perhaps it would not be amiss to permit them to learn the military Discipline among their Neighbours, as this might conciliate those who at present express some Resentment; and having Arms in Readiness for all who may be able and willing to use them, will be a general Means of Protection against Enemies of all kinds. But a Declaration of your Society, that tho' they cannot in conscience compell

their young Men to learn the use of Arms, yet they do not restrain such as are so disposed, will operate in the Minds of People very greatly in your Favour. Excuse my Presumption in offering Advice, which indeed may be of little Value, but proceeds from a Heart fill'd with Affection and Respect for a Society I have long highly esteem'd, and among whom I have many valuable Friends.

I am with great Regard & Veneration, Revd. Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

B Franklin

[P.S.] Written in great Haste.

RC (PBMCA) .

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Seidel's letter to Franklin, asking that he be the Moravians' "Advocate" in Congress and use his influence on behalf of measures permitting "every Religious Society [to] enjoy their Privileges full & undisturbed, as long as they do not act against their Country," is printed in *PMHB* 29 (1905): 245-46. The status of pacifists in Pennsylvania was brought before Congress at the beginning of July by the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence, but the delegates sidestepped the issue and left it to the Pennsylvania Assembly, which on June 30 had passed a series of resolves to prevent ill feeling and to permit pacifists to make contributions for their defense in lieu of bearing arms. See Pennsylvania Delegates to the Lancaster County Committee, July 6, 1775.

## Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Samuel Purviance, Jr.

My dear sr.

Phila. 2d June 1775

I am sorry to hear of your Indisposition. Perhaps it is not without some Degree of Selfishness that I wish an Establishment of your Health and as the most likely Means of it approve your resolution to go to Fred[erick] or some other place where there's a good Air & for a while endeavour to unload your Mind of its oppressing Anxiety. It grieves my Soul that my own Countrymen who have not only tasted but eaten of the fruits of Liberty should be such ungrateful Niggards as to refuse the Return of a pittance for Our preservation out of the profusion of her Bounty which she smilingly bestowed on them. If such alone could feel the [sting?] of Despotism so far as might serve for their Condition it would be my second wish that they should. It is far from certain that any Troops will be sent to N York. If there should I am in Hopes things will be put on such a footing in that Quarter that they will not be able to make a garrisoned Town of the City or penetrate into the Country. The American Army is much too strong for the Regulars in the Massachusetts. As Wm Lee writes his Brother not more than 2000 Troops will be sent even if so we may certainly by acting on the Defensive protract the Business and give a fair Chance for a favourable Operation of our Commercial System. But whether the ardour of the people their Resentment, perpetually

stimulated by fresh Injuries & Insults can be restrained is very questionable. I perfectly agree with you in Sentim[en]ts that we make a favourable Campaign by preventg. the Regulars from doing any Thing this Summer, nay I go further that we should reap more Advantage from such steady negative Conduct than from any Victory.

I am sorry to tell you the Continent is not now so well furnished with powder as I expected much less as I wish and I intreat you if there is any way of getting powder or Salt petre into your place that you lay a Scheme for it before it is quite too late. I imagine that powder may be got from the Cape or any of the foreign Islands or ports notwithstanding the contrary promises of the French and Dutch. Sulphur is wanted in but small proportion and by what I learn enough may be had. I imagine you [might] have some worth saving in Balt. [Town?]. I am fully in Sentimt. with you as to our Exports and Salt. My Health continues. I am dr. sr. Your friend & fellow Labourer.

Ths. Johnson Junr

RC (Bentley Courtenay, Madison, Wis., 1972) .

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 2, 1775]

2d. Dr. Church arrived with a Letter & Instructions from the provincial Congress asking advice of the Congress. Resolutions forbidg. Bills of Exchange to be negotiated. No provisions to be supplied the Army & Navy in Massachusetts or the Transports.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:78.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[June 3–5, 1775]

Saturday at Congress—set out at 5 oClock for Wilmington, lodged at Chester.<sup>1</sup> Cost—14s-6d.

At Wilmington spent Sunday.<sup>2</sup> Cost 8s-2d.

At Chester returng—14s-5d.

Returned on Monday dined at home. After Noon at Committee untill 12 oClock at Night. Clubb 4s.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 89.

<sup>1</sup> Deane made this trip with Eliphalet Dyer and John Adams. See Deane to



Elizabeth Deane, June 6, 1775; and John Adams to Abigail Adams, June 6, 1775, Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:211-12.

<sup>3</sup> Deane wrote a brief note to his wife, transmitting several items for her reading pleasure, which bore the date line "Phila[delphia] 4th June 1775." CtHi. It cannot be determined from where or when the letter was actually posted.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia June 3d. 1775

Your Favor of the 28th is before Me & upbraids the shortness of my Two Last Letters, as I promised You, as well as myself they should be longer & more particular, for the greatest pleasure even in This City where hospitality itself resides is in receiving agreeable Accounts of the happiness of Ones absent Freinds, and in return to convey the same to Them. The Congress tho' not numerous, are yet a very unweildly Body, in their very Nature, as no Motion or resolution, can be started or proposed, but what must be subject to much Canvassing before it will pass with the unanimous approbation of Thirteen Colonies whose situation and Circumstances are various—And Unanimity is the Basis on which we mean to rise. And I thank God it hitherto prevails to a most Surprizing degree. Beside, Our Business has run away with Us, as I may say for though the Northern Expedition met with a warm approbation, yet the Resolutions necessary to be formed respecting those posts put by the forming a general plan of Operation, which had it been previously laid, every such manœuvre would of course have been provided for at once.<sup>1</sup>

You have an indifferent Opinion of the Spirit of some in Our Assembly. You know my Sentiments of them, in general, & no man living, I am bold to say, knows them better, but though Caution has ever been, and is still predominant, yet when matters come to a push, No Assembly or Government has behaved better, & indeed not only the Name of a *Yankee* but of a Connecticut Man in particular, is become very respectable this Way, and Governor Trumbull is highly applauded by the Congress, for the Letters he has wrote Us, and the measures he has pursued as Governor; indeed Now the Constitution of Connecticut appears in its full Lustre, and the whole Continent are sensible of its superiority, to any other, and must, I beleive, after all adopt one similar in each Colony.

John Webb is I presume before this returned And by him You will see in the first place what kind of a Coat I have got, in the next place learn by the Letters he carries and by what We have since dispatch'd That the Congress are determined at all Events to hold Ticonderoga, and to pursue with vigor every defensive Measure. The Militia are constantly out, Morning & Evening at Exercise, and there are already

Thirty Companies in this City in Uniform, well armed, & have made a most surprizing progress. The Uniform is worth describing to You. It is a dark Brown, (like Our Homespun) Coat, faced with Red, White, Yellow, or Buff according to Their different Battallions, White Vest & Breeches, White Stockings, half Boots, black knee Garters. Their Coat is made Short, falling but little below the Waistband of the Breeches, which shews the size of a Man to very great advantage. Their Hatts are small as Jesse's little one, almost, with a Red, or White, or black Ribbon, according to Their Battallions, closing in a Rose, out of which, rises a Tuft of Furr, of Deer made to resemble the Bucks Tail as near as possible, of about six or eight Inches high. Their Cartouch Boxes are large, with the Word Liberty & the Number of their Battallion wrote on the outside in large White Letters. Thus equipp'd the[y] make a most elegant appearance, as their Cartouch Boxes are hung with a broad White wash Leather Strapp or Belt & their Bayonette on the other side with one of the same, which Two Crossing on the shoulders Diamond fashion gives an agreeable appearance Viewed in the rear. The Light Infantry are in Green, faced with Buff, Vests &c as the others except the Hatt which is a hunters Capp, or Jockey. These are without exception the Genteelest Companies I ever saw. They have besides a Body of irregulars, or rifle Men, whose dress it is hard to describe. They take a peice of Ticklenburgh, or Tan Cloth that is stout and put it in a Tann Fatt, untill it has the shade of a dry, or fading Leaf, then they make a kind of Frock of it reaching down below the knee, open before, with a Large Cape, they wrapp it round them tight on a March, & tye it with their Belt in which hangs their Tomahawk, their Hatts As the others. They exercise in the Neighboring Groves firing at Marks, and throwing their Tomahawks, forming on a sudden into one Line, and then at a Word, break their Order, and take their posts, to hit their mark. West of this City is an open Square, of near Two Miles each Way with large Groves each side, in which, each After Noon they Collect, with a vast Number of Spectators.

Next Monday is the Day of their general review after which will write You more on the Military Subject. Mr. Dickinson commands one Battallion, Mr RobertDeaux another. Mr. Cadwallader (a Gentleman of immense Fortune) a third, I know not the others—only that my Freind Mifflin is one of the Majors. They have a Body of Horse in training but I have not as yet seen them out. I dined Yesterday with Mr. Cadwallader, whose Furniture, & house exceed any thing I have seen in this City or elsewhere.

My Time is all Taken up, for at Congress at Nine, out no Day earlier than Four—then on Committee's frequently, leaves me no spare Time, & tires Me effectually, well as I love the busy scenes of Politics in Your, & my Freinds Opinion, I had rather not be appointed to

Committees quite so often as I am, for since my being at this Congress, I have had more than my Share of such Business.

The Colony of Connecticut having their Men ready has been of Service, & I trust We shall get great share of their expence refunded by the Continent. I have wrote so much on Politics, that I have neither Time nor room to add more than Love to all of both Families, and a kind remembrance of the Neighbors &c. &c. Am sorry to hear of Mr. Merriams Situation, his Loss will be long felt by that people. Mr. Peircy is returned from London & is preaching away here for the first Time last Evening. I went to Mrs. Roberdeaux, in The After-noon to drink Coffee with the Celebrated Beauty Miss Keys of whom I spoke to You formerly. She is really handsome, but Mrs. Roberdeaux is a zealot in Religion, which I am farr from at Home, or abroad. She must needs go to hear Mr. Peircy at the further end of the City. I told her I had my Pocket Book in my pocket and must be excused, and in plain English did not approve of Evening Lectures of any kind. She marked Me down as an heretic, & what is almost infinitely worse, a Man of no sensibility, or Taste, that could at any rate decline walking near Two Mile, & sitting a whole Evening to hear a Man preach, to have The inexpressible pleasure of being in Company with so much Beauty, but I shipp'd Col. Dyer on the Voyage & gave them the slipp in the best manner I could. On my return, I fell in Company with Two young Ladies, neither of them handsome, yet so free, merry, & diverting, that I must honestly say I had rather spend one hour in their Compy than Four in that where so much formality must be attended to even were I to gaze at an Angel. The Ladies I last spoke of are Daughters of a very good Freind of mine in the City, and are very much like Our *Sally*, only they sing well, which she does not, or will not. What a Mess have I wrote, I promised You a Long Letter & here You have it a perfect Farrago of Politics, Military, &c &c—& here let it End by my wishing You every Felicity which human Nature is capable of enjoying, & by assuring You I am Your most Affectionate Husband

S D

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup>See the resolutions of May 31 and June 1 respecting the posts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. *JCC*, 2:74–75.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Sr

Philadelphia June 3d 1775

I have but just a Moments time to Acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 25th & 26th Ult. I wrote you some time since by one Mr Brown who was at the taking the fort at Ticonderoga & from this place (as he said) was bound direct to Cambridge. I then had

only to Inform you of Our progress to this place, & at this time what we are att Liberty to Communicate from the Congress you will from time to time See in the public papers. There is no doubt but the Congress will approve and Support the Measures Which have been taken by the New England Colonies & I think we have got New York now Compleatly taken in. The advice given to New York with respect to the Troops that might be attempted to be landed there was in Consequence of their strong Solicitation to preserve their City from ruin.<sup>1</sup> It was said to be Impossible to prevent their landing & that an Immediate Attack would Induce the Men of Warr to lay the City in ruins. There is Care taken to have Sufficient Batteries in the most Convenient places up along Hudsons river to prevent any King's Ships or Cutters going up there. New York are raising 3 or 4000 Men. There are preparations making in every quarter but Unhappily No or but Very little powder except in the New England Colonies.

We have just now receivd letters from Albany that Guy Johnson has lately been much Alarmd, is fortifying, & Collected a Number of his Irish Roman Catholicks in that County to protect him, and has Alarmd all the Indians in that quarter pretending that he has heard the New England people are coming to take him & his family & make him their prisoner. But the Majistrates of Schenectida & of Albany have had a talk with the Indians, Assured them of the falsity of that report by which the Indians are quieted & give the Strongest Assurance they will take no part in the dispute Between great Britain & her Colonies Unless their Superintended Johnson is Molested. If he is they must protect him. I hope he will soon be quieted. The Express is now only waiting for me therefore cannot one quarter finish my letter. We Understand Genll Burgoyne &c are arived. If so be on your guard for I think you may depend upon a Violent push from him. He will rather Sacrifice all the English Troop than suffer the disgrace of being Cooped up by you Yankees therefore keep a good look out. I hope if he make Any Attempt you will draw & decoye him into the Country by a retreating fire & then you may have him from every quarter. I must break of[f] in this spot. Youll therefore wait for more in my Next. The Conduct of Connecticutt is highly Approved here. Our Govrs letters are much Esteemd. God bless you all Succeed & prosper you. I hope the Army will run no great risques at first for but little benefit. In Utmost haste from your sincere friend & Hbe  
 Servt  
 Elipht Dyer

[P.S.] I have Inclosed you a print sent to the Congress by the Cham[b]erlain of London as it is said.<sup>2</sup>

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> See resolution of May 15, 1775. *JCC*, 2:52.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the address of the mayor and alderman of London to the king, April



10, 1775, supporting the American cause, and the king's response, expressing "the utmost astonishment" that his subjects were "encouraging the rebellious disposition . . . of my Colonies in *North America*." Copies of these documents, reprinted from the *London Gazette*, April 11, 1775, arrived in America at the end of May. Ezekiel Russell, printer of Salem, Mass., reprinted them in broadside form under the date May 29, 1775. Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, 12 vols. (Chicago: Privately printed, 1903-34), No. 14163; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1853-54. Subsequently they were reprinted in several of the American newspapers.

## John Jay's Draft Petition to the King

[June 3-19? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

To the Kings most excellent Majesty

The Petition of the freeholders & Freemen of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachus Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, the                      on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina & the Parish of St Johns in the Colony of Georgia, by their Representatives convened in general Congress at the City of Philadelphia the                      Day of                      1775.

Most humbly sheweth

That your Majestys American Subjects bound to your Majesty by the strongest Ties of Allegiance & affection and attached to their Parent Country by every Bond that can unite Societies, deplore with the deepest Concern the continuance of that System of colonial Administration which for twelve Years past has filled the minds of the loyal Inhabitants of North America with apprehensions of the most alarming Nature.

That reposing the utmost Confidence in the paternal Care of their Prince and the Justice of the British Nation they were urged by the perilous Situation of their Liberties to solicit his Majesty's Attention by their late Petition to their real & unmerited Greivances, and to request his royal Interposition in their Behalf.

That tho disappointed in their Expectations of Relief they still remember their Duty to their Sovereign, & imputing the Rigour of their Treatment to insidious Counsels & wicked Misrepresentation, they again beg Leave to entreat for Justice & to request only that Portion of Liberty to which God and the Constitution have given them Rights.

That Nothing but the Overruling Laws of self Preservation could ever have induced them to pursue any Measures which might be deemed offensive to their King or disrespectful to the British Nation, and that they ardently desire an opportunity of manifesting their Fidelity to the one and evincing their affection for the other.

That neither repeated oppression nor all the Miseries which attend the sword or are Threatned by Famine have yet weaned them from their Parent Country, and that they cannot yet cease to seek by every dutiful & peaceable Means in their Power to obtain a Restoration of that Harmony which formerly gave union Wealth & Power to the Empire.

That they most earnestly beseech his Majesty to commission some good & great Men to inquire into the Grievances of his faithful Subjects, & be pleased to devise some Means of accommodating those unhappy Dissentions which unless amicably terminated must endanger the safety of the whole Empire and that shd. his majesty not be disposed to hear the Complaints of his American Subjects from their Representatives in Congress we most humbly beseech his Majesty to direct Com[missioner]s from their different Assemblies to convene for the Purpose.

That altho the People of North America are determined to be free they wish not to be independent and beg Leave again to assure his Majesty that they mean not to question the Right of the British Parliament to regulate the Commercial Concerns of the Empire in the Manner they have before declared as their Enemies have unkindly insinuated and to remove all Doubts upon this Head are ready to confirm these Declarations by Acts of their Legislatures in the different Colonies.

That *(to facilitate the Restoration of Union & Harmony)* they most humbly submit it to his Majestys Wisdom [whether] it wd not tend to facilitate the Restoration of Union & Harmony that the further Effusion of Blood should be prevented & every irritating Measure suspended and should his Majesty be graciously pleased by his royal Interposition to relieve his faithful Subjects from the Uneasiness & Anxiety they feel from the several acts of the british Parliament by which they think themselves so greatly agreived, they will with the utmost Gratitude & Chearfulness return to & resume that former Intercourse with their parent State which Nothing but the most pressing necessities could ever induce them to interrupt.

They also take the Liberty of suggesting that when Concord & mutual Confidence shall thus be reestablished between his Majesty's British & American Subjects, their several Claims may be examined with Temper, adjusted with Precision and the present unnatural Contest end in a Compact that may place the Union of the Empire on a firm & permanent Basis.

MS (PPL) . In the hand of John Jay.

<sup>1</sup> On May 26, 1775, Congress resolved to present a second petition to the king asking for redress of American grievances, and on June 3 it appointed a committee to draw up this document. The committee, consisting of John Dickinson, Thomas Johnson, John Rutledge, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin, brought in a draft

petition, largely the work of Dickinson, on June 19, which Congress finally approved, apparently with only a few minor amendments, on July 5. Congress then entrusted the petition to Richard Penn for presentation to George III, but the king refused to receive it. *JCC*, 2:65, 79–80, 100, 126–27, 158–62; *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:627; Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford, 12 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904–5), 1:17–18; Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:317–18; and *NYHS Collections* 11 (1878): 284–85.

The present text is an early draft by John Jay of the second petition to the king. Although Jay's draft and Dickinson's petition are both conciliatory in tone, they are dissimilar in nearly all other respects. It is not known exactly when Jay composed this draft, but he probably did so sometime between the appointment of the committee and the presentation of its report to Congress. It is also impossible to state what use was made of Jay's draft, but since Jay proposed that the king appoint commissioners to inquire into American grievances and that the colonial legislatures confirm Parliament's right to regulate American commerce, it can be assumed that the committee rejected it because it was too conciliatory.

## New York Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress

Gent.

Philadelphia, 3rd June, 1775.

We have received your several letters, and communicated such of your papers to the Congress as were intended for their inspection. Your plan for raising money we are much pleased with, though we have some doubt of its being adopted; however, as the reasons on which it is founded, appear to us to be conclusive, we shall use our endeavours to carry it through. Till the success is known, you will, we dare say, see a propriety in keeping the whole secret.

We observe with pleasure the attention of our Colony to Indian affairs, as they are really of the highest importance. Should you conceive the interposition of the Congress necessary, you will let us know the mode in which you think it will be most effectual.

You inquire whether the direction relative to the militia of New-York was intended to extend farther than that city and county. In answer to this, we must inform you that it was the design of the Congress that the whole Province should be well armed and disciplined.<sup>1</sup>

We wish to hear that you have received some supply of powder, as we fear that none is to be procured here; the people conceiving they have not a sufficient stock for their own defence. We believe, however, that Connecticut will take care to supply their troops at Ticonderoga with that article, as the command of that post is for the present vested in their officers, owing to your repeated declaration of your inability to furnish the arms and ammunition necessary for its defence.

We think it an object of great consequence, to know in whom you would wish to vest the command of the Continental Army in our

Province, which is to be maintained at the general charge, and hope you will not be at a loss to fix on men among yourselves, who may be intrusted with that important charge. As general officers will in all probability be shortly appointed by this Congress, your express should return immediately, with a warm recommendation of those persons in our Province, who you think may safely be trusted with the first and second commands, as major and brigadier-generals.<sup>2</sup> If possible, let us have an answer to this by Tuesday morning, drawn up in such a manner, that if necessary, it may be offered to the Congress, with the reasons on which such choice is founded. We know of nothing farther that may require your attention, unless it be to recommend a profound secrecy with respect to any advice we may offer, particularly on the subject of this letter, though we conceive that your own prudence will render any such recommendation unnecessary.

If you wish for any other direction, pray be speedy and explicit in your application. We remain, with great respect, Your most ob. hum. servts.

Jas. Duane

Francs. Lewis

Robt. R. Livingston, Junr.

Wm. Floyd

Ph. Schuyler

S. Boerum

John Alsop

Henry Wisner

MS not found; reprinted from *Journals of N.Y. Prov. Cong.*, 1:30.

<sup>1</sup>For the congressional resolves concerning the New York militia, see *JCC*, 2:60–61.

<sup>2</sup>The New York Provincial Congress responded to this request on June 7 by recommending Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery for the offices of major general and brigadier general respectively. Congress, in turn, appointed Schuyler and Montgomery to the positions for which they were recommended. *JCC*, 2:99, 103; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1281–82.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[June 3, 1775]

Fair. [. . .] Dined City Tavern. News of the Skirmish at Grape Island.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>One of a series of minor skirmishes fought on the islands around Boston. It occurred on May 21, and Abigail Adams had conveyed the news to Paine's colleague, John Adams, in a letter of May 24. Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:204–6.



## Philip Schuyler to Samuel Stringer

Dear Sir

Philadelphia June 3d 1775

Your favor of the 15th Ult. I had the pleasure of Receiving a few days ago and Immediately Answrd, that of the 27th I recd this day. The Conduct of the Albany Committee has given great Satisfaction to the Congress. You cannot wonder that I should be pleased with Every transaction that reflects honor on my Dear Countrymen. I mentioned to You in my former that I did not believe the ports would be shut before the time limitted by the last Congress If then; I have a farther reason (which I am not at liberty to Communicate) from an Occurance since I wrote to Corroborate that Opinion. I have wrote your Committee three letters Since my Arrival but have not had a line Acknowledging the receipt of any whence I Conclude they had not Come to hand when you wrote.

The Article of Powder is under Serious Consideration, but difficult as It is to procure that Essential Commodity I hope however we shall Soon have a Supply.<sup>1</sup>

May Indulgent heaven Smile propitiously on Endeavours of the Americans to remain a free and a happy people, may my Countrymen Stand distinguished in the Glorious Struggle, and may an all directing Providence Guide us safely thro the Dangers of this unhappy Contest untill we arrive at the much wished for haven of peace. I am Sir Your's & the Gentlemen of the Committee's Most Obed. & huml Servt.

Ph. Schuyler

RC (ICHi). Addressed: "Samuel Stringer Esqr. Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of Albany."

<sup>1</sup>This day Congress appointed the Pennsylvania delegates as a committee to borrow £6,000 for "the purchase of gunpowder for the use of the Continental Army." *JCC*, 2:79.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 3, 1775]

3rd. A Comee. appointed to consider of the State of the Massachusetts, a Comee. to borrow £6000 &c, Comees. for a Petition to the King, Address to the People of England, Do. to Ireland, Letter to Jamaica, Comee. for considering Money necessary.

MS (RHi).

## Philip Schuyler to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen N. York [*i.e.* Philadelphia] June 4th, 1775.

As I am ordered by the Continental Congress to liquidate the accounts of the people employed in the reduction of Ticonderoga, that they may be paid, and as Messrs. [Ethan] Allen and [Seth] Warner were concerned, there will be money due to them; and as they are in want of some, I could wish you to advance them thirty pounds, and to make it a Continental charge, for which I shall debit them in their account with the public. I am, gentlemen, Your most obedient humble servant,  
Ph. Schuyler.

MS not found; reprinted from *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:10.

## Benjamin Franklin to Thomas Life

*Philadelphia June 5. 1775.* Instructs Life, agent in London for the Connecticut Assembly, to withdraw Franklin's petition in a legal appeal which no longer seems worth prosecuting, "hostilities being commenced by General Gage against America, and a Civil War begun, which I have no Chance of living to see the End of, being 70 Years of Age."

Tr (William Salt Library, Stafford, England, U.K. Courtesy the Earl of Dartmouth).

## Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 5th June 1775

I wrote a long Letter to you by Captain Gilles, and now would write a much longer if I was at liberty to mention the business taken up by the Congress, but that I cannot do till the injunction of Secrecy is taken of[f]. They have much before them, scarce a day passes without the Arival of an express from some quarter, and altho' Necessity strongly urges that they should be speedy in their determinations, yet they proceed very slowly. I wish to God you was here that I might advise with you on some matters of great importance. I could say a thousand things to you in my Chamber that I cannot by any means put on paper. I am exceedingly uneasy (so are my Colleagues) not that I think we are doing any thing but what Necessity will Justify, but I fear we shall be obliged to promise for our Colony

much more than it will perform and perhaps more than it is able to bear. When a large extensive Country Loses its Trade, when its Ports are all Shutt up and all exportation ceases, will there be Virtue enough found in that Country to bear heavy Taxes with patience. Suppose a Country, no matter where, should be under such circumstances, and Necessity should oblige the inhabitants to raise a large Army for their defence, how is it to be paid? Suppose the exigences of that country should demand *one million Sterlg. per Annum*, *how is it to be raised? how made? how sunk?* I will not trouble you farther with imaginary Countries, but beg leave to call your attention to your Own, where I think it will be absolutely Necessary to have a Provincial Convention immediately. I think Mr. Harvey may appoint some day in August for the Meeting, an express should be sent to every County with Letters to some of the most popular Men that are friendly to our cause, and great care should be taken to have as full a representation as possible. Some matters will be laid before them that will require the utmost exertions of every friend to American Liberty amongst you. I cannot pretend to say when the Congress will break up, perhaps I may be able to guess at it a month hence. It has been often proposed by some of our Members out of Doors to Adjourn to Hartford or New haven in Connecticut in Order that we might be near the seat of Action, but some of the Southern Gentlemen have not yet given their Consent, nor do I think they ever will. Hooper and myself are willing. I shall be pleased with the Change, it would afford me an opportunity of Visiting the Camp of the *American Army* near Boston which I want much to see.

My best Compliments are offerd to the Ladies of your family, to Mr. Iredell and the Ladies there and to Mrs. Dawson & her family. Caswell & Hooper Join in respectfull Salutations to you with, Dear Sir, Your mo Obed hum Servant

Joseph Hewes

[P.S.] I have given Mr Underhill some News papers he will show them to you—see my Letter to Mr Smith.

RC (NN facsimile). Extract printed in Burnett, *Letters*, 1:112-13. RC incomplete; missing words supplied from Burnett.

## William Hooper to Samuel Johnston

My dear Johnston

Philadelphia June 5th 1775

I wrote you lately by Mr Hewes's Vessell. I have nothing to add but to request of you to exert your utmost influence to prevail upon the people to enroll themselves in Companies, sacredly to attend to the preservation of what little Gunpowder remains amongst them, &

to rest assured that no terms will be obtained from Lord North but what are purchased at the point of the Sword. Pray forward the Inclosed by the first Opportunity. Mrs. Hooper is as yet at a loss whether I have fixed my feet in Philadelphia. Make my Compliments acceptable to your Lady & Family & believe me to be Dear Sir Your Friend

Will Hooper

[P.S.] Expect to hear fully from me b[y a] Vessel which [. . .] (Captain Farrow?) bound to Edenton on Wednesday next.

Should no opportunity offer from Edenton sooner, pray send the packet addressed to my Brother's by post.

RC (NNPM) . Tr (DLC) . Postscript supplied from Tr.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[June 5, 1775]

Rainy A.M. Heard of Skirmish of Noddles &c.<sup>1</sup> Dined at Mr. [James] Mease.

MS (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> The battle on Noddle's and Hog's Islands occurred May 27-28 and resulted in the capture of the British schooner *Diana*. Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934) , pp. 190-93.

## George Washington's Diary

[June 5, 1775]

5. Dined at Mr. Richard Penn's, on a Committee all the afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC) . Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick) , 2:198.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the committee "to bring in an estimate of the money necessary to be raised," which was appointed June 3 and reported to Congress June 7. See Silas Deane's Diary, June 3-5, 6, 1775; and *JCC*, 2:80-81.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[June 6, 1775]

Saturday set out for Wilmington returned on Monday, spent the Evening, and Day insuing, on Committees, making an Estimate.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 92.



## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

Tuesday June 6th. 1775

After Finishing the inclosed on Saturday and missing the Conveyance, I took up my Horses and in Co[mpany] with Col. Dyer, Father Cushing & Mr. J Adams made an excursion as farr as *Wilmington* in the lower Counties, Twenty Eight Miles from This place down the Delaware. Unfortunately the Rain (which I hope you have had plenty of) prevented Our viewing critically as I could wish this Charming Country, which is hardly exceeded, by my beloved Standard, *Connecticut River*. Wilmington is situate on a Small River Called *Christiarn*, running to the South of it through a rich, beautiful, & extensive meadow. This little River is Navigable up about Two Miles above the Town, to a Bridge called the Christiana, and empties into the D[elaware] about Three Miles below, or to the East of the Town, thro' one immense body of [fine] Meadows, in which there is scarce a Single Tree, to intercept the view of every Vessel sailing up and down the Delaware, become very wide at this place. The Town is compact has as many houses as Hartford, descends Towards the River Christiarn, & the Meadows East in much the Same manner, is well built with Brick, has Two Presbyterian, one Quaker, & one Swedish Church in it, and the Quantities of Flour manufactured there would render it a large place were it not Too much in the shade of Philadelphia, to which they shipp all that Article, at least Forty Miles by Water, to be reshipp'd by the Merchants there. To give You an Idea of the greatness of this Business, a Gentleman at Wilmington told Me, that one Coaster carried Annually Thirty Thousand Barrels to Philadelphia. How many such they have I know not, but their Mills are thick as a little Town, and large as Meeting houses, larger indeed, than Most. We returned on Yesterday, thro' the rain which has prevented their review for the present.

This instant, I have a Letter from Brother Barn[aba]s at Albany & from Col. Porter of the 1st Instant, by which I hope matters will go right at Last. The Congress are Now out on Committees, by which I hoped for Leisure but am forced on one of them, from which I have slipp'd a Minute, to write this Morning, having [sat] up with them, allmost the whole of last [nig]ht on the Business. Hope soon to be able [to] give the public an agreeable Acct of Our proceedings, and alleviate, the Fears & distresses of Our parsimonious Senators, by exhibiting to Them, Specimens of Continental Firmness, Union, & spirit, on the present Occassion. I am my Dear as ever Your's, &c

S. D.

[P.S.] The affair at Hogg & Noddle Islands coming on the back of the expedition to Grape Island gives Our people a high Character here.<sup>1</sup>

Wilmington is the Spot, where the New Haven people landed in 1640 and began a Settlement, but were afterward drove off by the Dutch, and Swedes. The posterity of the Latter are still here & the River, & Bridge bear the Name of Christiern, & Christiena after the King & Queen of Sweden at that Time. I could not help sighing to think what a Country We lost at that Day, but all is right.

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Robert Treat Paine's Diary, June 3 and 5, 1775. An account of the raids appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* June 6, 1775, and in other Philadelphia papers subsequently. Roger Sherman later cited the publicity accorded Israel Putnam for his role in capturing the British schooner *Diana* in conjunction with the raid on Noddle's Island as an important factor in securing Putnam's appointment as the fourth major general of the Continental Army on June 19. Sherman to David Wooster, June 23 and to Jonathan Trumbull, June 28, 1775.

## New York Delegates to the Albany Committee of Correspondence

Gent.

Philadelphia 6th June 1775.

We this Morning received your favour of the first Instant by express.

The inclosed resolution of the Continental Congress which has already been forwarded to our Convention at New York will explain their sentiments with respect to Ticonderoga,<sup>1</sup> and we are happy it Corresponds so well with your own Wishes; as our Province was not provided with Men and Ammunition to defend that Important Post it was thought necessary to apply to the Government of Connecticut for a Body of Troops, and to authorise Governor Trumble to appoint a Commanding Officer for the present. They will we presume be relieved as soon as our own Men are raised and equipped. This Invasion will settle all disputes between Collo. Arnold and Ethan Allen, who will both be superseded [ed] by the Colonel of the Connecticut Regiment, now probably on its way to the Lakes.

We are extremely sorry that at so Critical a Juncture there should be any occasion of Uneasiness between the Colonies. We have mentioned to the Delegates of the Massachusets your Complaints that some Persons of that Province promise Extraordinary Wages to Induce Men in our Government to enlist in their Service. They cannot be persuaded there is any just foundation for such a charge, at least they are Confident that no Person has Authority to offer any encouragement beyond what is allowed to the Troops raised amongst themselves which is 40/ their Money a Month, and a Coat. We shall consider whether it may be proper to make a formal application to the

Congress on this Subject. In the mean time we do not chuse to detain your Express as the Resolution inclosed is of Great Importance for Your direction.

The Attention your Committee has paid to the Common Cause and particularly to Indian Affairs meets with approbation, and we know of no object more worthy of your Care than that of keeping the Six Nations in good Humour and preventing their Interfering in this Dispute. When any thing further offers, which we may be at Liberty to Communicate, we shall not fail of giving you the earliest Intelligence.

We learn that a Quantity of damaged Powder is amongst the Stores found at Ticonderoga. Care should be taken to send it with all expedition to the Committee at N. York to be remanufactured. We are with great Respect Gentlemen Your Most Obedient Humble Servants.

Phil. Livingston      Lewis Morris

Jas. Duane      Frans. Lewis

Ph. Schuyler      Henry Wisner

P. S. You will see the necessity that any Troops destined for Ticonderoga, be supplied with Provisions and aided with every necessary for their speedily arriving at that place, and we have no doubt but that this will command your utmost attention, as we foresee no small difficulties on this Head.

Tr (N).

<sup>1</sup>On this resolution, see John Hancock to the New York Provincial Convention, May 31, 1775.

## John Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Dr sir

Phyladelphia June [7?] 1775<sup>1</sup>

Mr Gadsden of South Carolina whose Fame you must have heard, was in his younger Years, an officer, on board the Navy, and is well acquainted with the Fleet. He has Several Times taken Pains to convince me that this Fleet is not so formidable to America, as we fear. He Says We can easily take their sloops, Schooners and Cutters, on board of whom are all their best Seamen, and with these We can easily take their large Ships, on board of whom are all their impress'd and discontented Men. He thinks the Men would not fight on board the large ships with their fellow subjects, but would certainly kill their own officers. He Says it is a different Thing, to fight the French or Spaniards from what it is to fight british Americans—in one case, if taken Prisoners they must lie in Prison for Years, in the other obtain their Liberty and Happiness.

He thinks it of great Importance that Some Experiments should be made on the Cutters. He is confident that We may get a Fleet of our own, at a cheap Rate, and this would give great Spirits to this Continent, as well as little Spirits to the Ministry.<sup>2</sup>

RC (NHpR). In Adams' hand, though not signed. Addressed: "To Elbridge Gerry Esq., Marblehead."

<sup>1</sup> Although Adams failed to record the day on which he wrote this letter, it apparently reached Watertown before June 20, after having been first sent to Marblehead. Since James Warren told Adams that he had used this letter to rally support for a state navy in a committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, which on June 20 ordered the issue "to subside for the present," it must have been written early in the month. During this period, letters sent to Massachusetts from Philadelphia were delivered on the average in about 10 days. James Warren to John Adams, July 11, 1775, *Warren-Adams Letters*, 1:81-82; and *The Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775, and of the Committees of Safety . . .*, ed. William Lincoln (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1838), p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Remainder of MS missing.

## John Adams to Isaac Smith, Sr.

Dr. sir

Phyladelphia June 7. 1775

Two days ago, I was very agreeably surprized by a Letter from you,<sup>1</sup> which was acceptable both for the important public Intelligence it contained and as it informed me of your Escape from Boston. I had suffered much Anxiety, on Account of yourself and your Family, supposing you were confined in Town and subject to I knew not what Inconveniences or Indignities.

I cant yet learn that Mr. Boylstone, or Mrs. Gill are suffered to leave the Town.

News, We have none at this Place. The Proceedings of the Congress, are all secret, but such few Votes as you see in the public Papers. The N. Foundland British Fishery We had taken Care of before I had the Honour of your Letter: and you may depend upon it, that not a Pound of flour, or Bread or Meat goes from any of these Colonies, to supply that fishery.<sup>2</sup>

We have here a most glorious Season, plenty of Rain and as fine a Prospect of Crops as ever Was known. This is in a kind Providence our Security against Famine, and the amazing military Ardor That now prevails, through every Colony upon the Continent, We hope will secure our Country against the Swords of our Enemies.

There are in this City, Three large Regiments, raised, formed, armed, trained, and uniformed under Officers consisting of Gentlemen of the very first Fortune and best Character in the Place. All this has started up, since 19th. April. They cover the Common every



Day in the Week, Sundays not excepted. There is a Company of young Quakers. This Spirit is not confined to the City, but runs through the Province, and through all the neighbouring Colonies. Saturday afternoon I made a little Excursion down to Wilmington. Every little Village We passed thro, had Companies of Men exercising.

My Duty to my Aunt, my Love to your two sons and to Miss Polly and Miss Betsy and Regards to all friends.

I am, sir your most huml sert,

John Adams

RC (MH) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:212-13.

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Smith, Sr. (1719-87) , Boston merchant and uncle of Abigail Adams, subsequently resided in Salem during the siege of Boston. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 1:277.

<sup>2</sup> On May 17, 1775, Congress resolved "that no provisions of any kind, or other necessities be furnished to the British Fisheries on the American coasts until it be otherwise determined by the Congress." *JCC*, 2:54. See also *JCC*, 2:70-71.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir

Phyladelphia June 7. 1775

We have been puzzled to discover, what we ought to do, with the Canadians and Indians. Several Persons have been before the Congress who have lately been in the Province of Canada, particularly Mr Brown and Mr Price, who have informed us that the French are not unfriendly to us. And by all that we can learn of the Indians, they intend to be neutral.

But whether We should march into Canada with an Army Sufficient to break the Power of Governor Carlton, to overawe the Indians, and to protect the French has been a great Question. It Seems to be the general Conclusion that it is best to go, if We can be assured that the Canadians will be pleased with it, and join.<sup>1</sup>

The Nations of Indians inhabiting the Frontiers of the Colonies, are numerous and warlike. They seem disposed to Newtrality. None have as yet taken up the Hatchet against us; and We have not obtained any certain Evidence that Either Carlton or Johnson have directly attempted to persuade them to take up the Hatchet. Some Suspicious Circumstances there are.

The Indians are known to conduct their Wars, so entirely without Faith and Humanity, that it would bring eternal Infamy on the Ministry throughout all Europe, if they should excite these Savages to War. The French disgraced themselves last War, by employing them. To let loose these blood Hounds to scalp Men, and to butcher Women & Children is horrid. Still its such kind of Humanity and Policy as we have experienced, from the Ministry.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Adams' statement suggests that many delegates had changed their minds since June 1, when Congress resolved "that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada." *JCC*, 2:75.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[June 7, 1775]

Wednesday. In Committee of the whole house—debates on afd. Estimate—Fast Voted on the 20th of July.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 89.

## James Duane to Robert Livingston

Dear and honourd Sir

Philad. 7t June 1775

Your kind favour of the 23d May gave me very great pleasure as it communicated the agreeable Intelligence of the safe Arrival and Health of my dearest Polly and our Children. It was with painful Anxiety that I found myself under an indispensable Obligation to leave her when she was very feeble and not yet recovered from a severe Indisposition. May the good Providence of God preserve her and you and all we love under his gracious Protection.<sup>1</sup>

Our publick affairs are at length arrived at the most dangerous Extremity. The ministry with inflexible Obstinacy persevere in that inhuman System of Despotism which was contrived to rob us of our Liberties; and because we cannot submit to so humiliating a Condition they have drawn the sword against our suffering Friends as Traitors and Rebels, and the Authority of Parliament is called in to starve the Southern as well as the Eastern Colonies into base Submission. To stand forth at such a Juncture in the Situation in which I am placed is indeed an arduous and difficult Task, requiring an uncommon Exertion both of Wisdom and Fortitude. In the best View we must expect numberless Inconveniencies from this Conflict—We must be exposed to Danger and be loaded with heavy Expences: but if we can thereby secure our Liberties on a Just and solid foundation, the End is worthy of the Means, and we ought not to repine. We contend in a good Cause, and if we continue firm & united among ourselves, If by a wise and temperate Conduct we manifest to the World a desire of Reconciliation and reunion with the parent State, on Terms consistent with our Safety and the Interest and Happiness of the whole Empire, We may hope with the Blessings of Heaven that our

virtuous Struggles will be rewarded with Success. Many of the measures we are pursuing must from their nature unfold themselves to publick View: but I am not at present at Liberty to communicate them. The Massachusett's is reduced to such an unhappy Crisis that it is more than probable that a general Engagement between the Country and the ministerial Troops is at no great distance—Much will depend on this Event—Despair may supply the place of Discipline and disappoint ministerial Vengeance. We cannot however where so much is at Stake contemplate this approaching Scene without the most painful Apprehensions.

The Operations within our own Colony will not at least this Summer be so important. We have little to fear from regular Troops. If we can guard ourselves against Incursions from Quebec and keep the Six Nations quiet we shall have little further to apprehend. From what we learn the English in Canada are our warm Friends, & the common people among the French averse to engage in the Quarrel. I hope nothing will be left unattempted which may serve to confirm this disposition. The Six Nations have such numerous Connections in your County, and it will be so much for the Honour Interest and Safety of the Superintendant & his Family to keep out of the Quarrel, that I am easy in this Respect. However every Expedient ought to be pursued with the utmost diligence to engage their neutrality; for if it was in our power I should abhor the Thought of employing them in our Service. Nothing could so effectually Shut the door of Accommodation as the inhuman policy of making, on either side, those treacherous Savages the Tools of Revenge: and I would not for any prospect of Advantage have this Guilt laid to our charge.

I am much pleased that young Mr Livingston is raising a Company in the Manour. I wish he may extend his Views further, or that some Gent. of property and influence may be found to unite with him in the only plan, which, independent of the grand Contest, will render landed property Secure. We must think in Time of the means of assuming the Reins of Government when those Connections shall subside. Licentiousness is the natural Effect of a civil discord and it can only be guarded against by placing the Command of the Troops in the hands of Men of property and Rank who, by that means, will preserve the same Authority over the Minds of the people which they enjoyed in the Hour of Tranquillity.

I observe what you say concerning the State of your Manufactures. Your Case is not singular. We must expect great Inconveniences and distress in this Contention. Provisions however will be in some demand to support the Armies: and Iron will not decay. If we survive the present Storm, and Liberty should be secured for our Country, it will become the favourite Residence of the Industrious from all parts of the World, and a rich Increase of our Estates will

compensate our Losses. Abstracted from this Consideration we are doing our Duty to which we must be contented to sacrifice every other Object.

I can yet form no Judgement how long the Congress will sit. There are Subjects before us of great Magnitude and Difficulty which require time to discuss and Arrange; and much as I long to be with my Friends at the Manour I must be patient.

This family is well. It is extremely uncertain whether you will see any of them this Summer tho' they ardently wish for that pleasure. Hood the Collector is run off to England, & the whole Charge of the Customs rests upon Mr Patterson. He has applied for Leave of Absence; but whether he will obtain it; or make use of it if he succeeds, is equally uncertain, as he pays great Attention to his Trust; & personally inspects every Transaction of the office. He seems concerned that you have not in a long time favoured him with a Letter. I am much obliged to him and my sister for the truly polite and affectionate attention they are pleased to pay me. Both of them Join me in our most dutiful and Affectionate Regards to yourself Mamma & the Family. Be pleased to present mine to my dearest Polly & our little ones. I have missed no opportunity of writing to her. I hope she keeps up her Spirits and uses moderate Exercise; and that my daughter attends to her Improvement: and my son not too troublesome. I am dear & honord Sir Your ever dutiful & affect. Son & most Obedient Servant

Jas. Duane

RC (NHpR). Endorsed by Livingston: "A letter from Son Duane Rcd 15 June 1775."

<sup>1</sup>Robert Livingston (1708–90), third lord of Livingston Manor and father of Duane's wife Maria ("Polly"). Livingston held no public office during the Revolution but supported the American cause by allowing the revolutionary government in New York to make use of his iron mines and foundry. Edwin Brockholst Livingston, *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor . . .* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1910), pp. 227, 545.

## William Hooper's? Draft Resolve

[June 7–12, 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Resolved that it be and hereby it is recommended to the Inhabitants of the united Colonies in America of all Denominations That Thursday the 20th day of July next be set apart as a day of public humiliation fasting and prayer, that a total Abstinence from Servile labor and recreation be observed and all their religious Assemblies Solemnly Convened to humble themselves before God under the heavy Judgments felt and threatened to confess our manifold Sins, to implore the forgiveness of Heaven, *(that a sincere repentance &*



*reformation may influence our future Conduct*) and that a Blessing may descend on the husbandry, Manufactures & other lawful Employments of this people and especially that the Union of these American Colonies in defence of their Just Rights & priviledges may be preserved, confirmed and prospered, that the Congresses may be inspired with Wisdom, that Great Britain and its Rulers may have their eyes opened to discern the things that shall make for the peace and Happiness of the Nation and all its Connections And that America may soon behold a Gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many Grievances, the restoration of her invaded Liberties, a reconciliation with the parent State upon terms Constitutional and Honourable to them both and the Security of them to the latest posterity.

MS (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> On June 7, 1775, Congress resolved that the colonies should observe a day of fasting and prayer on the following July 20, and appointed John Adams, William Hooper, and Robert Treat Paine as a committee to draft a resolution to this effect. This committee reported a resolution to Congress on June 12, and the delegates approved it the same day. The present resolve, written sometime between the 7th and the 12th, is an early draft of the fast resolution adopted by Congress, and is much milder than the final resolve in substance and in tone. Authorship of this draft has been conjecturally assigned to Hooper, because the original MS, although located in John Adams' papers, was definitely not written by Adams or Paine and is in a hand closely resembling Hooper's normally less florid penmanship. *JCC*, 2:81, 87-88.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[June 7, 1775]

Cool Rainy. Din'd Dr Franklins. This Evning Majr. Skene arrived from London & he & his Papers taken into Custody.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Philip Skene (1725-1810), former British army officer and owner of a vast estate in the Lake Champlain region, was appointed lieutenant governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point while in London in January 1775. Skene's return to America acquired added significance when warnings were received that he had been authorized to bribe members of Congress into adopting a conciliatory position. When Skene arrived in Philadelphia he was immediately confined, and a congressional committee was appointed to examine his papers. On June 10, Congress placed Skene on parole, but his activities in Philadelphia continued to arouse such concern among the delegates, that in early July he was sent to Connecticut for imprisonment. He was subsequently released from prison in the fall of 1776. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. For the official response of Congress in the Skene affair, see *JCC*, 2:82, 86, 108, 126-27. In addition to numerous references to Skene in letters and diary entries of the delegates during the ensuing weeks, his departure for America is discussed in Stephen Sayre to Samuel Adams, April 4, 1775, NN, and Arthur Lee to Richard Henry Lee, April 7, 1775, ViU.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to Owen Jones

7th June 1775

We the Subscribers Members of Assembly and Delegates of the Province of Pennsylvania Haveing for the Public use of this Province an Immediate necessity for the sum of Six Thousand Pounds Currency Do Request Owen Jones Provincial Treasurer to advance and lend to us for the said Service the afd. Sum of Money for which we will give our Obligation payable in Three months after Receipt of the said Sum of Money.

John Morton	Cha. Thomson
Thomas Mifflin	Geo. Ross
John Dickinson	B Franklin
Thos. Willing	James Wilson
Cha. Humphreys	George Gray
Michael Hillegas	Jos. Parker

Tr (PHi).

<sup>1</sup>On June 3 the Pennsylvania delegates were appointed as a committee to borrow £6,000 for the purchase of gunpowder. *JCC*, 2:79. George Gray, Michael Hillegas, and Joseph Parker were members of the Pennsylvania Assembly but not delegates to Congress. On June 10 the nine Pennsylvania delegates directed the following letter of authorization to Jones: "Pleas to pay (on Sight) to Messrs. Samuel Mifflin & Andrew Caldwell the Sum of Six Thousand pounds and take their receipt for the same—Being the Sum of Money Borrowed by us on Bond of you for Publick use." *Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 1 (1853): 134.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 7, 1775]

7th. Reports of several Comees.<sup>1</sup> A Fast recommended 20th July, resolvd into a Com[mitte]e & report made as above.<sup>2</sup>

MS (RH*i*).

<sup>1</sup>This day Congress received reports from the committee to estimate the money needed to be raised for a continental army and the committee to reply to a letter from the Massachusetts Provincial Convention. *JCC*, 2:81.

<sup>2</sup>That is, a request was made to reconvene the committee of the whole to continue deliberations on the state of America. *JCC*, 2:81–82.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[June 8, 1775]

Thursday June 8th. C[ap]t. Riley arrived, saw the review after which attended Congress—recd. a Lettr. from Govr. Trumbull dated 1st of June. Wrote the followg. Lettrs. to Mrs. Deane, Mr. Hosmer, Mr. Root, Mr. Mumford, Mr. Webb, to Govr. Trumbull in Answer to his—in the Evening waited on Majr. Skene by Order of the Congress, and examined papers &c.<sup>1</sup> Cost—4s 6d there & at Burns's.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 89.

<sup>1</sup> John Adams, Thomas Mifflin, and Deane were appointed as a committee to examine the papers of Philip Skene and to report to Congress "whatever may relate to the present dispute between Great Britain and America." *JCC*, 2:82.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Thursday June 8th 1775

Capt. Riley arrived this Morning, which with the review, and the arrival of Majr. *Skene* the elder, from London, has so engaged Me that I cannot describe the review and can only say I wish You had seen it. Capt. Riley when arrived will describe it at large, Mr. Bowen the Bearer of this will call on you and can describe the Situation of Affairs here. Majr. Skene is close prisoner, with the Officers arrived with him. I am to have an interview with them this Afternoon by Order, and may write you more on this Subject as I have Oppy & Liberty. The 20th of July will be kept as an Universal Fast thro' the Colonies as I expect You will Soon See in the papers. I am with Compliments. To all Freinds My Dear Yours for ever S D

RC (CtHi) .

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Sr

Philadelphia June the 8th 1775

I wrote to you a few days since by an express who came from your Comtee att Cambridge. As he was waiting I wrote in so much hurry that I know not what was Contained in that letter. You will therefore take it for better or for worse.

Last evening we had two ships arrived at this place from London in which we have Intelligence I think to about the 25th of April. Every thing seemd tolerablely quiet in England. Lds. North & Datsmouth had full expectation that their late proposal for the Colonys to

tax themselves in the Manner they pleased, but in Measure as the Parliament pleased, & to be at their disposal (if it was even to Arm the people of Briton to cutt our throats) would bring over some of the Colonies and at least divide & thro us into Confusion; though at times they seemd much Concerned for the event. We have the K[ing's] Answer to the Address or Petition of the City of London which I dare say will kick up a dust in that great City. The K<sup>g</sup> replied, he was Astonished that Any of his Subjects in Briton should Countenance his rebellious Subjects in America that he firmly relied on his parliament Approved their Measures & should Carry them into execution &c.<sup>1</sup>

Majr. Skene the Elder came passenger in one of the Ships with a Commission as it is said to be Govr. of Ticonderoga Crown Point &c with Orders as he says on his passage to raise Ten thousand Men to Subdue the Rebels &c but how amazingly was he Chagrined when on the ships arival here he was Immediately taken prisoner & all his papers & letters taken into Custody, & then to hear that the New England people had taken his fort & Governt. & themselves had placed a Commander there but on second thought he seems to brave it out tolerably well. I think there is one or two more officers with him, [I] believe only Lieuts. all under Guard in this City. Every one now seem more & more Convinced of the Importance of that pass at Ticonderoga & of the Necessity of keeping & defending it. We had this day a grand review of the Militia of this City. They performd to Admiration, they consisted of above 2000 dressd mostly in Uniforms among which was one Compleat Quaker Company their Uniform light blue lappelled &c with white, who were exceeded by none in dress or exactness of discipline, their officers quakers beside many men of that denomination mixd in the other Companys. The Military spirit runs full as high in this Country as in New England & all seem determined to stand or fall with us. I believe I wrote you before that I think our Army may depend upon a brush from How, Clynton, & Burgoyne; now they are Arived they will I Imagine at all Adventures endeavor to retrieve the Credit of the British Troops; I believe if they knew they should Make a Sacrifice of their Whole Army they would make a push rather than to return home in disgrace. You know Burgoyne in the house of Commons spoke with the Utmost Contempt of the dastardly Undisciplined provincials. I hope our officers will be on their Guard. I know we want good Arms & good Marksmen. I wish you had 500 or a 1000 riflers from this Country. Perhaps you may have them before long. My sincere regards to Genlls Spencer, Putnam & the officers of my Acquaintance, Coll Parsons in particular if he is with you. I own I fear some great and daring enterprise which may prove of great loss & but of little profit of even if attended with so much Success as can be expected. If the Contrary, disheartning to



our Troops at least. But may Prudence direct & Heaven Succeed & prosper every enterprise & am Sincerely Yours      Elipht Dyer

N.B. If they should make another Attempt into the Country we ought to have a Num[ber] of your best marksmen whose sole business it should be to take off the officers & lye Conceald in some advantageous places for that purpose. The Genll officers &c.<sup>2</sup>

RC (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> See Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 3, 1775, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 10, 1775.

## John Morton to Thomas Powell

Respected Friend,

Philadelphia 6 Mo. 8th. 1775

We expect an intire Stoppage to Trade the 1st of next Month, tho' that depends on what our Congress may order; we are heartily united in one general Cause, not one Tory dare shew his Face in opposition, we are really preparing for the worst that can happen, viz, a Civil War. We have nearly 2000 Troops now under Arms in this City, & very well disciplined. I suppose the Province will raise 20,000 effective Men determined to support the noble Cause of Liberty. We are glad to find the City of London steps forth valiantly in ours & the Nations Cause, their Petitions & Remonstrances meet with the same fate as those from the Colonies, treated as if of no Consequence. I hope Time will manifest to the World that a steady Perseverance in the Cause of Freedom will triumph over all the deep lay'd Schemes of Tyranny, & that Britain & America will again be united on the solid Foundation of Commerce & the Constitution.

Thou will hear before this reaches thee the Situation of General Gage, he is hem'd in by the Provincials on every Side, & cannot penetrate 500 Yards into the Country, were he supported by all the Troops now in England. You have declared the New England People Rebels, & the other Provinces Aiders & Abettors, this is putting the Halter about our Necks, & we may as well die by the Sword as be hang'd like Rebels, this has made the People desperate.

Yesterday arrived here Capt. McCulloch, in whose Vessel came Passenger a certain Major Skeene, Governour of Ticonderoga, Crown Point & the Lakes, it has happened so that the said Governor has no Government to go to, the New England Men having some time since taken possession of those important Places, in order to prevent the Canadians from attacking them in the Rear. Major Skeene is under a Guard of our Militia, & I imagine our Committee will insist on seeing his Papers. Its said he has some proposals to lay before our Congress from Authority. I wish thou could send me a

compleat Fowling Piece, one of the best kind thou could procure, not too heavy, finish'd in the neatest manner, Tower proof, the Price not to exceed Five Guineas, our Committee would have no objections to its being landed here, provided thou had none in shipping it. I sincerely wish a Reconciliation, the Contest is horrid, Parents against Children, & Children against Parents, the longer the wound is left in the present State the worse it will be to heal at last.

I am thy affectionate Friend

Jno. Morton

Tr (William Salt Library, Stafford, England, U.K. Courtesy of the Earl of Dartmouth) . Addressed: "To Thomas Powell, Merchant, London."

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 8, 1775]

8th. A Comee. appointed [*to*] examin the Papers of Majr. Skeene, resolv'd. into a Comee. & reported as above.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Ward's Diary, June 7, 1775, note 2.

## Samuel Ward to his Children

My dearest Children

Philadelphia 8th June 1775

I have not had the Pleasure of one Line from You nor heard a Word relative to my Family save that your Bro[the]r has marched for Boston. I cannot conceive the Reason but whatever may have prevented hitherto I would have you write to me every Post for the future (the Post comes regularly now) for I long to know how & what you all do.

I am concerned about our Business. The little Boys must take great Care of the Garden and also that no Creatures tresspass any where. I would wish such Horses as we dont want to keep over the Winter may be fat against my Return that I may dispose of them. What Wool you do not want sell for Cash. Your Potatoes I fear you will loose. Wash & dry & put into the Crib as many as you shall want to eat, the remainder put into the Barn & give the Cows & Hogs or if the fat Cattle had some at the other Farm it would be well. You should sow Turnips several Times and plant Pease & Beans so, be sure to have your Corn seasonably & well hoed. The Island I imagine will want mowing by 25th of this month at furthest probably sooner. Be sure to cut all your Grass seasonably & make it well. The spring Stack may be sett near the upper End of the Meadow had of Esqr.

Hern. It should contain all the Hay the Island yeilds or rather more; they may cut a Path to the Pond. I hope your Wheat field is plowed.

The small Pox hath been extremely thick in all Parts of the Town but none of Us have taken it that We know of & as it now abates We have some Hopes that We may escape it, should it be otherwise that entire Confidence which We all ought to have in the Wisdom & Goodness of God will support us under it; Yesterday compleated half a Century with Me & I may yet say few & evil have been my Days, if my great Master hath any further Business for me to do he will certainly continue Me here & I hope enable Me to see and do it. When he has no farther Service for Me I hope I shall chearfully retire & you as chearfully resign Me & happily experience the Truth of that gracious Promise "when my Father & Mother forsake Me the Lord will take Me up." It is not in my Power to observe the Sabbath as I could wish but hope all of You will be careful of your Duty to God & your Father in that Respect. I am concerned about little Betsy. I hope her Sister will be careful of her in this as well as other Respects.

By two Ships which arrived yesterday & brought News to 20th April last I find the Administration are resolved to compel us to submit. The Kings Answer to the Petition of the Lord Mayor & Alderman in our Favor breathes nothing but Slaughter but I trust under God that the Unanimity & Fortitude of this Country will disappoint our Enemies & establish our Liberty.<sup>1</sup> I inclose You the Papers for the remaining News.

I want to write to your Bror. & Sister Greene & to your Aunts & your Uncle Greene but I have so many public Letters to write that I cannot this Opportunity. You must remember Me in the most affectionate Manner to them & other Friends.

Tell the Work People & those who serve Me that while I am here in continual Danger of my Life to preserve their Lives and Property They will surely be so grateful as to do Me all the Service in their Power.

May God of his infinite Mercy preserve my dear Children. Your very affectionate Father. Sam Ward

RC (RHi).

<sup>1</sup> See Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 3, 1775.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia 9th June 1775

Yours of the 1st is before Us. Ours in reply to yours of the 27th Ulto informed of the Resolution of the Congress, respecting the Post of Ticonderoga, and the mode of supplying the Troops there with

provisions &c.<sup>1</sup> We need not therefore enlarge on that Subject further than say, that We have the pleasure to find the measures taken by the Genl Assembly of Our Colony highly and universally approved of, by the Congress, & the readiness Our Troops were in has been considered as a very important circumstance in Our favour. Major *Skeen* arrived here from London the 7th Inst. & brout papers to the 25th April in which are little or nothing material, he had a Commission to command at Crown Point & Ticonderoga, with an handsome Salary, he is now made close prisoner, as is also an Officer who came with him. They were under examination last Evening, but nothing has as yet transpired to the public. The Congress have appointed the 20th of July next to be Observed as a Day of fasting and prayer thro all the Colonies, and shall send you in our next, the resolution at large. We wrote for an Estimate, of the expence of the Colony, or what it would probably amount To, for the present Campaign, also for a Copy of the Act respecting Post Office, the former may be of very great Consequence to the Colony, to be sent us in season that we may early lay the same before the Congress.

A most surprizing military ardor spreads universally through this City, and province, in which thare are it is said Thirty thousand Men constantly exercising. Yesterday, three Battallions of this City were reviewed, and their proficiency for the Time they had been employed was surprizing to every one. We are with the most sincere respect  
Your Honors very Hume Servants

Elipha Dyer

Silas Deane

[P.S.] Inclosed is a paper of last Evening.

Tr (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> See Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., May 31, 1775.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[June 9, 1775]

Friday. At Congress at Night on board Ship and elsewhere examg. papers of Major Skene &c. Cost 5/.

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 92.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 9, 1775]

9th. Report of the Comee. relative to the Massachuts. Bay read &



approved, the provin[cia]l Congress to write to the Towns to chuse Representatives, they to chose Councillors which Assembly & Councillors to execute the Powers of Govt. until &c.<sup>1</sup>

MS (RHi) .

<sup>1</sup> JCC, 2:83-84.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dear Son

Philadelphia 9th June 1775

Tho fatigued with thinking & writing almost the whole Day I cannot omit this favourable Opportunity of writing to You.

I mentioned amongst other Things the Necessity of your Mens being clean, & dressing their Victuals properly. In the Beginning of the last War great Numbers died wholly for Want of Care. See that your People have vegetables if to be got, that they lie as dry as conveniently may be, in one Word at the same time that you keep up a proper Authority take all possible Care of them. Dont suffer them to be idle but on the other Hand dont make their Duty too severe.

You'l remember my dear Son what I said to You before You left home, that I did not fear for You a cannon or musket Ball a Bayonet or any other Instrument of Death while you was virtuous, Vice is the only Enemy truly to be feared. Shun it in every Form if possible, especially in those Instances which I mentioned to You. She like other Deceivers will promise you much but however flowery & gay the Paths to which she may first lead you may be they certainly terminate in Misery & Ruin.

Dr. Church who does me the Favor to take Charge of this can tell You all the News from here. The Congress have taken many spirited measures which will transpire in Season; the Army may rely upon being effectually provided for & supported.

Give my affectionate Regards to the General & all the officers. I think much of them and shall do every thing in my Power for their Service. I shall write to the Genl. the first Opportunity. I am Your very affec. Father

Sam Ward

RC (RHi) . Addressed: "To Capt. Samuel Ward in the Rhode Island Camp near Boston."

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia. June 10. 1775

Dr. Church returns to Day, and with smarting Eyes, I must write

a few Lines to you. I never had in my Life, such severe Duty to do, and was never worse qualified to do it. My Eyes depress my Spirits and my Health is quite infirm. Yet I keep about and attend Congress very constantly.<sup>1</sup>

I wish I could write freely to you my Dear, but I can not. The Scene before me, is complicated enough. It requires better Eyes and better Nerves than mine. Yet I will not despond. I will lay all Difficulties prostrate at my feet. . . .<sup>2</sup> My Health and Life ought to be hazarded, in the Cause of my Country as well as yours, and all my friends.

It is impossible to convey to you any adequate Idea of the Embarrassments, I am under. I wish that you and our Friends may not be in greater Distress than I am. I fear you are. Pray let me know as often as possible. Our Friends write to Mr ———<sup>3</sup> not to me, this time. They dont let us know the State of Boston People, nor the State of the Army in Boston, so exactly as I could wish.

Two days ago, We saw a very wonderfull Phœnomenon in this City—a field Day, on which three Battallions of Soldiers were reviewed, making full two thousand Men. Battallion Men, Light Infantry, Grenadiers, Rifle Men, Light Horse, Artillery Men, with a fine train, all in Uniforms, going thro the manual Exercise and the Manœuvres, with remarkable Dexterity. All this has been accomplished in this City, since the 19th. of April. So sudden a formation of an Army never took Place any where.

In Congress We are bound to secrecy: But, under the Rose, I believe, that ten thousand Men will be maintained in the Massachusetts, and five thousand in New York at the Continental Expence.

We have a Major Skeene, just arrived from London with a Commission to be Governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and Surveyor of the Woods &c., close Prisoner.<sup>4</sup> He must dispute for his Government with Arnold and Allen. My Love and Duty, where due.

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:213–14.

<sup>1</sup> In a second letter to Abigail of this date, Adams noted optimistically that Dr. Church had given him a lotion, “which has helped my Eyes so much that I hope you will hear from me oftener than you have done.” On the other hand, he added, “When I shall come home I know not. We have Business enough before Us to detain us, untill the 31. of next December. No Assembly ever had a greater Number of great Objects before them. Provinces, Nations, Empires are small Things, before Us. I wish We were good Architects.” Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:214.

<sup>2</sup> Suspension points in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Adams probably meant “Mr.” John Hancock. For a similar complaint, see Adams to Moses Gill, this date, and Adams to Abigail Adams, July 4 and 7, 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Adams was a member of the committee appointed to examine the papers of Skene. *JCC*, 2:82.

## John Adams to Moses Gill

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, 10 June, 1775.

It would be a relief to my mind, if I could write freely to you<sup>1</sup> concerning the sentiments, principles, facts, and arguments which are laid before us in Congress; but injunctions and engagements of honor render this impossible. What I learn out of doors among citizens, gentlemen, and persons of all denominations, is not so sacred. I find that the general sense abroad is, to prepare for a vigorous defensive war, but at the same time to keep open the door of reconciliation; to hold the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other; to proceed with warlike measures and conciliatory measures *pari passu*.

I am myself as fond of reconciliation, if we could reasonably entertain hopes of it upon a constitutional basis, as any man. But I think, if we consider the education of the sovereign, and that the Lords, the Commons, the electors, the army, the navy, the officers of excise, customs, &c., &c., have been now for many years gradually trained and disciplined by corruption to the system of the court, we shall be convinced that the cancer is too deeply rooted and too far spread to be cured by any thing short of cutting it out entire.

We have ever found by experience, that petitions, negotiations, every thing which holds out to the people hopes of a reconciliation without bloodshed, is greedily grasped at and relied on; and they cannot be persuaded to think that it is so necessary to prepare for war as it really is. Hence our present scarcity of powder, &c.

However, this continent is a vast, unwieldy machine. We cannot force events. We must suffer people to take their own way in many cases, when we think it leads wrong, hoping, however, and believing that our liberty and felicity will be preserved in the end, though not in the speediest and surest manner. In my opinion, powder and artillery are the most efficacious, sure, and infallible conciliatory measures we can adopt.

Pray write me by every opportunity, and beseech my friends to write. Every letter I receive does great good. The gentleman to whom most letters from our province are addressed, has not leisure to make the best use of them.<sup>2</sup>

There are three powder mills in this province, two in New York, but no nitre. Cannot the Massachusetts begin to prepare both? Pray write me minutely the state of the people of Boston and our army.

Pray let me know if Mrs. Gill and Mr. Boylston are out of prison. I have never heard, and have suffered much anxiety on their account. My best respects to them, if they are to be seen by you.

MS not found; reprinted from Adams, *Works* (Adams), 9:356-57.

<sup>1</sup> Moses Gill (1734-1800), husband of Rebecca Boylston Gill and first cousin of

John Adams' mother, was chairman of the committee of supplies of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:85.

<sup>2</sup> Probably John Hancock. See also Adams to James Warren, June 7, 1775.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia June 10. 1775

I have written a few Lines to Dr Warren to whom I refer you.

It is of vast Importance that the officers of our Army should be impressed with the absolute Necessity of Cleanliness, to preserve the Health of their Men. Cleanness is one of the three Cardinal Virtues of a Soldier, as Activity and Sobriety are the other two. They should be encouraged to go into Water frequently, to keep their Linnen washed and their Beds clean, and should be continually exercised in the manual and Maneuvres.

General Lee has an opinion of Burgoine, Clinton and How.<sup>1</sup> Burgoine he says is very active and enterprizing—fond of Surprizes and Night Attacks and Alarms. He entreats me, to inculcate a most unremitted Vigilance—to guard against Surprizes, especially in the Night.

We have a most miraculous Militia in this City, brought into Existence, out of Nothing since the Battle of Lexington.

Measures are taken here and at New York to procure Powder—But We must be Sparing of that Article. The Supineness of the Colonies hitherto concerning it, amazes me.

Genl Lee and Major Gates are very fond of a Project of procuring Pikes and Pike men I hope We shall send you some Rifle Men—they shoot with great Exactness, at amazing Distances.

They are casting Pateraras and making Amuzettes in this City, and preparing for War, with an alacrity, which does them Honor.

RC (MHi). In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> John Burgoyne (1722–92), William Howe (1729–1814), and Henry Clinton (1730–95), British major generals, arrived in Boston on May 25, 1775, with reinforcements for General Gage's besieged army in Boston. *DNB*.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

Dear Coll Warren

Philadelphia June 10 1775

I have been impatiently waiting for the Fulfillment of your Promise to write to me but I can easily excuse you, knowing that your hands as well as mine must be full at this important glorious Crisis. The Battle of Lexington will be famed in the History of this Country.



Your Accounts of it have doubtless by this time reachd England. Our insulting Enemies there must be convincd that Americans are not such dastardly Cowards as a Colo Grant & others have represented them to be,<sup>1</sup> and our Friends have receivd a sure pledge that we will not desert them by deserting our Selves, & leave them to the Contempt of those most Contemptible Wretches the Kings Ministers. Whether the People of England will hereby be brought to reflect on their own Danger, or whether their pride will be touchd at this unexpected & Signal Defeat of British Troops is to me uncertain. If their Resentment should run high against us, our Friends will have a political Game to play, to turn the whole Force of that Resentment upon the Authors of these Disturbances, viz Hutchinson and the Ministry. It is however the Duty of America to be still upon its Guard, for there is no Dependence to be had on the People of England, and I am convincd most abundantly that it is the Determination of the K & his Ministers to establish arbitrary Government in the Colonies by Acts of Parliamt. & to inforce those Acts by the Sword. Could the publick Sentiment be otherwise it would be a Delusion leading directly to Destruction. The Spirit of Patriotism prevails among the Members of this Congress, but from the Necessity of things Business must go on slower than one could wish. It is difficult to possess upwards of Sixty Gentlemen, at once with the Same Feelings upon Questions of Importance that are continually arising. All mean the Defence and Support of American Liberty, and Matters are finally well decided; I have endeavord to act with that kind of *Prudence*, which I dare say, when I shall explain my Conduct to you, *you* will not condemn.

Mr Fessenden a Courier from your Congress arrivd here yesterday. I could not help flattering my Self that your pressing Demand was political, but I was much pleasd to see every Gentleman present anxiously solicitous to relieve the Necessities & yeild a full supply to the "American Army before Boston." Our worthy President has Communicated to yours a Resolution for this purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Every Step is taking here for the procuring of Gun powder from abroad and setting up the Manufacture of it in America and I believe they will be successfull. Mr. Mifflin assures me that large Quantities are expected in a few Weeks in this place and 200 Barrels every hour.

If our Army behave with Spirit this Summer (as I am confident they will) and their Efforts are succeeded, I trust in God, we shall be superior to all future Difficulty. Be cautious of the enterprising Spirit of Burgoin & Howe.

D[r] Church left us this Morning. I disclosed to him as much as I could consistent with the Injunctions I am under. I refer you to him for particulars. Present my affectionate Regards to all the Friends of Liberty, especially the Circle of our Acquaintance. Pray write to me.

Adieu my Friend<sup>3</sup>

S Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>James Grant (1720–1806), British general and MP, who is alleged to have claimed in a speech in the House of Commons that Americans could not fight, and with 5,000 men he could march from one end of the continent to the other. Freeman, *Washington*, 4:377.

<sup>2</sup>See two letters of John Hancock to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, this date.

<sup>3</sup>Adams wrote to his wife this date expressing concern for relatives recently escaped from Boston and reporting the recent death of her brother Billy. He also confirmed that he had received a report that his son Dr. Samuel Adams (1751–88), who subsequently served through the war as a surgeon in the Continental Army, was now in Cambridge rather than Boston. Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:215–16.

## George Clinton to John McKesson

*Philadelphia 10th June 1775.* "I wish I could tell you<sup>1</sup> when this Congress will break up; but this is a Secret I can by no Means divulge and for the best Reason in the World because I do not know nor dare I even venture to Guess. Did it depend on the Business before us perhaps I might to a Week or two but Business multiplies upon us by Expresses daily from different Quarters. No doubt that whatever Army may be kept up in New York will be a Continental Charge. Nor do I suppose any Troops will [be] introduced into our Province but from Connecticut untill our own are raised."

MS not found; abstracted from extract in Burnett, *Letters*, 1:123.

<sup>1</sup> John McKesson was secretary of the New York Provincial Congress.

## Thomas Cushing to Elbridge Gerry

Sir

Philadelphia June 10 1775

Dr Church will bring with him a Vote of the Congress Advising our People to Consider the Governor & Leut Governor as absent & their offices Vacant; & further Recommending it to the Provincial Congress to Issue Letters to all such places as are entituled to a Representation to Chuse Representatives, Who When Convened are advised to chuse Councillors agreeable to the Charter, which assembly to gather with the Counsellors that may be Chosen are advised to carry on the affairs of Government untill a Governor of his Majestys Appointment will Consent to Govern According the directions of the Charter.<sup>1</sup> As to giving a Credit to our Provincial Note & Regulating the Army, you will hear further from the Congress soon. The Bearer

carries a Recommendation to the other Colonies to Supply you with all the Powder they Can safely Spare. In great haste I am with Respect Yr most humble Servt.  
Thomas Cushing

P.S. Pray let me Hear from you Soon concerning my dear Country. Must refer you for particulars to Dr Church.

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> See Congress' resolution of June 9 advising the provincial congress on the resumption of government in Massachusetts. *JCC*, 2:83-84. The impact of Congress' recommendation to resume government essentially under terms of the Massachusetts charter of 1691 has been discussed by Stephen E. Patterson, *Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), pp. 117-24.

## Thomas Cushing to Joseph Hawley

Dear Sir

Philadelphia June 10. 1775

I wrote you about Ten days ago by Messrs Halls, since which have not been favoured with any of your's.<sup>1</sup> Inclosed you have a Vote of the Congress relative to our Peoples taking up Government, which I apprehend will Correspond with yr Sentiments. A motion was made in Congress that advice should be given to the *present provincial Congress* to chuse Councillors, but there being many objections to it, it was withdrawn. The Person that made the motion observd that the choice of Representatives would occasion great Delay— & that there could not at present be an Equal Representation as *Boston* would not be permitted by the General to chuse Representatives Upon this Occasion. He was answered that the Delay would not be great, that it was best to adhere as near to the Charter as possible & not to vary from it but in Case of Absolute Necessity—that as to the Town of Boston either the present Provincial Congress, or the New Assembly could easily make some provision for their being Represented either by directing the late Inhabitants to meet at Cambridge or some other Town & chuse their Representatives or by divising some new Mode of Collecting the Voice of the People upon this Occasion.<sup>2</sup> As to giving a Credit to our Provincial Notes & the Regulation of the Army at or near Boston it will be determined upon very soon, I hope in a few days you will have the determinations of Congress upon these heads. It will therefore in my opinion be best to suspend any farther organization of the army till you hear further. There is an opinion prevailing here, how well founded I cannot pretend to say, that when administration has advice of the Battle at Lexington & find that our People are determined to fight for their Libertie, that they will be for accomodating matters & will Readily hearken to any Proposals of

that nature that may be made to them. It is probable to me the Congress will try them both ways, ie. they will Carry the Sword in one hand & the Petition in the other. Pray let me hear from you as soon as possible. I remain very Respectfully Yr Most humble sert.

Thomas Cushing

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Hawley (1723–88), Hampshire County lawyer and whig political leader, was a member of the Massachusetts General Court and Provincial Congress. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> John Adams recalled this debate in his autobiography and recorded his response to John Rutledge on the proper form of government for a state. "I answered him that any form, that our People would consent to institute would be better than none. Even if they placed all Power in a House of Representatives, and they should appoint Governors and Judges: but I hoped they would be wiser, and preserve the English Constitution in its Spirit and Substance, as far as the Circumstances of this Country required or would Admit. That no hereditary Powers ever had existed in America, nor would they or ought they to be introduced or proposed. But that I hoped the three Branches of a Legislature would be preserved, an Executive, independent of the Senate or Council and the House and above all things the Independence of the Judges." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:351–54.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

10th day in the Morning [June 1775]

Since I finished the other side, I have seen sundry private Letters from London which soon followed this same Majr Skene from London apprising of us of the purpose and design of the Ministry in sending him by the way of Philadelphia. We have the best Intelligence that Numbers of the New York Assembly were largely bribed & that Skene now had Unlimited Orders to draw on the Treasurer in England for any sums Necessary that he was to bribe & buy over such a Number of the Congress as was Necessary to Confound the whole. He was to propose Ld Nths Conciliatory plan & the dunce Imagined he should have easy work to settle the whole Controversy. I dare say he told the Ministry so & they fully believed him. It is Amazing how they can be so reduced as to Employ such a Genius as this Majr. Skene, open, exposed, Unguarded and his Abilitys but Moderate, by the best Account. The Ministry it seems are now so pushed as they will descend to every, the lowest Artifice, & employe every Scoundrell they can pick up for it seems this Mighty Majr, has been of the Cabinet, has really guided the Measures that he has Absolutely the ear of Lds North and Datsmouth & they have relyed upon him as for their Intelligence as to America & the proper Measures to take with them to Answer their purpose. Skene expected to have easy work, that he should soon get into his Kingdom att Crown



Point near 200 St per An[nu]m for that. Surveyor of His Majty Woods at another Salary. I believe also to Command a Canada Regiment. All this with his great plantation had opened his Views Amazingly but the whole prospect was suddenly closed. It is probable he will remain in Custody till Affairs are better settled & the officer with him. Am Sr Yr  
Elipht Dyer

[P.S.] Let me hear from you as often as you please we did just now learn from N York paper that they have taken the Scarborough at Portsmouth but it does not gain Credit. But I Quere why you may not play Vexation with some of their ships in a good season.

RC (Ct) . A continuation of Dyer to Trumbull, June 8, 1775.

## John Hancock to Dorothy Quincy

*Philad'a, 10th June, 1775.* "I am almost prevail'd on to think that my letters to my Aunt & you are not read, for I cannot obtain a reply, I have ask'd [a] million questions & not an answer to one. I beg'd you to let me know what things my Aunt wanted & you, and many other matters I wanted to know, but not one word in answer. I Really Take it extreme unkind, pray my D[ea]r use not so much Ceremony & Reservedness, why can't you use freedom in writing, be not afraid of me, I want long Letters." Encloses several articles for her personal use, and assures her that if she has additional needs "I will attend to all your Commands."<sup>1</sup>

MS not found; abstracted from Henry C. Walsh, "Three Letters from Hancock to 'Dorothy Q'," *New England Magazine* 12 (1892): 532-33.

<sup>1</sup>Hancock was engaged to marry Dorothy Quincy, who had been a guest of Thaddeus Burr in Fairfield, Conn., since her flight from Boston. They were married August 28, 1775, during the late summer recess of Congress. Extracts of two other letters of Hancock to Dorothy Quincy, written during this period and reflecting a similar concern for her reception of his presents and her refusal to write regularly, dated June 11 and July 2, 1775, are in Ellen C. D. Q. Woodbury, *Dorothy Quincy Wife of John Hancock with Events of Her Time* (Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 83-84.

## John Hancock to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress

Gentlemen,

Philadelphia June 10th. 1775

In Consequence of your Application to this Congress for Advice respecting a form of Government to be Adopted in the Massachu-

setts Bay, under your present Circumstances, I am Directed by the Congress to Transmitt you their Resolution thereon, which is here Inclos'd.<sup>1</sup> I am also to Inform you that the Congress have been so pressed with Business that they have been prevented Determining upon the other matters mention'd in your Letters to them; but they will very soon come under their Consideration, & their Resolutions thereon shall be forwarded you.

I also Inclose you a Resolve of Congress for furnishing our Army with Flour, this you will keep Secret, at least as far as the Nature of it will Admit, as the publication may give an Alarm, which may prevent the good Effects of it.

Last Evening Mr Fessenden your Express Arriv'd with your Dispatches of June 4th.,<sup>2</sup> which I shall this Morning lay before the Congress, and when Consider'd by Congress, their Determinations shall be immediately Transmitted you.

I am, with much Esteem Gentlemen, Your most Obed, Huml Servt.  
John Hancock, President

RC (M-Ar) .

<sup>1</sup>Congress approved a resolution June 9 declaring that no obedience was due to the Massachusetts Government Act of 1774 and recommending that the Massachusetts Provincial Congress make provisions for the election of a new assembly and council, which should "exercise the powers of Government" until such time as the king appointed a governor who would rule the colony "according to its charter." *JCC*, 2:83-84.

<sup>2</sup>In a letter to Elbridge Gerry of this date, Hancock made another reference to Fessenden's arrival. "In Consequence of your Express last Eveng. I Call the Congress together early." Extract of Hancock to Gerry, June 10, 1775, in *The Collector* 61 (July 1948): item M1231.

## John Hancock to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia June 10th. 1775

By order of the Congress, I Transmit you the Inclose'd Resolutions passed by the Congress this Morning.<sup>1</sup> The Necessity of the present Emergency Requires a Speedy Compliance with the first, and I need not Inform you that the Nature of the Service Requires it to be done with as much Secrecy as possible.

I am also Directed by the Congress to Request you will please to Transmitt to them, as soon as may be, an Estimate of the Powder, Arms & Ammunition in your Colony including private as well as publick Stocks.

By Doctor Church this morning I forwarded you the Resolution of Congress Respecting the Mode of Government.

I am Your most Obedt Servt.

John Hancock President

[P.S.] The Inclosed Letters for the Lieut. Govr. of Rhode Island, & the Gentlemen of New Hampshire,<sup>2</sup> please immediately, on Receipt to Send off by Express; pray don't fail.

RC (M-Ar).

<sup>1</sup> For these resolutions see *JCC*, 2:85–86.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to these letters to Rhode Island and New Hampshire, Hancock sent a similar letter this day to Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut; all are virtually identical to the first two paragraphs of his communication to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. The letter to New Hampshire is printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:956.

## John Hancock to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia June 10th. 1775<sup>1</sup>

The Inclosed Resolutions of this Congress I am Directed to Transmitt you, and to Desire you will order it to be Executed in as Expeditious & Secret manner as possible, Referring to your Judgement the most suitable place for Landing it & where there will be the least Risque of Interruption from the Ships of War.<sup>2</sup> You will please to Consign it to the Committee of Correspondence in each place with a Direction to forward the Flour to the army as soon possible.

I have it also in Charge to Recommend to you that the Flour be Transported in small Quantities as there may be Danger of the Enemy.

I am Gentlemen Your most obedt servt.

John Hancock Presidt.

RC (N). *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:3. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> Under this date Hancock sent an identical letter to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. MHi.

<sup>2</sup> On June 9, 1775, Congress approved resolutions requesting the New York Provincial Congress to supply the Continental Army at Boston with 5,000 barrels of flour, asking the Providence and Massachusetts Committees of Correspondence to forward these supplies to the army, and pledging congressional compensation for any expenses incurred by compliance with these requests. *JCC*, 2:84.

## Thomas Jefferson to St. George Tucker

Dear Sir

Wmsburgh June 10. 1774 [*i.e.*, 1775]

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to scribble a line

in answer, being just in the moment of setting out on my journey. The situation of your island is truly hard, and I should think deserves a relaxation of our terms if I may trust my first thoughts on the subject.<sup>1</sup> I also think it probable it might be mutually beneficial to us. Should I continue of that opinion I will certainly do any little offices in my power to bring it about. But I refer it to yourself whether there should not be some body with some kind of public authority as well to give information of facts, as to satisfy the Congress that the inhabitants of Bermuda will enter into such engagements as may secure them against any infraction of the American Association. I have time to add nothing more than that I am Dr. Sir Your friend & servt.,  
Th: Jefferson

RC (ViW) . Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd) , 1:170.

<sup>1</sup> Bermuda's dependence on British North America for basic foodstuffs made a number of islanders apprehensive at the prospect of having these shipments stopped after Congress' nonexportation program went into effect on September 10, 1775. Accordingly in March, Col. Henry Tucker, a prominent Bermuda merchant and political leader, asked his son, St. George Tucker, then in Virginia striving to launch a legal career, to urge the Virginia delegates to persuade Congress to exempt Bermudians from the full rigors of nonexportation. The younger Tucker thereupon wrote to Jefferson and Peyton Randolph on June 8, reminding them of the Bermudians' need for provisions and vulnerability to British retaliation in the event they actively supported the American cause, and expressing their willingness to accept some congressional restrictions on their trade if allowed to continue to import necessities from the mainland after nonexportation began. Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd) , 1:167-69, 170n; and Wilfred B. Kerr, *Bermuda and the American Revolution: 1760-1783* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) , pp. 39-40.

Well before St. George Tucker received Jefferson's present letter (with its hint that "some body with some kind of public authority" be sent to Philadelphia) some Bermudians had taken steps to ensure that Congress would hear their case. In May delegates were selected to go to Philadelphia; they departed at the end of June bearing an address to Congress, which, while carefully preserving Bermuda's neutrality in the conflict between Great Britain and the mainland colonies, asked that they be allowed to import provisions despite the nonexportation agreement. Upon their arrival in Philadelphia, the Bermudians sought out Benjamin Franklin, apparently because of his fame, and Franklin presented their address to Congress on July 11. But since Congress was in no mood to grant unilateral concessions, it promised formally only to consider the Bermudians' address, while privately informing them that their petition was more likely to succeed if they seized the gunpowder that was stored in the royal magazine at St. Georges, the island's capital. Consequently, before the Bermuda delegation left Philadelphia around the middle of July, a private understanding was reached with Franklin whereby the Bermudians agreed to supply Congress the powder in return for an exemption from the forthcoming trade ban. *JCC*, 2:174, 187; William Bell Clark et al., eds., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington: Department of the Navy, 1964- ) , 1:794-95, 1120; Henry Tucker to Benjamin Franklin, August 12, 1775, PPAmP; and Kerr, *Bermuda and the American Revolution*, pp. 42-47.

When the Bermuda delegates arrived home events moved swiftly. On August 12, St. George Tucker (recently returned from Virginia) and his father drew up for Jefferson and Franklin, respectively, proposals for preventing reshipment of goods sent to Bermuda. As Colonel Tucker noted, "the Congress are all inclined to serve



us but the plan is only wanted to prevent our Assisting the West Indies." And on August 14 a group of islanders broke into the royal magazine and made off with about 1,800 pounds of gunpowder, which they shipped to Philadelphia in a vessel provided by the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. The Bermudians' achievement was duly noted, and on October 2, barely two weeks after Congress had reconvened, the committee on trade reported in favor of maintaining commerce with Bermuda, and on November 22 Congress approved an elaborate set of resolves, some of them based upon suggestions made by the Tuckers, enabling islanders to obtain a wide variety of provisions from the mainland in spite of nonexportation. *JCC*, 2:246, 3:268, 362-64; Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George Tucker, August 6, 1775, Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW; Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:239-40; Henry Tucker, "Proposals offered to the General Con[gress by] the Inhabitants of Bermuda . . .," ca. August 12, 1775, PPAmP; and Kerr, *Bermuda and the American Revolution*, pp. 48-54.

## New York Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen,

Phila 10th June 1775

We are now to acknowledge the Honor of your dispatches of the 7th Inst.<sup>1</sup>

We have long foreseen the difficulties you must be reduced to for want of money. They will not be lessened by the resolutions of the Congress of yesterday recommending it to you to procure and forward five Thousand barrells of Flour for the use of the Army at Boston.

We communicated the paragraph of your letter in which you complain that unless the Congress shall make some speedy order with relation to the levying of money it will be impossible for you to comply with their farther Requests. They however seem perswaded that their Vote of Credit, which accompanies the order for the Supply will remove every obstruction, and relying on your Zeal for the Common Cause they hope you will be able to throw in this provision which we are apprehensive will soon become highly necessary.

We may venture to hint to you that the emission of paper money will be discus'd on Monday and we expect in the course of next Week to be able to present you with a determination of this important business, which will free us from much anxiety.

We shall not fail to attend to what you suggest concerning the Indians. This is an object to our Colonie of the highest moment and we hope in due time it will be considered by the Congress. We think the Indians will not be disposed to engage in this unhappy quarrell unless deceived and deluded by misrepresentations and this, with Vigilance and care on our part, can be prevented. As one step towards it, which we much applaud, are the assurances you have given the Superintendent of his safety.



Continent to Supply this defect. The design of the Express will be zeallously attended to I think. I have seen one of the Powder Mills here where they make excellent Powder but have work'd up all the Nitre; one of our Members is Concerned in a Powder Mill at N. York & has a man at Work making Nitre. I have taken pains to enquire into the method. Dr. Franklin has seen Salt Petre Works at Hannover & Paris; & it strikes me to be as unnecessary After a certain time to send abroad for Gun Powder as for provisions. People will make use of common understanding & Industry; but for the present we must import from abroad. Major Foster told me at Hartford he suspected he had Some Land that would yeild Nitre, pray converse with him about it. Dr. Franklin's account is much the same as is mentioned in one of the first of American Magazines. The Sweepings of the Streets & Rubbish of old Buildings are made into Mortar & built into Walls exposed to the Air & once in about two months scraped, & lixiviated & evaporated. When I can describe the method more minutely I will write you; mean while give Me leave to Condole with you the Loss of Col. Lee. Pray remember me to Col. Orne & all other our Worthy Freinds. Pray take Care of yr. important health, that you may be able to stand stiff as a Pillar in our new Government.

I must now Subscribe with great Respect & affection yr hble Servt  
R T Paine

RC (NjHi) . Recipient identified in Austin, *Life of Gerry*, 1:80-81.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 10, 1775]

10th. Recommended to the N. E. Colonies to supply the Army before Boston with Powder immediately, the Committes in The Colonies to purchase all the salt Petre & Sulphur & have them made into Powder, dismissed Majr. Skeene upon his Parole not to cross the Rivers of Schuykill & Delaware or go more than 8 Miles from the City.

MS (RH*i*) .

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

*Phyladelphia June 11. 1775.* Reports on church services he attended this morning. "I hope you have received a Letter, in which I inclosed you, a Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New York and

Phyladelphia:<sup>1</sup> by this you will see that the Clergy, this Way, are but now beginning to engage in Politicks, and they engage with a fervour that will produce wonderfull Effects." Added a long postscript, June 17.<sup>2</sup>

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:215.

<sup>1</sup> Presbyterian Church, Synod of New York and Philadelphia, *A Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia, to the Congregations under Their Care; to Be Read from the Pulpits . . . June 29, 1775 . . .* (New York: Shober and Loudon, 1775) . Written by Rev. John Witherspoon. See also North Carolina Delegates to the Presbyterian Ministers of Philadelphia, July 3-8? 1775.

<sup>2</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Adams to Abigail Adams, June 17, 1775.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia June 11th. 1775

Since our last which was forwarded but Two or three Days ago by Mr Brown we recd. your favour of the 1 Inst wherein you are Pleased to give us a particular Account of the proceedings of our Assembly, the care taken to reinforce the Garrison at Ticonderoga, the Supplies sent them &c, and the gratefull sentiments of the New York Provincial Congress thereon, the Opinion from almost every Quarter of the Importance of that Post & the necessity of Supporting and Defending of it in the Best manner possible.

We have to Assure your Honor that the Conduct of our Assembly the Letter and seasonable Advice received from your Honor from time to Time since the Setting of the Congress here have given the body particular satisfaction. They find every step that has been taken is exactly coincides with their Opinion & is in fact done to their minds even before they have an Opportunity to Advise you therein, they are now fully Sencible of the Importance of the Pass at Ticonderoga & every Day turns up something New which Confirms them in that Opinion. The First Advice they are convinced that was hasty & Premature tho as matters then appeared they Acted right. The grounds of that first resolve,<sup>1</sup> may be explained, on some future Day. We just mentioned to you in our last of the Arrival of Major, (alias) Govr Skene who has a Commission for Govr of Ticonderoga, Crown Point &c but he is happily Dissappointed in taking possession of them at present. He is at this time under guard in this City, tho concluded to give him some enlargement on his Parole of Honor. His papers were soon taken into custody & have been thoroughly examined by a Comtee from the Congress but Nothing very material has been Discovered, As he owns he Destroyed many just before his coming up to the City. There has been a Number of Private letters which Accompanied and followed Maj Skene into this City from London giving



the most surprising Account of the Confidence Administration have placed in this Gent. It seems he has been of their Cabinet council & that Lds. N[or]th & Dartmouth have much Depended on his Intelligence of this Country & the Dispositions of the people here, & their plan of operation has been much dictated by him & it seems he is betruſted with all their ſecrets, & much depended upon to carry their Deſigns into Execution. He was it ſeems to make overtures with the Congress & has Authority to draw upon the Treasury in England for what he finds Neceſſary not only to bribe & bring over ſome Members of the Congress but to Divide & confound the whole if poſſible. It is ſaid and not without probable evidence that he had brought over Important Commiſſions for ſome Members of the Congress & of thoſe who have been eſteem'd of Among the firſt Patriots, but through good Providence all his Schemes are at once Confounded. We are more ſurprised here that the Miniſtry have made ſo great a Confidant of him as he appears Neither to have Art or Abilitys for their purpoſe, to what low dirty & mean Shifts are this Diſparing Miniſtry put to, to Accompliſh their Wicked deſigns & plots againſt America. The firmneſs Union and ſteady perſeverence in the great American Cauſe believe we may ſay ſtill prevails in this Congress, but we have ſo many Expreſſes & Matters Incidental that almoſt Daily Comes before us that it makes our Progreſs ſlow & cauſes many Delays in the more great & Important Matters. A Continental Army & Continental reſources Including Continental Currancy & their proportions among the United Colonies with a proper & firm Confederacy you are ſenſible are great & important Objects but we ſee Nothing Diſcouraging in either. We have this Day received Advice from the Army Near Boſton of their great fears of a Deficiency in the Article of Ammunition. Every Step is taking by the Congress to lay a foundation for a proper Supply by ſending & Collecting from every Colony what ſmall parcells of Salt Petre can be Obtain'd from every private family or ſtore & to be ſent to New York or Philadelphia where their are Powder Mills & Workmen Sufficient if they can be ſupplied with Materials. They have ſent their requeſt to all the Colonies Eaſtward to ſupply the Army for the preſent with what they can ſpare, Connecticut among the reſt. Alſo to have an Account forwarded as ſoon as may be what Powder in Stock Colony Town the ſeveral Colonies are poſſeſſed of. Believe as ſo late & thorough enquiry has been made in Connecticut that you will be able to ſend us the Account with ſo much preciſſion as is Neceſſary without being at the expence of ſending through the Colony. We doubt not that a juſt and True account will be kept of the very expence & Advancement of our Colony in the Genl Cauſe as we expect it will be a Continental expence. Almoſt every Colony eſteem themſelves in ſome Danger in the Preſent Diſpute from either external or Internal

force but they mostly foregoe demands of a standing force relying for the present on their Militia which are providing & preparing in every Province with care & Zeal. Therefore doubt some of an Allowence for our Troops that are kept within the Colony Unless they should be wanted and called forth into sum special service. I rather wish that we had not raised so many tho the Genl Service as it then appeared [I] beleive sufficiently Warrented that Number, but we are not enabled to give any Advice on that head therefore must leave the disbanding any part to the Discretion of the Colony who must Judge for themselves therein & we shall not fail on our part to Obtain Justice for the Colony to the utmost of our Power. We recd a Letter from Colo Williams of the same Date with your Honors & by the same Conveyance. We are much Oblidged to him for every Letter he is so kind as to favor us with. He will be so good as to excuse us in not writing to him at this time as we know that his Situation near your Honors that he will soon be acquainted with the Contents of this & if we had wrote him must have been the same with this. Your Honr  
most Obedt Humble Servant  
Elipht Dyer

Silas Dean

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> See the resolve of May 18. *JCC*, 2:56.

## John Hancock to the New York Provincial Congress

*Philadelphia 12 June 1775.* Forwards Congress' resolves of June 10, 1775, concerning the procurement of salt petre and brimstone and the manufacture of gunpowder.<sup>1</sup>

RC (N) . *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:3-4.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:85-86.

## Samuel Ward's Diary

[June 12, 1775]

12. The order for a fast engrossed & apr[ove]d. The Letter to Canada order'd to be [*published*].<sup>1</sup> Through Hurry went no further with my Memorandum.<sup>2</sup>

MS (RH*i*) .

<sup>1</sup> This day Congress ordered the publication in English of its Letter to the

Inhabitants of Canada of May 29, 1775. *JCC*, 2:88.

<sup>2</sup> Ward might be referring here to an early draft of his List of Measures Adopted by Congress, July 31? 1775.

## Silas Deane's Diary

Tuesday, June 13. [1775]

At Congress.

	Numbers	Dollars.
New Hampshire	100.000 . . . .	82.713
Massachusetts	350.000 . . . .	289.496
Rhode Island	58.000 . . . .	47.973
Connecticut	200.000 . . . .	165.426
New York	200.000 . . . .	165.426
New Jersey	130.000 . . . .	107.527
Pennsylvania	300.000 . . . .	248.139
Delaware	30.000 . . . .	24.813
Maryland	250.000 . . . .	206.783
Virginia	400.000 . . . .	330.852
N. Carolina	200.000 . . . .	165.426
S. Carolina	200.000 . . . .	165.426
	2.418.000	2.000.000

165.426	}	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6							
165.426	}	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6							
992.556	}	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
£49.627.16							

The foregoing Calculation is meerly Temporary, and to be corrected hereafter.<sup>1</sup> Genl. Washington appointed.<sup>2</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 92.

<sup>1</sup> After long considering ways and means of raising revenue for the common defense, Congress finally approved an emission of two million dollars in paper currency on June 22. *JCC*, 2:103. Deane's "calculation" is apparently an estimate of redemption quotas for the colonies based on population and probably represents computations discussed in the committee of the whole. For a similar calculation, see Samuel Ward's List of Measures Adopted by Congress, July 31? 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Washington was not appointed commander of continental forces until June 15. *JCC*, 2:91.

Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Samuel Purviance, Jr.

My dear Sir.

Philadelpa. 13 June 1775.

I am obliged to you for yours of the 6 & 7th & 10th Instant. We

had the Kings Answer to the Address of the City of London by a vessel in here last week, by which I recvd Mr Glovers Speech having before had the Evidence which very fully justifies Mr. Glovers State as to the dependance of the Islands on the associating Colonies.<sup>1</sup> I assure you I feel troubled at the prospect of Wretchedness into which we are likely to plunge the West Indies and the Additional Missery we are like to heap on Ireland but I very much fear any Relaxation of our System would be imputed by our Enemies to irresistible Interest and that they would not place any Thing of it to the account of Humanity. If they ever conceive that we are shifting our Means of Defence they will cross us and conclude we shall give way in Confusion for if they know any Thing they cannot be ignorant that the people are not more violent in their Demands when Demands are making than in giving up when it is the fashion to give up. I am therefore afraid at this Time to stir any point of the association. I am in Hopes no Body will perish, though the West Indies will be much straightened, till we get our Trade open again either by a Reconciliation with our Mother Country or by her being engaged in a War with some foreign power. It appears plain to me that neither our Imports or Exports will continue long if the Ministry are resolved to finish the Dispute by Knocks. We surely must invite all the foreign Trade we possibly can but if luckily for us Spain should bring her Quarrel to maturity, as I cannot doubt she will have policy enough not to fall on the associated Colonies at the same Time, we may I think carry on our Trade in our own Bottoms just where we please, for Great Britain by taking our Vessels may force the Colonies even to privateer on their Trade. We had surely better kiss and be friends but I have no Idea of fighting long without attempting to Trade. I am sorry that I have it not in my power to ascertain you whether in Consequence of the late Acts of Parliament we shall shorten the Time for Exporta[tion]. I do not think we shall. I am myself against it and I know from private Conversations many others are so. We can in my Opinion effect nothing very desirable by shortening the Time; we should by that Measure undoubtedly much increase the Distress of Ireland & the West Indies and, what is not enough attended to, throw the Affairs of our Merchants into the utmost perplexity as well as strip our friends of so much wealth as is the Value of the produce now in their Hands. I tell you with a great deal of Candor all I know of this Business. I have learned from a Gent out of Doors talk of shutting up the ports the same Day that the Act is to take place as a proper Measure but I hope enough to prevent it will think it very unwise.

I wish you could get some ingenious Gent to go about Salt petre and teaching others to make it. We certainly may have an internal Supply if we will exert ourselves. The Congress will I dare say do ev-



ery Thing in it's power to promote this very useful Work but I believe most Gent of the Congress have as much to learn as myself.<sup>2</sup>

I shall be very agreeably surprized whenever your Country leading Gent. shall act on a large Scale in politicks. I wish you would fret yourself as little as possible. Nothing that you and all your Town can do will expand their Hearts. I have not yet had an Oppty of executing your Commission with regard to Colo. Steven. I will again write to you soon and on that Subject. The people here continue their Industry to learn the Military Art, every Thing wears a favourable Appearance. I suppose you have heard that Colo. Skeen lately appointed Govr. of Ticonderoga & Crown Point was stopped here the other Day on his Landing. He is now on his parol. The Congress Hour is near at Hand. I have neither Time nor matter to add further than that I am Dr. sr. Your most obedt. Servant Th Johnson junr

RC (PPAmP).

<sup>1</sup>A reference to Richard Glover, *The Substance of the Evidence Delivered on the Petition Presented by the West-India Planters and Merchants to the Hon. House of Common . . . the 16th of March, 1775* (London: H. S. Woodfall, 1775). T. R. Adams, *American Independence*, p. 127. This pamphlet was reprinted serially in the *Pennsylvania Journal*; and the *Weekly Advertiser*, June 21, 28, 1775, and contained a petition from West Indian planters and London merchants calling upon Parliament to take steps to soften the anticipated impact of the Association on the West Indian economy and to preserve commercial relations between the islands and the northern colonies as well as the arguments before the House of Commons in support of these pleas by Glover, an English merchant and poet. See also *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 1:1540, 1721-43; and *DNB*.

<sup>2</sup>Johnson had been appointed on the 10th to a committee to encourage the manufacture of saltpetre in America. *JCC*, 2:86.

## Virginia Delegate to Unknown

June 13, 1775

Notwithstanding the many accounts of the sailing of the troops from Ireland, a vessel is just arrived here from Newry, in five weeks, the Captain of which says, that none had sailed; and that, just as he was coming away, orders were said to have come to them to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Gibraltar.

Col. Skene (owner of the schooner taken on Lake Camplain, whose son was also taken there, and is now prisoner in Connecticut) is just arrived from London, with a commission to be Governour of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but, private letters say, is charged with a power from administration to influence the members of the Congress, by *arguments drawn on the Treasury*, over which he has unlimited power; but as we have no occasion for his services at the forts, and do not intend to deal in his *reasonings*, he remains a pris-

oner upon his parole, to keep within eight miles of the city, between the two rivers, and not to correspond with any person on political subjects.

As to the two engagements at the islands near Boston,<sup>1</sup> we are told, but not with a degree of confirmation, that the last, on Noddle's island, was a very serious business, near 1500 being engaged on each side, and that the regulars had 200 killed and wounded, the loss on the side of the provincials being merely trifling.

I think we may finish in a fortnight, but can only guess, without forming any precise judgment about it.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), June 23, 1775, "Supplement." The extract follows another unidentified Virginia delegate letter, dated June 14, 1775, and appears under the heading: "*Extract of a letter from another of the Virginia delegates, dated June 13.*"

<sup>1</sup> See Robert Treat Paine's Diary, June 5, 1775.

## Edmund Pendleton to William Woodford

Dr. Sir

Phila. June 14. 1775.

I have the pleasure of yrs. of the 3d & did not mean when I spoke of the dissentions about Mr. Henry's Manoeuvre, to hint at blaming our Commee, or the probability of division among them. They took the right method of commanding the Zeal & good intention of the Party, tho' they disapproved the Measure.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry Mr. Christie escaped, as I am inclined to think that from him we might have got into the Particulars of the intended Indian Treaty, which might have proved an important discovery at this time, as we are suspicious of something unfair being intended: Whether the Kings Pork is eat by the worthless Crew in the Navy or Army, or by the Govrs. slaves is matter of very little concern to Us, tho' the Enquiry was a Judicious Step. I imagine Johnny Taylor has given you an Account of what little news is stirring, of which indeed there is a great dearth; providence seems to have smiled on our struggles & given Us success in every attempt hitherto; May we continue to deserve divine favour & I doubt not, we shall have it throughout. I am very glad our Vestry have chosen Mr. Sheild, & doubt not the Clamours will soon subside, & that those who now make a noise will applaud the Vestry for what they have done, tho' perhaps some whose opposition was to the Vestry & not for the sake of the Ignorant Mr. Ford (who if he appears in the paper, will I venture to prophecy, prove the Justice of giving Mr. Sheild the preference) may still make a noise. You mention to Johnny a Report from Mr. Sheild & Mr. Hunt dishonourable to our Delegation. We had it before & I fear has too just a foundation. It highly

dishonours Us & our Countrey, & Our Assembly has surely examined into it, & either restored Bland to his Credit on his Innocence appearing, Or on the contrary wiped off the Stain from the Colony, by degrading him from the Delegation & expelling him [from] their House, sending him to stink in infamous Obscurity.<sup>2</sup> I am much pleased wth. yr. scheme for manufactories at Fredg. For I see plainly that if we can't succeed that way, much of our money must come here for various Articles, Commissions for which give the trades men here much employment, and as they have their hands full of work, I doubt it will be difficult to perswade any of them to leave this plentiful market; however I will enquire whether any & what Artists in yr. branches can be engaged to come Over & let you know. Yr. things are not yet done, but am promised they shall be in a day or two. I am  
Dr. Sr. Yr. Affe. hble Servt. Edmd Pendleton

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> See Pendleton's letter to Woodford, May 30, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Charges made by Rev. Samuel Sheild and others that Richard Bland had solicited a government appointment to collect taxes and had promised to promote ministerial measures against America were examined by the Virginia convention July 28 and declared false. See the *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), July 8, 22, and August 5, 1775.

## Virginia Delegate to Unknown

June 14, 1775

Col. *Washington* has been pressed to take the supreme command of the American Troops encamped at Roxbury, and I believe will accept the appointment,<sup>1</sup> though with much reluctance, he being deeply impressed with the importance of that honourable trust, and diffident of his own (superiour) abilities.

We have determined to keep 10,000 men in Massachusetts Bay, and 5000 in different parts of New York government, at the expense of the continent; and probably a large sum of money will be emitted, in order to carry on the war, preparations for which go on rapidly in this place.

It seems likely that some of the newly arrived Generals were intended for the southern colonies, but no troops can be spared from Boston. The Provincials talk much of storming that town, and it is expected by many.

The Congress will sit long. Adjusting the expenses of each colony for the common cause, and settling proper funds for the army, are subjects fruitful of debate, and of the utmost consequence.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), June 23, 1775,

"Supplement." Printed under the heading: "*Extract of a letter from one of the Virginia delegates, to his friend (now in this city) dated June 14, 1775.*"

<sup>1</sup> Washington was not chosen by ballot until June 15, and he accepted the appointment on the 16th. *JCC*, 2:91-92.

## George Clinton to John McKesson

*Philadelphia 15th June 1775.* "Since writing you last I am favoured with yours of the 10th Inst.<sup>1</sup> I am obliged to you for your News tho as false as Hell, For be assured that whatever Steps may have been taken relative to setting on Foot an Accommodation or whether any No such Message as you mention was ever sent by the Southern Deputies or any of them to our Body nor do I believe such a Thing was ever in Contemplation. And as to the two Grand Republicks you mention I have never heard of nor do I believe such a Thought has ever possessed the Mind of any Man amongst us. These Sir are Tory Reports calculated to frighten the Timid and to Create Distrust of our Proceedings."

MS not found; abstracted from extract in Burnett, *Letters*, 1:125.

<sup>1</sup> McKesson informed Clinton in a letter dated June 10 that the New York Provincial Congress had recently heard rumors that several Southern colonies had threatened to withdraw from Congress if that body considered a plan of accommodation with Great Britain and that Congress was debating a scheme to divide the colonies into two republics. Hugh Hastings and J. A. Holden, eds., *The Public Papers of George Clinton* . . . , 10 vols. (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., et al, 1899-1914) , 1:199-200.

## John Hancock to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia, June 15, 1775.

Your letter of 10th inst. to the Delegates of New York has been laid before the Congress, in Consequence of which, I am directed to Return you the Thanks of the Congress, for your Vigilance in the Case of Capt. Coffin's Vessel,<sup>1</sup> and to Recommend to you that the Vessel be Unloaded, and the cargo safely Stored untill all Just Suspicions concerning the Destination of it, shall be removed. I am Gentlemen, Your most obed. hum. servt.

John Hancock, President

RC (N) . *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:4. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> For additional information about this "Case," see William Bell Clark et al.,



eds., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington: Department of the Navy, 1964- ), 1:649.

## Edmund Pendleton to Joseph Chew

Philadelphia, June 15, 1775

I have your Favor of the 25th of May and received pleasure in hearing that you and your family were well, a blessing which will enable a man to sustain all Calamities Public or private, of which we have all of us enough at present to call forth every exertion of Fortitude. The Crisis of our Fate in the present and unhappy Contest seems approaching nearer than may be imagined by us, and perhaps this Summer may determine whether we shall be slaves, or a Rotten, wicked Administration be sacrificed to Our Freedom, in such times there will be as great Variety of Sentiments as Constitutions, among those who have the same end in view. The Sanguine are for rash Measures without consideration, the Flegmatic to avoid that extreme are afraid to move at all, while a third Class take the middle way and endeavor by tempering the first sort and bringing the latter into action to draw all together to a Steddy, tho' Active Point of defense; but till this is done, it is natural to suppose the extremes will be blaming each other, and perhaps in terms not the most decent, and each at times will include the third class in that which is opposite to themselves, this I have frequently experienced; and must blame, since mutual Charity should lead Us, not to censure, but to endeavor to convince the Judgment of each other; you are much mistaken my friend, in the sentiments of your countrymen about paying for the Tea; scarce a Man there (Scotch Merchants excepted) thinks it ought to be done, not on account of the trifling sum, but that it would be giving up the Cause; and so early as May 1774 did our Convention Resolve that "if by dire Necessity Boston should be compelled to pay for the Tea we would never purchase or consume an Article of East India goods, till the Company refunded the money." To consider the question abstractedly, as only this, That a Company of Merchants sent their property and offered it for sale at a Market where they had a legal right to send it, and it was destroyed, no one could speak of its being wrong and that they had ought to pay for it: but when you take the case in its true light, consider the tea as sent in consequence of a Combination between the Ministry & Company to fix the Precedent in favor of taxing Us; (the only design of their retaining that trivial duty) That if Landed, the Tools of Government would have had sufficient Influence over the Virtue of individuals, to have affected the sale of it and that all their endeavors to send it away were defeated, Necessity of choosing the lesser evil justified them in its destruction,

as the only means of avoiding the Poison: suppose it doubtful or even Wrong, the severity in the designed Punishment would scarcely incline Us now to retract and pay for the Tea. Upon a bare accusation thousands confessedly innocent are condemned for the supposed Fault of about 40, and this without hearing and without Testimony; Nor are these sufferings to have an end when the Tea is paid for or they have endured them for a limited term, but so long as the Minister Pleases, after "he shall be satisfied the Trade of Great Britain may be carried on without Interruption" that is in plain English, "until we shall agree to receive and pay for without murmuring all such goods as Parliament shall tax and send to Us": after this can we doubt of the Original Plan and design in sending the Tea? Surely not, and then reason must reject the Idea of Paying for it. I am truly sorry for the uneasiness Colonel Johnston<sup>1</sup> has been subject to, and hope the Committees of Albany and Schenectady have 'ere this removed that and Satisfied the Indians. We have reason to Watch the motions of all Government Officers and especially in your parts when well we know it is projected by our Enemies to pour Mischief upon us from the Canadians and Indians, as far as they can effect it; it was proper therefore to seize and guard the door of Canada as they had done; I hope Colonel Johnston had none other foundation than this for his apprehension of an Attack, For tho' it might have been in contemplation to apply to him to preserve the Indians in Neutrality, I dare say no hostility to him was thought of unless it should appear he had instructions to enlist the Indians against Us and intended to carry them into Execution, when his own good sense will suggest the propriety of resistance and Reprisals; However as I hear he has assured those Committees of his having no such instructions or Intention, for which the nature of his Office and his great stake in the community seem a sufficient security; As the Indian chiefs have declared that they don't consider themselves as concerned and shall not intermeddle in the dispute and as the Committees have assured Colonel Johnston they know nor had heard of any intention to molest him, I hope this matter is settled to general satisfaction; Whatever is done in this Affair, I consider Virginia as under particular Obligations to Colonel Johnston for his Interposition with the Indians and keeping them from entering into the War against Us last year, and probably the Indians themselves owe him thanks for the same. I mentioned at setting out that our Affairs were growing Critical—3 Generals are arrived and 9 Regiments come or coming, whether all to Boston or to New York is yet to Us here matter of Speculation—the Disgrace the Troops have met with in three skirmishes, must spirit up the Officers to some great Effort, which we may daily expect: however I am not apprehensive of very bad consequences, I think we have sufficient troops of brave men fighting for their all and flushed with Victory, to

repel them, and at once perhaps to put an end to the War; for I do not think the people of Britain will suffer their Ministry to lavish their blood and treasure in another experiment of the sort, especially when they are feeling the want of Our trade, that great resource of their Wealth.

All our friends as far as I hear are well in Virginia where we have had a small taste of the troubles of the times. Lord Dunmore very imprudently had 15 half Barrels of Powder removed in the night from the Magazine on board a Man of War, whether Crown or Country property is uncertain. This alarmed the Country and I suppose 1,000 men were in arms to go to Williamsburg on the Occasion, but sent an express there to know the true state of things. The Corporation requested they would not come down, as they had force enough in the neighborhood to effect any thing necessary to be done, but they believed him sincere in his professions that he only meant to secure it from the slaves and would return it—the greater part was satisfied; however 150 marched on to make Reprisals, but the Receiver General met them and having paid them a high value for the Powder they returned and that matter appeared to be Over. Our Assembly have since met and seemed to be going on smoothly in business, but we now hear the Governor has fled with his family on board a Man of War and refused to return, saying his Assassination was resolved on, tho' the Assembly sent him a Message that they would protect him and be pledged for his safety. We have no certain account of the beginning of this Affair, but it probably was this—there are many stands of Arms in the Magazine from which the locks have been taken, and the people uneasy lest the Guns would also be taken away. Curiosity led a Burgess and two other men to go and open the door. Upon their doing it three guns went off, being so fixed as to do so on Opening the Door and so well placed as to wound every one of the three—this made a noise, the Governor was applied to and he threw it upon his servants, who to his face, avowed it to be done by his Orders; if this was the Case he might well fear what he must have been conscious he deserved, Assassination—it seems he privately sent to the Man of War for Marines to protect him (as he had done before) the Burgesses told him if they came, there should not a man of them return alive, and then he fled to them, since which we have not heard from them. I imagine I have by this time tired you and will only Add what we are at liberty to Publish, that Colonel Washington is appointed General and Commander in chief of all the American Force and that a Committee of the whole Congress have voted to raise 15,000 men and to emit a Continental Currency to Amount of 2 Millions of Dollars to pay and provide for them. My best respects to your Lady and family. I am, Dear Sir, Your very Affectionate friend,

Edmd Pendleton

MS not found; reprinted from Edmund Pendleton, *Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton*, ed. David J. Mays, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 1:110-13.

<sup>1</sup> Guy Johnson, who succeeded Chew's friend Sir William Johnson as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Cumberland County Committee of Correspondence

Gentlemen (Circular) Philadelphia June 15. 1775

Enclosed are resolves of the Congress which we have Transmitted to you & Request you will use your utmost diligence to have as many of the best marksmen procured to inlist as fast as Possible. They are wanted for immediate service at Boston—and we have not the least doubt but the Spirit of our People of this Province will induce them without Delay to enter into so Glorious a service. You will please to Consult Such Gent. of knowledge and interest as you can (tho not of your Committee) for the more speedy raising of the men and let us know your Sentiments relative to Such Gent. as may be proper for Officers and Such as may be Agreeable to the men. We hope the Counties will advance any Monies Necessary as they Shall be Shortly Repayed by the Congress. The honor of Pennsylvania is at Stake and we have not the least Doubt but that every nerve will be exerted not only Collectively but Individually to Carry this matter into instant execution. You will See by the Attestation to be Signed by the men they are to Serve one Year unless Sooner Discharged. This may seem inconvenient as the inlistments will not be on one Day—the intention is to Discharge them on the first of July 1776 unless their Service may not be wanted so long according to the terms of the Attestation which may Possibly happen to be the Case and then they may be Discharged this fall.

Lett the Committees or Officers give certificates for any moneys Necessary for the Service to Tavern keepers and others which the Congress will Discharge.

It is Expected that Cumberland will Raise two Companies, Yorke one, Lancaster one, Berks & Northampton one, & Northumberland & Bedford one.

You will keep the Resolves of the Congress as secret as the nature of the Service will Admitt that the Arrival of the men at Boston may be the first notice Genl. Gage has of this Matter.

The pay of the officers is on the Establishment with the whole Army. But we beg leave to Asshure the officers that our interest Shall be exerted with our Assembly to the utmost to have an Addition to their pay so as to be equal to the pay of Officers of the Same rank in



the Pennsylvania service the last War. We are with esteem Gentlemen Your most hble Servts.

John Morton	Charles Humphreys
Thos. Mifflin	John Dickinson
Thos. Willing	George. Ross
	James Wilson

Tr (DLC). Tr—with copy of an extract from the minutes of Congress, June 14, 1775, pertaining to raising 10 companies of riflemen in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia—(PHi). For the extract from the minutes, see *JCC*, 2:89–90.

## Samuel Ward to Henry Ward

Dear Brother

Philadelphia 15th June 1775

I was surprized to find by your Letter of 6th inst. that you had received no Letter from Me; when I first arrived here the Posts were stopped, but after some Time Mr. Hancock told me he should send an Express to Providence & Boston. I then wrote You a long Letter & have since wrote to You again. I should have wrote to You by Wightman but was afraid the Men of War would intercept my Letter. I am greatly obliged to You for writing so often & beg you would not miss one Post.

I am very sorry that Stelle should sell Flour to Rome<sup>1</sup> when the Town must very soon need all that is or can be got into the Place, and am heartily glad the People had the Spirit to Seize it.

We recd. a Letter from the Comee. of New York Yesterday requesting our advice relative to a vessel loaded with Provisions bound to Newport. They Suspected they were for the Army; the matter is referred to the Delegates of New York, Massachusetts & Rhode Island who have not yet met; every proper measure ought to be taken to Supply the Town and at the same time prevent the Enemy from getting Supplies.

I am obliged to You for the Mention of my Family. I have not heard one Word save what you have wrote since I left them; what they can mean by it I am wholly at a Loss.

The Congress continues vastly unanimous on going on with proper Measures for supporting the Troops already raised & putting all the Colonies into a Posture of Defence, a continental Currency is agreed upon & will soon be emitted. For Want of proper Estimates of the Number of Inhabitants and rateable Estate in each Colony, a Proportion hath been struck according to the Number of Inhabitants as near as We can now judge subject however to a Revision when more perfect Accts. are had. I imagine We may sett a few Weeks longer,

and then make a Short adjournment, probably leaving a committee to Superintend in our Recess.

I expect to be at liberty to write you more fully in a few days and Shall omit no opportunity of acquainting you with every thing as fast as I can.

Present my most respectful regards to Govr. Cook, to Mr Treasurer Clark and any of our friends to whom they will be acceptable. I am your very affecte Brother  
Sam Ward

RC (RHi) . Tr (MH) . RC fragmentary; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> That is, George Rome, an English factor for a London mercantile firm who resided in Newport, R. I., and was a loyalist. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution with an Historical Essay*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1864), 2:237–38; and David S. Lovejoy, *Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760–1776* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1958), p. 162.

## George Washington's Diary

[June 15, 1775]

15. Dined at Burnes' in the Field. Spent the Eveng. on a Committee.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC) . Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), 2:199.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the committee for drafting rules and regulations for the army, to which Washington was appointed on June 14. *JCC*, 2:90.

## Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

*Philadelphia June 16 1775.* Complains that he has received no letters from her. Asks for news and affirms his good health. "I wish I could consistently inform you what is doing here. I can however tell you that Matters go on, though slower than one could wish, yet agreeable to my Mind." In a postscript dated June 17 acknowledges receipt of a letter from Elizabeth and expresses pleasure at news that her family has escaped from Boston.

RC (NN) . Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:217–18.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Phila. June 16th 1775.

I received your's of the 11th inst. & by it find you had not had my

last long & particular Lettr. of my Tour To Wilmington of the review &c. This when received will atone for my Short Letter of which I allow you to take notice, or even to complain tho' did you know my situation you would rather wonder that I can write at all. The history of this Day is—rose at Five—breakfasted & dress'd by Seven, at half past met a Committee in the State House on Business and Never left the house, untill past Five, this AfterNoon when I went To dine with a Stomach, or Appetite so, so—immediately after which other Business called, but Your Letter, & other packets arriving I have got some excuse & am Now writing this at Twelve at Night. Let This be my Apology to you, but do not mention it in public, as they may think I am making an Apology for Wages and expences extra.

*Genl. Washington*, will be with you soon, elected to that high Office by the Unanimous Voice of all America. I have been with him for a great part of the last Forty eight Hours, in Congress & Committee and the more I am acquainted with, the more I esteem him. He promises Me to call, & if it happen favorably, to spend one Night with You. I wish to cultivate this Gentlemans acquaintance & regard, not from any sinister Views, but from the great Esteem I have of his Virtues, which do not shine in the View of the World by reason of his great Modesty but when discovered by the discerning Eye, shine proportionably brighter. I know You will receive him as my Freind—what is more, infinitely more, his Countrys Freind—who sacrificing private Fortune independant Ease, and every domestic pleasure, sets off at his Countrys call, To exert himself in her defence without so much as returning to bid adieu to a Fond partner & Family. Let Our youth look up to This Man as a pattern to form themselves by, who Unites the bravery of the Soldier, with the most consummate Modesty & Virtue. I will say no more.

You will hear of other regulations soon, I hope to Satisfaction. I know You will shew this Letter to Freinds, remember my former Caution, and let No Extracts escape You. By the General I shall write more particulars. You speak of our Adjournng. You must know, "*This is an Event most devoutly to be wished for*" on some Accts. by Me, but what am I, nothing To The great Whole, & I fear the Consequences of an adjournment on more grounds than I incline to Mention. The subject is delicate, & on it am silent but do believe that an Adjournment if any take place will undoubtedly be for Hartford.

Mr. Lynch of South Carolina desired Me this Day to engage him Lodgings, for himself, Lady & Daughter, near Hartford, Conditionally. I told him I would procure him an house in Wethersfeild which would be more agreeable to him, if We went that Way. The Members talk more, & more, every Day, of a removal to Connecticut. Should it take place, will give Timely Notice for due preparation in Hartford and Wethersfeild. Probable it is indeed to Me, & I think it

Necessary, & shall in due Time move it That a part of the Congress remove to Hartford as a Committee of the whole to direct & superintend the movements. Should a Number of the Rifle Men described in my last pass You in their Way for Boston do not be Affrighted. I see that the Wethersfeild Company under Capt. Chester appeared with honor on a late Occasion, this has made me an Inch Taller, Though I am prouder as I may say of Connecticut than I dare express, not a Colony on the Continent Standing in higher estimation among the Colonies.

Politics engross every thing, private Business is at an end in Comparison. Shall give You a Line before the General setts off if possible, if not he will Notice you of his Approach, but he is a Man of no Ceremony or parade. Remember Me To Docr. Fairnsworth, Capt. Goodrich &c &c & all The World if they think of Me—particularly to The Families of both Houses. I am Your's Affectionately

S D

[P.S.] The Sheet is out, & the Watchman cries past 1 oClock.

RC (CtHi).

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia June 16th. 1775.

We had the Honor of your Letter of the 9th Instant received this evening wherein you mention the receipt of Mr President Hancocks of the 1st Inst inclosing the Resolves of the Congress coinciding with the Measures you had previously taken (tho unknown to them). We also received by the same hand the Resolves of our Assembly with respect to the Establishing a Regular Post Office from Woodstock to Fairfield, a Copy of Colo Allens letter to the Indians together with the Estimate of the expences & Disbursements of the Colony of Connecticut in the Common American Cause, Also a Pamphlet containing the Petition of the West India Planters & Merchants all which may be of use & service in the Present Occasion.<sup>1</sup> We hope you received ours by the same Express who carried Mr Hancocks tho no mention is made of the receipt of it. We have since wrote to your Honor by an Express to Cambridge who was to take Lebanon in his way there which trust you have received before this time. We are now at Liberty further to Acquaint your honor that the Congress have appointed Colo Washington of Virginia to be General of the Continental Army. He is a Gentn highly Esteemed for his Military & other Accomplishments to that Important Command, We Esteem him well Adapted to please A New England Army and much better



Suited to the Temper & Genius of our People than any other Gent not brought up in that Part of the Country. We have no doubt but that he will render himself very Agreeable & Acceptable to all. His appointment will tend to keep up the Union & more strongly Cement the Southern with the Northern Colonies, & serve to the removing all jealousies Army composed principally of New Englanders (if happily they prove Successfull) of being formidable to the Southern Colonies. There is Sir 8, or 10 Companies of the expert riflers & marksmen all Warriors preparing to come from the Western parts of this Province & Virginia, to join the Army Near Boston as soon as possible. On the late News of a Number of Troops now Actually on their passage for New York, & Daily expected, the Congress have thought fit to desire you upon application from New York Congress to Order the remainder of our Troops on the Western parts of the Colony to repair to or Near New York & Occupy some important post there, which you will receive by this express.<sup>2</sup> It gives the Congress some Concern least you Sir should Apprehend some Indelicacy in their mode of applying to you, through the Intervention of the York Provincial Congress. We beg leave just to explain the reasons of their Conduct therein, it is apprehended still that New York (i e) their Cautious men are for saving for themselves & the Province a safe retreat if possible. We readily see they most Carefully Avoid taking any lead in these Matters, therefore the more they are brought to move and Apply the more they will Involve themselves in the same Predicament with the other Colonies, which will give us a stronger Security for their future firmness in the General Cause. We may presume to let you [*know*] that this Congress are providing a Continental fund, to reimburse the expence of the Continental Army, and for the present exagence to emitt a paper Currency on the Credit of the United Colonies, redeemable by each Colony in a proper Time settled by the Congress as nearly equal as possible at this Time, tho subject to a Correction, when they may be able to make a more full & just estimate, as all the Colonies are not at present furnished with the Materials Necessary therefor, you will Sir be so good as to excuse the Incorrectness of this Midnight Scribe and in behalf of my Self & College Deligates have the Honor to be with most Sincere respect your Honors most Obedient Humble Servant

Eliphalet Dyer

Tr (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> For the letters of Jonathan Trumbull and Ethan Allen mentioned above, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:713-14, 940-41.

<sup>2</sup> See resolution of June 16. *JCC*, 2:95.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

June 17 [1775]

I can now inform you that the Congress have made Choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave George Washington Esqr., to be the General of the American Army, and that he is to repair as soon as possible to the Camp before Boston.<sup>1</sup> This Appointment will have a great Effect, in cementing and securing the Union of these Colonies. The Continent is really in earnest in defending the Country. They have voted Ten Companies of Rifle Men to be sent from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, to join the Army before Boston.<sup>2</sup> These are an excellent Species of Light Infantry. They use a peculiar Kind of [. . .] [ca]ll'd a Rifle—it has circular or [. . .] Grooves within the Barrell, and carries a Ball, with great Exactness to great Distances. They are the most accurate Marksmen in the World.

I begin to hope We shall not sit all Summer.

I hope the People of our Province, will treat the General with all that Confidence and Affection, that Politeness and Respect, which is due to one of the most important Characters in the World. The Liberties of America, depend upon him, in a great Degree.

I have never been able to obtain from our Province, any regular and particular Intelligence since I left it. Kent, Swift, Tudor, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Winthrop, and others wrote me often, last Fall—not a Line from them this Time.

I have found this Congress like the last. When We first came together, I found a strong Jealousy of Us, from New England, and the Massachusetts in Particular. Suspensions were entertained of Designs of Independency—an American Republic—Presbyterian Principles—and twenty other Things. Our Sentiments were heard in Congress, with great Caution—and seemed to make but little Impression: but the longer We sat, the more clearly they saw the Necessity of pursuing vigorous Measures. It has been so now. Every Day We sit, the more We are convinced that the Designs against Us, are hostile and sanguinary, and that nothing but Fortitude, Vigour, and Perseverance can save Us.

But America is a great, unwieldy Body. Its Progress must be slow. It is like a large Fleet sailing under Convoy. The fleetest Sailors must wait for the dullest and slowest. Like a Coach and six—the swiftest Horses must be slackened and the slowest quickened, that all may keep an even Pace.

It is long since I heard from you. I fear you have been kept in continual Alarms. My Duty and Love to all. My dear Nabby, Johnny, Charly and Tommy come here and kiss me.

We have appointed a continental Fast. Millions will be upon their

Knees at once before their great Creator, imploring his Forgiveness and Blessing, his Smiles on American Councils and Arms.<sup>3</sup>

My Duty to your Uncle Quincy—your Papa, Mama and mine—my Brothers and sisters and yours.

Adieu.

RC (MHi). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:215–16. A continuation of Adams to Abigail Adams, June 11, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> George Washington was formally appointed commander in chief on June 15, but the controversy surrounding his selection is missing from the journals of Congress and the delegates' letters announcing the election. Adams later recorded in his autobiography his recollection of Washington's appointment and the debate leading to the decision in Congress to "adopt" the army at Boston. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:321–24. In a letter to Adams of May 7, 1775, James Warren had urged Washington's appointment as commander in chief even before Congress met. *Warren-Adams Letters*, 1:46–49.

<sup>2</sup> Congress took this action on June 14. *JCC*, 2:89–90.

<sup>3</sup> Adams was a member of the committee appointed to draft a resolution for the day of fasting which was set for July 20, 1775. *JCC*, 2:81, 87–88.

## James Duane to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia, June 17th, 1775.

Your favor of the [ ]<sup>1</sup> by express came to hand yesterday, and the papers you enclosed have been communicated to the Congress, who can not but approve of your generous and spirited conduct.

You have by this conveyance two packets from the President of Congress; on the subject to which they relate I need make no Remarks.

As it was found that you had made no Progress in raising men, the Congress have thought fit that the posts directed to be taken in our Government should immediately be occupied by the Troops of Connecticut which are ready for service and unemployed. We enclose you by order of the Congress a certified Copy of their Resolution on that Head.<sup>2</sup>

Your great Complaint of the want of Money will I hope be soon removed. For your present satisfaction we have obtained Leave of the Congress to inform you that the general Committee of the whole Body have reported a resolution to emit in continental paper Currency a Sum not exceeding the Value of two millions of Spanish Dollars, for the Redemption of which all the Colonies are to be pledged. Upon Revolving the Object of this Resolution you will find to agree in the main point; the Stability of the Fund, with your own Judicious System, we hope soon to furnish you with the particulars of this important transaction. We are likewise at liberty to acquaint you that

the Congress have agreed to raise at the Continental expense a body of 15,000 men, 10,000 for the defence of the Massachusetts, and the remainder to be employed in New York for keeping open the communication between the Northern and Southern Colonies; and that Col. George Washington is appointed Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised and to be raised in the common cause. You are under no further obligation of secrecy on those points than to prevent their being inserted with any newspaper, from which it is apprehended some prejudices might arise.

The Letters for Governour Trumbull and General Wooster relate to the removal of the Connecticut Troops into our Government, and are to be forwarded with your Dispatches on that subject; but they are only from their Delegates, and not authoritative, the Congress having referred it to you to make the application to that Government.

I have retired from the Congress at the request of my brethren to send off these dispatches; for which reason I have done the Honour of subscribing myself, with the greatest respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient & very humble Servant

Jas Duane

RC (N). *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:39. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> MS blank. Duane is probably referring here to two June 14 letters from the New York Provincial Congress, one to the New York delegates and the other to the Continental Congress, together with accompanying enclosures, all of which may be found in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:983-85.

<sup>2</sup> For this resolve, which Congress approved June 16, see JCC, 2:95.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Dear Sir

Philadelphia June 17th 1775

I have wrote you 2 or 3 letters since I receivd any from you. My last was by Doctor Church. I yesterday wrote to Genll Spencer which he will shew you. This is only private. You will hear that Coll Washington is Appointed Genll or Commander in Chief over the Continental Army by I dont know but the Universal Voice of the Congress. I believe he will be Very Agreeable to our officers & Soldiery. He is a Gent. highly Esteemed by those acquainted with him, tho I dont believe as to his Military, & for real service he knows more than some of ours, but so it removes all jealousies, more firmly Cements the Southern to the Northern, and takes away the fear of the former lest an Enterprising eastern New England Genll proving Successfull, might with his Victorious Army give law to the Southern & Western Gentry. This made it absolutely Necessary in point of prudence, but he is Clever, & if any thing too modest. He seems discret & Virtuous,



no harum Starum ranting Swearing fellow but Sober, steady, & Calm. His modesty will Induce him I dare say to take & order every step with the best advice possible to be obtained in the Army. His allowance for Wages expences & every thing is we think very high, not less than £ 150 lawll per month,<sup>1</sup> but it was urged that the largeness of his family, Aide Camps, Secretary Servts &c, beside a Constant table for more or less of his officers, daily expresses, dispatches &c Must be very expensive.<sup>2</sup> There is an allowance of 63 doll[ar]s per month for his Secretary who is to be Considered as one of his (the Genlls) family, every way provided for by the Genll so as to have no expence for the Secretary. I have so without your knowledge or Consent been laying in for that birth for you. I first mentioned it to Mr Dean. He appeared ready & Chearfull to give all his assistance.<sup>3</sup> Mr Jno Adams & some others of Massachusetts I think they will favor it. Genll. Washington has been spoke to on the occasion, as I thot it would be a Clever genteel Birth, the Wages tollerable considering no expence for living. I believe you will much esteem him & believe he will be pleased with you. I dare say you may live Very happy with him. It is not Certain as yet it can be accomplished but if I knew it would be agreable I should leave no stone unturned to Accomplish it. A line from you as soon as possible would be very agreable tho cannot expect it before he will set out. In the mean time shall use our best Indeavers & tis but to refuse if you do not choose it if offerd. We hope to supply the Army with Six or 8 hundred fine Paxten boys & other riflrs from the back of this Province some from Virginia. I hope they will arrive before Genlls How & Burgoyne Attempt to give you a Confounded flogging & which they will do if you are not well on your Guard & manage them right when they do come. Regards respects Compliments &c as usual from your most sincere friend &c.

Elipht Dyer

RC (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> A resolution of June 15 allowed Washington \$500 per month for pay and expenses, but in his acceptance speech he stated that reimbursement for his expenses was all that he desired, an arrangement that apparently worked to Washington's long-range advantage. *JCC*, 2:91-92.

<sup>2</sup> Asterisk in the original, referring to Dyer's note at the bottom of the page: "I don't prohibit shewing above the Asterism; below, the Caution would be Needless."

<sup>3</sup> Although Dyer and Silas Deane were unsuccessful in their efforts to secure this position for Trumbull, Congress, upon Washington's recommendation, appointed him commissary general on July 19. See Deane to Joseph Trumbull, June 18, 1775; Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 20, 1775; and *JCC*, 2:190.

## Eliphalet Dyer to David Wooster

Sr

Philadelphia June 17th 1775

We have only a Minutes time by this express to let you know that upon the late News of an expected Arrival of a Number of Regular Troops att New York the Congress have seen fitt to desire Govr. Trumbull to direct that the remainder of the Connecticutt forces in the Western parts of the Colony be Immediately sent forward towards New York to take possession of some advantageous posts there as well as to be in readiness for some future operations as Occasion may require.<sup>1</sup> And to prevent every delay we beg leave to Suggest to you wether it will not be prudent (while the express is gone forward to acquaint Govr Trumble with this, & return with his orders) to Collect your Men togeather if Scattered & have them prepared and in readiness to March att a Minutes Warning after orders are receivd or even sooner if Necessary as there is no doubt of the Govrs approbation, New York Congress will no doubt send to you & point out the places where our Troops are at first to be stationed & make some provision for their reception. What further orders may soon be given from this Congress is Uncertain, if any. Your prudence will direct & guide your Conduct togeather with what further advice you may receive from New York, & in behalf of my self & brethren am Sr yr most obedt Hle Servt

Elipht Dyer

RC (MeHi). No addressee, but the recipient was undoubtedly David Wooster (1711-77), major general of Connecticut troops and commander of the forces ordered to New York.

<sup>1</sup> See the resolution of June 16, *JCC*, 2:95; and James Duane to the New York Provincial Congress, June 17, 1775.

## Benjamin Franklin to Jane Mecom

*Philada. June 17. 1775.* Has received her letter of May 14 with one from Mrs. Greene.<sup>1</sup> Sympathizes with the people of Massachusetts and urges his sister to make her wants known to him. Reports family news and speculates about opportunities for travel that would make their meeting possible.

RC (PPAmP). Carl Van Doren, ed., *The Letters of Benjamin Franklin and Jane Mecom*, American Philosophical Society, *Memoirs*, vol. 27 (Princeton, 1950), pp. 157-58.

<sup>1</sup> Catharine Ray Greene (1731-94), of Warwick, R. I., wife of William Greene, justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court and subsequently governor of the state, with whom Mrs. Mecom took up residence after her flight from Boston. Franklin's correspondence and remarkable friendship with Catharine is the subject of Wil-

liam G. Roelker, ed., *Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene: Their Correspondence, 1755-1790*, American Philosophical Society, *Memoirs*, vol. 26 (Philadelphia, 1949). Franklin's letter to her of June 17, 1775, is in *ibid.*, p. 54.

## George Ross to the Lancaster County Committee

Gent

Philada. 17th. June 1775

Enclosed I have sent you the Address of the Congress to the Canadians in French,<sup>1</sup> so soon as the English Copy is published will send it [*to*] you. However you will see it in the last News paper. You have also two prints sent to Congress by the Chamberlin of London expressive of their fears of what would happen in America.<sup>2</sup>

I have also sent the Parliamentary register No. 2 Containing sundry letters to Admin[istration] from America.

And I have the Pleasure to Inform you the Congress have agreed to strike Two Million of Dollars for the American Service & have now 15000 Men in pay, 10000 at Boston & 5000 in New York. Genl. George Washington is appointed Commander in Cheif & will shortly set off for Boston. Pray use your utmost Diligence About the Riffle Men & let Me hear from you by every opportunity.

I hope harmony & Confidence are restored in Town and that every Gent will use the Utmost means in his Power to preserve them. I am with great Esteem Yr Obliged Friend & Hble Servt

Geo. Ross

RC (DLC). Endorsed by Ross: "The Parliamentary register must be return'd as soon as convenient."

<sup>1</sup> See resolution of Congress, May 29, 1775, *JCC*, 2:70; and *JCC*, 3:507.

<sup>2</sup> See Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 3, 1775, note 2.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Phyladelphia June 18. 1775

This Letter, I presume, will go by the brave and amiable General Washington.

Our Army will have a Group of Officers, equal to any service. Washington, Ward, Lee, Gates, Gridley,<sup>1</sup> together with all the other New England officers, will make a glorious Council of War.

This Congress are all as deep, as the Delegates from the Massachusetts, and the whole Continent as forward as Boston.

We shall have a Redress of Grievances, or an Assumption of all the Powers of Government legislative, Executive and Judicial, throughout the whole Continent very soon.

Georgia is bestirring itself—I mean the whole of it. The Parish of

St. Johns which is one third of it, was with Us before.

I am &c.

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:224–25.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Gridley (1710/11–96) of Stoughton, Mass., former British officer of engineers who commanded the American artillery at Cambridge until replaced in November 1775 “on account of his advanced age” by Henry Knox. *DAB*; and *JCC*, 2:256, 3:358–59.

## John Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, 18 June, 1775.

I have at last obtained liberty, by a vote of Congress, to acquaint my friends with a few of the things that have been done.

The Congress have voted, or rather a committee of the whole house have unanimously agreed, that the sum of two million dollars be issued in bills of credit, for the redemption of which, in a certain number of years, twelve colonies have unanimously pledged themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress has likewise resolved that fifteen thousand men shall be supported at the expense of the continent; ten thousand at Massachusetts, and five thousand at New York;<sup>2</sup> and that ten companies of riflemen be sent immediately, six from Pennsylvania, two from Maryland, and two from Virginia, consisting of sixty-eight privates in each company, to join our army at Boston. These are said to be all exquisite marksmen, and by means of the excellence of their firelocks, as well as their skill in the use of them, to send sure destruction to great distances.

General Washington is chosen commander-in-chief, General Ward the first major-general, and General Lee the second, (the last has not yet accepted,) and Major Gates adjutant-general. Lee and Gates are experienced officers.<sup>3</sup> We have proceeded no further as yet.

I have never, in all my lifetime, suffered more anxiety than in the conduct of this business. The choice of officers, and their pay, have given me great distress. Lee and Gates are officers of such great experience and confessed abilities, that I thought their advice, in a council of officers, might be of great advantage to us; but the natural prejudices, and virtuous attachment of our countrymen to their own officers, made me apprehensive of difficulties. But considering the earnest desire of General Washington to have the assistance of these officers, the extreme attachment of many of our best friends in the southern colonies to them, the reputation they would give to our arms in Europe, and especially with the ministerial generals and army in Boston, as well as the real American merit of them both, I could not withhold my vote from either.



The pay which has been voted to all the officers, which the Continental Congress intends to choose, is so large, that I fear our people will think it extravagant, and be uneasy.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Adams, Mr. Paine, and myself, used our utmost endeavors to reduce it, but in vain.

Those ideas of equality, which are so agreeable to us natives of New England, are very disagreeable to many gentlemen in the other colonies. They had a great opinion of the high importance of a continental general, and were determined to place him in an elevated point of light. They think the Massachusetts establishment too high for the privates, and too low for the officers, and they would have their own way.

I hope the utmost politeness and respect will be shown to these officers on their arrival. The whole army, I think, should be drawn up upon the occasion, and all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war displayed;—*no powder burned, however.*

There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington. A gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country! His views are noble and disinterested. He declared, when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling for pay. The express waits.

MS not found; reprinted from Adams, *Works* (Adams), 9:357–59.

<sup>1</sup> This measure was not adopted by vote of Congress until June 22. *JCC*, 2:103.

<sup>2</sup> These resolves do not appear in the journals and were probably agreed to while Congress sat in the committee of the whole. John Hancock to Elbridge Gerry, this date.

<sup>3</sup> Gerry had previously urged the appointment of Washington and Lee in a letter of June 4, 1775, to the Massachusetts delegates. Austin, *Life of Gerry*, 1:77–79.

<sup>4</sup> For the pay rates agreed to June 16, see *JCC*, 2:93–94.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Sunday June 18th. 1775

I wrote You the other Day a short Lettr. after receiving yours, of the 11th inst., in which referr'd You to a long one date forgot giving an Acct. of my Tour, to Wilmington, and a description of the dress of the Troops here, the review &c &c or rather I referr'd to you Capt. Riley who was present at it for a Volume would not describe it at large, with the queer figures of Mortality which any public Occasion here exhibits. You have often beheld a German Countenance and the lower order or Western Irish one, these made up so much the greater part of the Spectators, that a Lady of but tolerable Biauty

shone like a Starr in the midst of Universal Gloom surrounding.

Genl. Washington sets out on Thursday this Week. I have a Strong Temptation to accompany him, quite to the Camp for I am more in danger of Death here (if it is an Evil to be dreaded) than in an ordinary battle.

Yesterday I was at Com[mitte]e in State House at Six oClock,<sup>1</sup> took one Dish of Coffee, at Freind Marshalls. The Congress opened at Ten, & I never left the House untill Five in the After Noon. Eleven Hours at a Sitting is too much for My Constitution. It would be hard enough to attend the Congress Hours, but Comm[ittee]s take up all my spare Time.

The Heat is extreme at present. This Morning (Sunday) I ordered up my Horses, & Col. Schuyler & I rode out as farr as the Falls at Schuylkill Five Miles & breakfasted. This proved a Cordial to Me, but Politics still attended for Our Ride was to Consult a plan We are forming for another bold Stroke like the Ticonderoga affair, & no sooner had We arrived than calling for Pens, Inks & paper We fell to planning & scribbling, and cut out so much work that on Our return it has taken Us all Day to compleat it which We have just Now done, & sent off our Dispatches 2 oClock P.M. This Gentleman is the Soul of Albany County and tho' he may have foibles, he is sincere, wellbred, & resolute, and I think a Valuable acquaintance. Shew this Lettr to no Mortal. If Our plan is adopted & succeeds (for No Mortal as yet but he & myself are privy to it) you will hear of it—if it fail I will tell you of it hereafter.<sup>2</sup> Since the Affair at *Ticonderoga*, which is become my NickName at Times, people here, Members of the Congress, & others, have unhappily & erroneously, thought Me a Schemer. This has brought on Me rather more than my Share of Business out Doors at least in the Committee way. I find however that he that has the least to do in public affairs Stands the fairest Chance for happiness.

If General Washington set out on Thursday, he will be in New York early on Saturday where affairs will doubtless detain him untill Monday, or Tuesday, & in that Case he will be with you on the Friday following. He is no lover of parade, so do not put yourself into distress if it happen Conveniently he will spend one Night with You; if not, just call and go on. Should he spend a Night his retinue will doubtless the Cheif of them go on to Hartford. As to an Adjournment it is still a Matter of doubt. I hear Mr. Henshaw is in Town, may write again by him. Tell Mr. Hosmer I received his favor of the 6th last Evening & will write to him by Henshaw. May add to this, if Not, farewell untill the Next Oppy. not one of which have I let Slip since my leaving home. I am my Dear Yours

S D

P.S. Love to all. Tell J Webb there is no Tinn in The City.

P.S. Brother Bar[naba]s has not answered my last, remember Me to him. Brother Bara. has forgot To write, & John I suppose understands French only, & cannot write. Sister Hannah, Sally, Dear Jesse &c are before Me as are all my Freinds, at this Silent Hour, more forcibly, tho. never absent, from me, but are constantly the objects of my Warmest Wishes.

Don't forget Brother Buck, nor any of the Family.

Saturday [*i.e.* Monday] Morning 5 oClock—after a few Hours restless tossing on my bed I am knocked up by Col. Schuyler to go on Business again, & having left my Letter unclosed, take up my pen, just to Tell You, that Mr. Hosmer and some others owe Me a Letter and that Our people [at the] Camp, are not careful to write Us the particulars of their Situation. If their whole attention is taken up in guarding against the Enemy I rejoice for they may depend they have an Argos to deal with in General Burgoigne.

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Probably the committee to draft rules and regulations for the army, to which Deane was appointed June 14. *JCC*, 2:90.

<sup>2</sup> See Deane to Philip Schuyler, July 3, 1775.

## Silas Deane to Joseph Trumbull

Dear Sir

Sunday AfterNoon June 18th. 1775

General Washington will be with You soon, possibly by the Time, You receive This. His Election was Unanimous, his acceptance of the high Trust, modest and polite; his Character I need not enlarge on but will only say to his honor, that he is said To be as fixed and resolute in having his Orders on all Occasions executed as he is cool & deliberate in giving them. Immediately on his Appointment I took the Liberty which I thought our Acquaintance might Justify of recommending You, to him, as his Secretary, for which an handsome Appointment is made by Congress. He told Me he was wholly disengaged, & should pursue one rule of Conduct invariably—To prefer so farr as in his power only those equall to the Post to be filled—That if You were desirous of it, and my recommendation was agreeable elsewhere (*Viz*) to the province he will be in, it would suit him. Col. Dyer & self have since applied to the Massachusetts Delegates who appear willing to second the proposal.<sup>1</sup> I hope to write you further by the Time the General setts off, meantime am Dr Sir Your most Obedt. & Very Hume. Servt<sup>2</sup>

S Deane

RC (Ct) . Addressed: "To Joseph Trumbull Esqr. Commissary of the Connecticut Forces at Cambridge."

<sup>1</sup> See Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 17 and 20, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> For the remainder of this letter, see Deane to Trumbull, June 22, 1775.

## John Hancock to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir,

Sunday Morning, June 18, 1775.

I have but a moment's time left to tell you, that your order for the duck, &c. cannot be complied with, there being not enough here to make it worth while to think of sending; and indeed they are in want of the same articles here. I cannot inform you of the doings of congress in general, being under an injunction; but I am thus far indulged to mention, but by no means to be put in the newspaper at present, colonel Washington is appointed commander in chief of the continental army; I shall sign his commission tomorrow, and he will depart in a few days. He is a fine man. You will judge of the propriety of the mode of his reception. Ten companies of fine riflemen from this province, Maryland, and Virginia, are ordered to proceed immediately to your army; these are clever fellows. The committee of the whole congress have agreed upon a report for the immediate emission of two millions of dollars upon the faith of the continent. Remember me to Mr. Gill, Pitts, Cooper, and all friends.

Adieu, I am almost worn out. I am your real friend,

John Hancock.

MS not found; reprinted from Austin, *Life of Gerry*, 1:82-83.

## John Hancock to Joseph Warren

My Dear Sir,

Sunday Mornng. 18 June 1775. Philada.

I intended writing you<sup>1</sup> a long Letter, but am prevented, by my Attention to the orders of Congress in Dispatching an Express & writing to Govr Trumbull on matters of infinite Importance, in short from my Scituation in Congress I have great Duty to Do, but I will persevere even to the Destruction of my Constitution. I am under a strict Injunction not to Communicate the Doings of Congress, but two or three Circumstances having Taken place in Congress which Affected our Army, induc'd me to Ask Leave to mention them, which I obtain'd, with this positive Direction, that at present they be not mention'd in the News papers, which you will please to observe.

The Congress have Appointed George Washington Esqr. General & Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, his Commission is made out, & I shall Sign it tomorrow, he is a Gentn. you will all like.



I Submit to you the propriety of providing a suitable place for his Residence, & the mode of his Reception. Pray tell Genl. Ward of this with my Respects, & that we all Expect to hear that the Military Movements of the Day of his Arrival will be such as to do him & the Commandr in Chief great honour. General Ward is appointed Second in Command & am sure you will approve this. General Lee is appointed third in Command, but have not his Answer. As to the last Appointment I hope it will Turn out well. I Say no more on that head. Genl Washington will set out in a few Days. Would it not be proper to have a Troop at the Entrance of our Province to Escort him down, & then the Foot ready to Receive him. Pray do him every honour, by all means have his Commission Read at the head of the whole Forces. I can't write Genl. Ward, do mention to him my hurry, & lay your plans well.

The Congress have also order'd Ten Companies of Rifle Men from this Province, Maryland & Virginia of 68 Men each properly officer'd to proceed immediately to Join the Army near Boston. This is a good Step & will be an excellent Additional Strength to our Army, these are the finest Marksmen in the world, they do Executions with their Rifle Guns at an Amazing Distance. The Congress have also Determin'd upon 15000 Men as a Continental Army. The Committee of the whole Congress have Agreed to Report that Two Million of Dollars be emitted in Bills for the Use of the Continent to pay Troops &c. This is all I am allow'd to mention.

I have Sent you the orders for a Fast thro' the Continent, which please to make publick.

The Inclos'd Letters please to Deliver. Remember me to Genl Ward, Heath Dr Cooper & all Friends particularly to my good Friend J Pitts. I have supplied Fessenden with Twenty pounds Lawful Mony. wch. I could ill spare. You will order it Return'd me here, inclos'd is his Rec[eip]t.

Do write me. We know nothing of our Friends in Boston. How is Gill.

Adieu, I am in great haste Yours without Reserve

John Hancock

[P.S.] I Send you Copy of a Letter from London. What Rascalls they are there.

We will do for them.

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Warren was killed on June 17, 1775, at the Battle of Bunker Hill. James Warren received the letter as Joseph's successor to the presidency of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress.

## Robert Treat Paine to Artemas Ward

Hond. &amp; beloved Sr

Philada June 18 1775

I could not omitt this opportunity of Congratulating you on yr. appointment to the second Command in the American Army<sup>1</sup> & of the heroic & amiable General Washington to the first Command. He will be with you soon I expect, to strengthen yr. hands & rejoice your hearts. Mean while I dare say you will keep a good look out against Surprizes.

It has given us great Greif that We have heard so Seldom, if at all particularly from the Camp. I think we have exerted our utmost attention to yr. Welfare, the perticulars of which we are not yet prepared to express. We have no perticular news—but by our Presidents Letters you may Learn Some matters which it is needless for me to repeat.

Remember me to my many friends in Camp. Wishing you health & prosperity I subscribe yr friend & Sevt

R T Paine

RC (OCIWHi).

<sup>1</sup> Artemas Ward (1727–1800), a storekeeper in Shrewsbury, Mass., and a leader of patriots in the General Court, commanded the American army at Cambridge, and was appointed first major general and second in command of the Continental Army on June 17, 1775. *DAB*; and Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 12:326–48.

## George Washington to Martha Washington

My Dearest,

Philadelphia, June 18th 1775

I am now set down to write to you on a subject which fills me with inexpressible concern—and this concern is greatly aggravated and Increased when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American Cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the Command of it. You may believe me my dear Patsy, when I assure you in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the Family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity and that I should enjoy more real happiness and felicity in one month with you, at home, than I have the most distant prospect of reaping abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny, that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking of it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, and I suppose did perceive, from the Ten-

or of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, as I did not even pretend to intimate when I should return—that was the case—it was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment without exposing my Character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely therefore, confidently, on That Providence which has heretofore preserved, and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain from the Toil or the danger of the Campaign. My unhappiness will flow, from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg of you to summon your whole fortitude and Resolution, and pass your time as agreeably as possible—nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own Pen.

If it should be your desire to remove into Alexandria (as you once mentioned upon an occasion of this sort) I am quite pleased that you should put it in practice, and Lund Washington may be directed by you, to build a Kitchen and other Houses there proper for your reception—if on the other hand you should rather Incline to spend good part of your time among your Friends below, I wish you to do so. In short, my earnest, and ardent desire is that you would pursue any Plan that is most likely to produce content, and a tolerable degree of tranquillity as it must add greatly to my uneasy feelings to hear that you are dissatisfied, and complaining at what I really could not avoid.

As Life is always uncertain, and common prudence dictates to every Man the necessity of settling his temporal concerns while it is in his power—and while the mind is calm and undisturbed, I have, since I came to this place (for I had not time to do it before I left home) got Colonel Pendleton to Draft a Will for me by the directions which I gave him, which Will I now inclose. The Provision made for you, in case of my death, will, I hope, be agreeable; I have included the Money for which I sold my own land (to Doct'r. Mercer) in the Sum given you, as also all other Debts. What I owe myself is very trifling—Cary's Debt excepted, and that would not have been much if the Bank stock had been applied without such difficulties as he made in the Transference.

I shall add nothing more at present as I have several Letters to write, but to desire you will remember me to Milly and all Friends, and to assure you that I am, with the most unfeigned regard, my dear Patsy, Yr Affect.

George Washington

P.S. Since writing the above I have received your Letter of the 15th, and have got two suits of what I was told was the prettiest Muslin. I wish it may please you—it cost 50/. a suit that is 20/. a yard.

RC (Armistead Peter III, Washington, D. C., 1974). Reprinted from Armistead Peter III, *Tudor Place* (Georgetown: Privately printed, 1969), pp. 44–45.

## New Jersey Delegates to Unknown

Sir Philadelphia 19 June 1775  
 We have delivered your Letter with the papers inclosed to the President of the Congress;<sup>1</sup> but from the extreme Urgency of the Business now before them we cannot think they will have Leisure to take the Subject matter of the Letter into Consideration for some days to come: and indeed we conceive that as the Difficulty you complain of, is the aversion of many to sign the form of the Association recommended by the Provincial Congress, the Application would be more regular to them. We are Sir your most humble Sevts.  
Wil. Livingston  
J Kinsey

RC (NjMoHP). Written by William Livingston and signed by Livingston and Kinsey.

<sup>1</sup>The intended recipient of this letter cannot be identified with any certainty, and neither the letter nor the enclosures referred to in it are mentioned in the journals of Congress. Livingston and Kinsey may have been writing to Samuel Tucker, president of the New Jersey Provincial Congress, but it appears more likely that they were addressing the chairman of one of the local committees in New Jersey charged with enforcing the colony's own association. This association, which the New Jersey Provincial Congress had approved on June 1, 1775, was supposed to be entered into by any town or county in the province which had not yet assented to the one adopted by Congress in 1774. Under the terms of this instrument, signatories bound themselves to support whatever measures Congress and the Provincial Congress deemed necessary "for defending our Constitution" and to execute the orders of the local committees responsible for its enforcement. The response to efforts to implement this measure has been discussed by Larry R. Gerlach, "Revolution or Independence? New Jersey, 1760–1776" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1968), p. 604.

## North Carolina Delegates to the North Carolina Committees

Philadelphia, June 19, 1775.

To the COMMITTEES of the several Towns and Counties of the Province of NORTH-CAROLINA, appointed for the purpose of carrying into execution the Resolves of the Continental Congress;

Gentlemen,

When the liberties of a people are invaded, and men in authority



are labouring to raise a structure of arbitrary power upon the ruins of a free constitution, when the first minister of Britain exerts every influence that private address or public violence can give him, to shake the barriers of personal security and private property, it is natural for us, inhabitants of America deeply interested in the event of his designs, to be anxious for our approaching fate and to look up to the sources which God and the constitution furnish, to ward off or alleviate the impending calamity.

Thus circumstanced, the inhabitants of the united American Colonies by their representatives, met in Congress at Philadelphia in September last, devised a plan of commercial opposition as a peaceful expedient to bring about a reconciliation with the Parent State, upon terms constitutional and honourable to us both; a most humble and dutiful petition to the throne accompanied it, the first of these has not had sufficient time to work the effect proposed by it, the latter however flattered with a gracious reception upon the first introduction to the throne, was afterwards buried in a mass of useless papers upon the table of the House of Commons, and shared the common fate of American remonstrances and petitions, to be rejected and forgot.

To the woeful catalogue of oppressions recited in the proceedings of the late Congress, are now superadded bills passed in Parliament for prohibiting the fishery of the New-England Colonies and restraining the trade of other Colonies to Great Britain, Ireland and the British West-Indies. The minister still continues to pour troops into the town of Boston, some have lately arrived and many more are hourly expected, thus reducing that once flourishing city to a garrison, dealing out from thence his instruments of tyranny and oppression to overawe and enslave the other Colonies: his designs have hitherto proved unsuccessful, heaven seems to have assumed the protection of the injured, insulted Colonists, and signally to have appeared in their favour when in the last battle at Lexington, six hundred raw, undisciplined provincials defeated eighteen hundred regular troops, and pursued them into their camp.

No engagements are sufficiently sacred to secure the performance of them, when the fears or expectations of the General make it convenient for him to dispense with them; after the most solemn compacts to the contrary, the inhabitants of the town of Boston are doomed to suffer the most abject distress from the want of the common necessities of life, confined within the walls of the city, and not permitted to seek a refuge amongst their neighbours in the country. These are the miseries which they suffer for their brave defence of the common cause of British America; they were destined as a first victim to ministerial tyranny; but Fellow Subjects, think not that his schemes are to end here; no, if success should strengthen his hands, the inhabitants of the Southern Colonies would soon feel the weight

of his vengeance.

The Provinces of New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, in imitation of their Massachusetts brethren, have enlisted bodies of troops, preparing for the last extremity, and determined to live free or not at all. New-York has, to the disgrace of those who would represent her as inimical to the liberties of America, boldly stood forth determined to brave every extremity, rather than submit to the edicts of the minister, or desert the protection of their constitutional rights and privileges. New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Provinces to the Southward have taken an honorable share in the line of defence, armed and equipped to avert the impending calamity, dreading a civil war as the most awful scourge of heaven, and to plunge their swords in the breasts of their fellow subjects, as the greatest of all human calamities, and the most painful exertions of human fortitude: but determined at all events, to suffer the excess of human misery rather than be brought to the feet of an insulting minister.

North-Carolina alone remains an inactive spectator of this general defensive armament, supine and careless, she seems to forget even the duty she owes to her own local circumstances and situation; have you not, Fellow Citizens, a dangerous enemy in your own bosom and after the measures which the minister has condescended to in order to carry into execution his darling schemes, do you think he would hesitate to raise the hand of the servant against the master. Doctor Johnston, a pensioned tool of the ministry in a pamphlet entitled, *Taxation no Tyranny*, speaks the intentions of administration in a language too plain to leave any thing to doubt: "The slaves should be set free, an act which the lovers of liberty must surely commend, if they are furnished with arms for defence and utensils for husbandry, and settled in some simple form of government within the country, they may be more honest and grateful than their masters," are the words of this prostituted court-favorite.

Have we not been informed that the Canadians are to be embodied, and the Indians bribed to ravage the frontiers of the Eastern Colonies? Has not General Carlton already given a specimen of his power by forming a Canadian Regiment of men inimical to our liberty and religion? Can you think that your province is the singular object of ministerial favour, and that in the common crush it will stand secure? Be assured it will not. The bait the minister has thrown out to you is a delusive one, it leads to destruction. Have you not by various public acts declared your resolution not be bound to ministerial shackles, but that you will live in a free constitution, or perish in the ruins of it? Do you imagine that after this you are his favourites? You are not. Do you ask why then you are exempted from the penalties of the bill restraining trade? The reason is obvious—Britain cannot keep up its naval force without you, you supply the very sinews

of her strength, restrain your naval stores, and all the powers of Europe can scarcely supply her; restrain them, and you strengthen the hands of America in the glorious contention for her liberty; through you the minister wishes to disunite the whole colonial link; we know your virtue too well to dread his success; you have the example of New-York to animate you, she spurns the proffered boon and views the exemption of that province from the restraining Bill as the smiles of a minister who looks graciously in her face while he stabs her to the heart.

It becomes the duty of us, in whom you have deposited the most sacred trust, to warn you of your danger, and of the most effectual means to ward it off. It is the right of every English subject to be prepared with weapons for his defence; we conjure you by the ties of religion, virtue and love of your country, to follow the example of your sister colonies, and to form yourselves into a Militia; the election of the officers, and arrangement of the men, must depend upon yourselves; study the art of military with the utmost attention; view it as the science upon which your future security depends.

Carefully preserve the small quantity of gunpowder which you have amongst you; it will be the last resource when every other means of safety fails you; Great-Britain has cut you off from further supplies; we enjoin you, as you tender the safety of yourselves and fellow colonists, as you would wish to live and die free, that you would reserve what ammunition you have as a sacred deposit; he, in part, betrays his country who sports it away, perhaps in every charge he fires he gives with it the means of preserving the life of a fellow being.

We cannot conclude without urging again to you the necessity of arming and instructing yourselves, to be in readiness to defend yourselves against any violence that may be exerted against your persons and properties. In one word, fellow subjects, the crisis of America is not at a great distance. If she falls, Britain must go hand in hand with her to destruction; every thing depends upon your present exertion, and prudent perseverance; be in a state of readiness to repel every stroke that through you must wound and endanger her; strengthen the hands of civil government; by resisting every act of lawless power; stem tyranny in its commencement; oppose every effort of an arbitrary minister, and by checking his licentiousness, preserve the liberty of the constitution, and the honour of your Sovereign; look to the reigning monarch of Britain as your rightful and lawful Sovereign; dare every danger and difficulty in support of his person, crown and dignity, and consider every man as a traitor to his King, who, infringing the rights of his American subjects, attempts to invade those glorious revolution principles which placed him on the throne, and must preserve him there.

We are, Gentlemen, Your most obedient, and very humble Serv-  
ants

Wm Hooper

Joseph Hewes

Rd Caswell

RC (NcWsM). Since this letter was to be distributed to the committees of several North Carolina towns and counties, it was printed in the manner of a broadside, and each delegate apparently signed each copy sent. According to Hewes, this work was a collaborative effort by all three North Carolina delegates. Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston, July 8, 1775.

## George Washington to Burwell Bassett

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, June 19, 1775

I am now Imbarkd on a tempestuous ocean from whence perhaps, no friendly harbour is to be found. I have been called upon by the unanimous Voice of the Colonies to the Command of the Continental Army. It is an honour I by no means aspired to—It is an honour I wished to avoid, as well from an unwillingness to quit the peaceful enjoyment of my Family as from a thorough conviction of my own Incapacity & want of experience in the conduct of so momentous a concern but the partiality of the Congress added to some political Motives, left me without a choice. May God grant therefore that my acceptance of it may be attended with some good to the common cause & without Injury (from want of knowledge) to my own reputation. I can answer but for three things, a firm belief of the justice of our Cause—close attention in the prosecution of it—and the strictest Integrity. If these can not supply the places of Ability & Experience the cause will suffer, & more than probably my character along with it, as reputation derives its principal support from success—but it will be rememberd I hope that no desire, or insinuation of mine, placed me in this situation. I shall not be deprivd therefore of a comfort in the worst event if I retain a consciousness of having acted to the best of my judgment.

I am at liberty to tell you that the Congress in Committee (which will, I dare say, be agreed to when Reported) have consented to a Continental Currency, and have ordered two Million of Dollars to be struck for payment of the Troops, and other expences arising from our defence—as also that 15,000 Men are voted as a Continental Army, which will I dare say be augmented as more Troops are Imbarkd & Imbarking for America than was expected at The time of passing that vote. As to other Articles of Intelligence I must refer you to the Gazettes as the Printers pick up every thing that is stirring in that way. The other officers in the higher departments are not yet



fixed—therefore I cannot give you their names. I set out tomorrow for Boston where I shall always be glad to hear from you.<sup>1</sup> My best wishes attend Mrs. Bassett—Mrs. Dandridge & all our Relations and friends. In great haste, as I have many Letters to write,<sup>2</sup> and other business to do, I remain with the sincerest regard Dr. Sir Yr Most Obedt. & Affectn. Hble Sevt. Go. Washington

P.S. I must Intreat you & Mrs. Bassett, if possible, to visit at Mt Vernon as also my wife's other friends. I could wish you to take her down, as I have no expectations of returning till winter & feel great uneasiness at her lonesome situation. I have sent my Chariot & Horses back.

RC (ViMtvL).

<sup>1</sup> Burwell Bassett of Eltham, New Kent County, Va., was Washington's brother-in-law, being married to Martha Washington's sister Nancy Dandridge. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 3:114n.

<sup>2</sup> Washington wrote a similar letter this day to his stepson John Parke Custis. *Ibid.*, 3:295–96.

## John Adams to Joseph Palmer

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia June 20th. 1775

We sent you for your Comfort the Generals Washington and Lee with Commissions for Ward and Putnam: together with a Vote to Support about twenty thousand Men, for the present, fifteen Thousands in Mass. and 5000 in New York.<sup>1</sup>

We have voted to issue Bills of Credit to the amount of two Million Dollars, and must, I suppose, vote to issue a great deal more.

I hope a good Account will be given of Gage, Haldiman, Burgoine, Clinton and How, before Winter. Such a Wretch as How, with a Statue in Honour of his family in Westminster Abby, erected by the Massachusetts to come over with a Design to cutt the Throats of the Mass-People, is too much. I most sincerely and cooly, and devoutly wish that a lucky Ball, or Bayonet may make a Signal Example of him, for a Warning to Such, unprincipled, unsentimental Miscreants for the future.<sup>2</sup>

I think We shall have an ample Variety of able experienced officers in our Army. Such as may form Soldiers and officers, enough to keep up a Succession for the Defence of America for Ages. Our Camp will be an illustrious School of military Virtue and will be resorted to and frequented, by gentlemen in great Numbers, from the other Colonies as such. Great Things are in the Womb of Providence—great Prosperity or Adversity, perhaps both: the latter first perhaps.

My Love and Compliments and Duty, where due, especially to your Family, Mr Cranch's and my own. I am your Friend

John Adams

RC (PHC).

<sup>1</sup> In his June 18th letter to Elbridge Gerry, Adams had used the figure 15,000 for the total number of troops voted. The congressional decision on the size of the army is not recorded in the journals, but the figure 15,000 is used by other delegates referring to the decision. See Matthew Tilghman to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and George Washington to John A. Washington, June 20, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts had spent £250 to erect a monument to the memory of Gen. William Howe's older brother, George Augustus, third Viscount Howe (c. 1724-58), who had been killed at Ticonderoga. *DAB*.

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia June 20th. 1775

I have lamented excessively the Want of your Correspondence ever since I have been here. Not a Line from Dr Winthrop, Dr Cooper, Mr Kent, Swift, Tudor, from some or other of whom I was accustomed the last Fall, to receive Letters every Week. I know not the state, the Number, the officers of the Army—the Condition of the poor People of Boston or any Thing else.

I have taken the Liberty to mention you to General Washington, for his secretary, which is a very genteel Place. My Brothers here very chearfully and unanimously concurr'd with me in the warmest Terms. A great Interest is making however for Mr Jos. Trumbull and for others.<sup>1</sup> What the General will do I know not. I would have you wait on him respectfully, and welcome him to the Army, and enquire after my Health and let him know that I desired you to call upon him. Invite him to your Fathers, and offer your Service to him. You will be pleased with him. He is brave, wise, generous and humane. Our Army will be the best military school in the Empire.

John Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> For the conflicting recommendations offered by various delegates, see Silas Deane to Joseph Trumbull, June 18, 1775; Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 20, 1775; and Massachusetts Delegates to George Washington, June 22, 1775. Ultimately, Tudor became advocate general and Joseph Trumbull commissary general for the Continental Army, and Joseph Reed was appointed Washington's secretary.

## John Adams to James Warren

My Friend

Phyladelphia June 20. 1775

This Letter will go by the Sage, brave, and amiable General Washington, to whom I have taken the Liberty of mentioning your Name.

The Congress has at last voted near twenty thousand Men in Massachusetts and New York, and an Emission of a Continental Currency to maintain them.

You will have Lee, as third in Command, Ward being the second, Schuyler of New York the fourth, and Putnam the fifth. Ten Companies of Rifle Men too are ordered from Pensylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

Nothing has given me more Torment, than the Scuffle We have had in appointing the General officers. We could not obtain a Vote, upon our Seat for L[ee].<sup>1</sup> Sam. and John fought for him, however, through all the Weapons. Dismal Bugbears were raised, there were Prejudices enough among the weak and fears enough among the timid as well as other obstacles from the Cunning: but the great Necessity for officers of skill and Experience prevailed.

I have never formed any Friendship or particular Connection with Lee, but upon the most mature Deliberation I judged him the best qualified for the Service, and the most likely to cement the Colonies, and therefore gave him my Vote, and am willing to abide the Consequences.

I am much obliged to you for yours of June 11. Pray write me a State of the Army, their Numbers, and a List of the officers and the Condition of the poor People of Boston. My Heart bleeds for them.

We have a great shew this Morning here. Our great Generals Washington and Lee review the three Battalions of this City. I believe there never was two thousand Soldiers created out of nothing so suddenly, as in this City. You would be surprised to behold them, all in Uniforms, and very expert both in the Manual and Maneuvres. They go through the Wheelings and Firings in sub-divisions, grand Divisions, and Platoons, with great Exactness. Our accounts from all Parts of the Continent are very pleasing. The Spirit of the People is such as you would wish.

I hope to be nearer to you at least, very soon. How does your Government go on? If We have more bad News from England the other Colonies will follow your Example.

My Love to all Friends. Yours

John Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Adams later recalled this struggle in some detail. Speaking of Lee he wrote "that though I had as high an Opinion of General Lees Learning, general Information and especially of his Science and experience in War, I could not

advise General Ward to humiliate himself and his Country so far as to serve under him. General Ward was elected the second and Lee the third." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:321-24.

## Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren

Dear sir

Philada June [20,] 1775<sup>1</sup>

I have but one Moment to inform you that this Congress having as I before wrote you appointed General Washington to the Command of all the American Forces, and Majors General Ward & Lee, they yesterday proceeded to the Appointment of two more Majors General viz Schuyler and Putnam. General Lee has accepted of his Appointment and will I suppose tomorrow set off with General Washington for Cambridge. The Congress seems determined to support their Army before Boston. They are fully sensible of the Importance of it & have recommended to the Colonies of Connecticut R Island & N Hampr. to send the Troops they have agreed to raise without Delay to Cambridge, those to remain till further orders (excepting such as were destind to the several Posts in the Colony of N York).

You have doubtless been informed by Mr H[ancock] that you may soon expect ten Companies of Rifle Men to joyn the Army.

I am more & more satisfied in the Appointmt of Genl. Lee. He is certainly an able officer & I think deeply embarkd in the American Cause. The Congress have agreed to indemnify him from any Loss of Property he may sustain by acting as an officer in the Army,<sup>2</sup> but this I mention only to you at present & the small Circle. If any should be disaffected to his Appointment pray use your utmost Endeavours to reconcile them to it. I am in great Haste. Your assured friend

S. Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> The date of this letter has been inferred from Adams' opening statement on the appointment June 19 of Generals Schuyler and Putnam. *JCC*, 2:99.

<sup>2</sup> Congress took this action on June 19. *JCC*, 2:98-99. For the split over Lee's appointment within the Massachusetts delegation, see John Adams to James Warren, June 20, and to Cotton Tufts, June 21, 1775.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia June 20th. 1775

The Intelligence we almost Daily receive here being so far Distant from where the great Operations most likely will be, makes our decisions somewhat perplexed and in many respects not so readily Ac-



counted for. I heartily Wish, & have some reasons to hope this Congress after a few Days will move some where Nearer the Scenes of Action. We are Continually perplexed with New York. They must be saved if possible for the good of the whole. A few days ago we had very good Intelligence that about three Thousand of the Ministerial Troops were to come to New York. "We then thot it best to desire your Honor to send forward the Connecticutt forces near their border to New York, their Congress then desired it. This Day we have Intelligence that all the transports some of which were in sight of New York others at a small Distance were orderd directly to Boston, which Induces us to suppose a Capital Stroke will soon be given there, & that by this addition, with those expected at Boston to reenforce Genl Gage, Will make his Army somewhat formidable, & therefore our whole force ought to be collected near that Place, whereupon the request of this Congress (will Accompany this) to you for Colo Parsons Regiment Near New London, & indeed that all the Connecticutt forces Eastward, may be hastned to Boston with all possible expedition.<sup>1</sup> The Provincial Congress at New York upon Information from some Gent of the Navy there, that the transports coming into their Harbour were all ordered to Boston, Immediately as we understand sent Genl Wooster Not to come forward with his Troops, but this Congress Notwithstanding persist in their resolutions, that Genl Wooster with our Western forces go forward to New York as soon as possible as the Transports might just withdraw out of sight & finding no Provincial at York, return on a Sudden & git footing there; but that is not the only reason. Your Imagination I dare say will suggest others. We Informed you in our last that Colo Washington was Appointed General over the Army of the United Colonies Genl Ward the 2nd in Command Genl Lee the 3d. The two at this place will sit out in two or three Days to join their Army Near Boston. The Congress mean to proceed in the Appointment of General Officers, two More Major Genls. are Yet to be appointed and a Number Brigadier Genls, one Major General Will doubtless [*be*] of Connecticutt.<sup>2</sup> Thus far I may go but no further at Present. You will Sr now find that we have provided a Continental distination for the forces we have raised, which will bring them into Continental pay which was some Additional Motive with us, in Addition to the greater, Which the publick good and safety requireing it, there may be many things we cannot now explain but when we have the pleasure of waiting on your Honor in person may give a more perticular satisfaction as to many Parts of our Conduct. We resolve in Congress, git to our Lodgings to dine between 5 & 6 oClock after noon an express to Dispatch Immediately, a Letter to write when before exhausted with the fatigues of the Day. This Sr I hope will excuse for Incorrectness, as we have not time [*to*] review or Transcribe We know your

Candor, and am Sir in Absence of my Colleagues & in their behalf  
your Honors most Obedient Humble Servant

Eliphalet Dyer

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> See resolution of June 19. *JCC*, 2:99.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer curiously neglected to mention that Israel Putnam had been appointed major general the previous day, perhaps in hopes that he could also soon report the appointments of Joseph Spencer and David Wooster as brigadier generals. See Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., June 26, 1775.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Sr

Philadelphia June 20th 1775

To what part of the world you are removed I know not. I have wrote to you every week but have not had a line from you for near a month tho there are posts & expresses from your Camp allmost every day. I wrote you but a few days agoe that Coll Washington of Virginia was appointed General & Commander in Cheif of the Army of the United Colonies. I Imagine he will be Very agreeable to the Genius & Climate of New England. Genll Ward is appointed first Maj. Genll. —Genll Lee the 2nd Maj. Genll or 3d in Command. Bridgdr Genll Putnam is also appointed Majr Genll. the Next in Command to Genll Lee.<sup>1</sup> His fame as a Warrior had been so far extended thro the Continent that it would be in Vain to Urge any of our Genll officers in Competition with him & he Carried by Universal Voice. Coll Schuyler of Albany is also appointed Majr Genll in York department to Sweeten, Add to, & keep up the spirit in that Province. One Majr Gates who has been long an Approved officer in the Regular Service & has a large & Valuable Interest & his whole in America & has an Established Carracter for his strong Attachment to this Country, he is appointed Agitant Genll. The Brigadier Genlls will soon be appointed of which we expect Genll Spencer to be one. Hope he will not make a point of Putnams preference.<sup>2</sup>

In my last I wrote you I had made Application to Genll Washington in your behalf to be his Secretary. Mr Dean & Mr Sherman also joined with me. I also procured all the Gentn. of the Massachusett Bay to Confirm our recommendation all which believe will Succeed for your Appointment unless the Massachusett Gent. behind the Curtain have made Interest for some Other person which I ought not to Suspect.<sup>3</sup> I Imagined the birth would be agreeable to you otherwise would not have Sollicated for you. The Wages I think are about £20 per month & being of the Genlls family you Cannot be at any expence for living at the best rate. I hope you will wait on him soon after his Arrival & let him know you was recommended to him by the

Massachusetts & Connecticut Delegates or in any manner you see fit. If it is not agreeable & you can avail your self of a more agreeable birth nothing we have said lays you under any obligations but if you like your present Situation better or it should be more profitable or beneficial you will Conduct Accordingly. We expect you will soon have a Trial with Genll Gages reinforced Army. We understand all the Transports bound to New York are Ordered to Boston. When they Arrive with those expected for Boston (which has probably happened before this) & they are recruited I dare say they will make their most Violent Effort to disperse the Provincial Army. Coll Parson[s] Regiment is ordered to join you. About 12 hundred with Genll Wooster are ordered to York for more reasons than one. I hope & somewhat believe this Congress will soon Move Towards Connecticut. If Necessary have wrote a small Introduction, wether it may be proper to Introduce your self by it or not must leave with you to determine. If you make use of it you will fold & direct it as proper.

Am Sr. with sincere Esteem Yours

Elipht Dyer

[P.S.] I dare say Genlls Putnam & Spencer will befriend you in the above if you desire them it may have some additional Weight. E D

RC (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> Congress appointed the major generals June 17 and 19. Philip Schuyler preceded Israel Putnam in order of command. *JCC*, 2:97, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Silas Deane apparently supported the appointment of Putnam as major general although David Wooster and Joseph Spencer, who were commissioned brigadier generals, outranked Putnam. These appointments divided the Connecticut delegates and disappointed the contenders. Wooster, Roger Sherman's favorite, refused to accept the Continental commission, and Dyer's friend Joseph Spencer temporarily left his post. See Silas Deane to Joseph Trumbull, June 22 and July 21; Roger Sherman to David Wooster, June 23; Deane to Elizabeth Deane, July 15 and 20; and Sherman to William Williams, July 28, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> John Adams, doubtless without Dyer's knowledge, was promoting William Tudor for the same position. See John Adams to William Tudor, this date.

## John Hancock to the New Hampshire Provincial Congress

*Philadelphia June 20th. 1775.* Forwards Congress' resolve of June 19, requesting reinforcements for the Continental Army at Boston from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.<sup>1</sup>

RC (Nh-Ar) . *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1034.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:99.

## William Hooper to Mary Hooper

My dear honoured Mother!

Philadelphia June 20th 1775

When or whether ever this will reach you I know not. I have addressed it to you in Boston because there is a greater probability of its finding you there than elsewhere tho by no means a certainty. I lament that Circumstances occurred at a former congress which rendered it inconvenient to me to pay you a visit in Boston. Difficulties insurmountable prevent it this [*sic*].

I heard from Mrs Inman the other day that you had been indisposed. I sincerely regret it & wish that by any means in my power I could contribute to lessen the distress of your present Situation. I had been obliged to Mrs Inman if she had pointed out some means in which the endeavours of your Children could be made useful to you. I can answer for them and for myself that there is nothing within the compass of our poor abilities which you may not command. I should think it prudent for you to retire to some country farm at a distance from Boston where you might be in some degree retired from the bustle of the present day ill adapted to the delicacy of your frame & advanced state of life. It is impossible for me to give any consistent advice at this distance, unacquainted as I am with your present situation & the possibility of changing it for a better. I must wait till I hear from you or my Brother John & shall immediately give my aid to carry into Execution any plan which you may think most prudent for your & his Security and convenience.

When I left Home my own little family were very well. Annie proffered her Complts to you & the little ones lisped their tender regards which I then expected to have born in person to you. Tommy is married, is married happily, ee'r this has an acquisition to his family. I have had no increase of my family since I wrote you. I have been much indisposed since my arrival here having had frequent fits of the fever and ague here, but hope to be well enough to leave this the first Opportunity by Water to No Carolina as I dread the extream heats of August in this close City & with the bad Accomodations which we find in the lodgings here.

I know nothing I can add but upon a Subject in which my own & the sentiments of my Boston Friends differ so widely in which I am told I differ from you, that to discuss the Subject would be but irksome to you—I mean politicks.

I wish my friends in Boston may have as little to atone for to God & their Consciences as I have, altho your Son Wm may have been mistaken be assured that he can call upon God to Witness that in his Conduct he has never taken a step which has not been dictated by the honesty of his heart & a sincere love for the Constitution of G Britain. Adieu. I expect to hear from you by the first Opportunity. A



Letter under cover to General Washington for me will come safe to my hands. My love attends my Brother John & believe me to be Dear Mother Your Dutiful & affectionate Son Wm Hooper

[P.S.] Let the Letter be attended with a line to Genl Washington begging his Care or Direct it to the Care of Dr Warren.

RC (MHi) .

## New Hampshire Delegates to Matthew Thornton

Phila 20th June 1775

Your favor of the 24th May is now before us,<sup>1</sup> in answer to which can only say we easily Conceive the "painful sensation" that every honest man must feel when he sees the unnatural Conflict between Great Britain and these Colonies rising to such a highth. But when we Consider it, not of our own Seeking, drove by the Sons of Tyranny and Oppression, to the Sad Alternative of being made Slaves, or appealing to the Sword in Defence of our Just liberties, cannot but think we shall stand Justified, before God and man, in vigorously seizing the latter.

We are much pleased with the proceedings of New Hampshire, shewing their Attachment to the Common Cause by raising so large a Number of men for the Defence of America. We are very Sensable of the inability of our province to Support them, and the Necessity of a paper currency.

We are at liberty to inform you that the Committee of the whole Congress have Agreed to Report a Continental Currency; which no doubt will be Emited immediately and forwarded for the payment of the Troops.<sup>2</sup>

The Congress have appointed General Washington to the Command of the American forces, who will set out for the Camp to morrow or next day; have also agreed upon a Continental Army. The other proceedings of Congress are not yet to be made publick, unless what appears in the prints. It is impossiable to conceive of a greater unanimity in the Colonies, than that which at present subsists, one and all being determined to defend our Rights to the last. May the great Author of all things Bless and Assist us, is the most ardent prayer of, your Obedient servants,

John Sullivan

John Langdon

P.S. Enclosed is an order for a general fast.

RC (Nh-Ar) . Written by Sullivan and signed by Sullivan and Langdon.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the letter printed under the date May 23, 1775, in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:695-96, where a second letter of the same date also appears. Matthew Thornton (1714-1803), Londonderry, N. H., physician, was president of the New Hampshire Provincial Congress and chairman of the committee of safety. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Formal action by Congress on this measure came on June 22. *JCC*, 2:103.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir

Philada. June the 20th 1775

In full expectation that You would be in Town for a Considerable time past, I have neglected to Write to you, however as you have now put every Expectation of that sort aside, have taken an opportunity by Doctr. Tilton of sending you this. The money you Sent me by the Doctr. I Recd and if Galloway does not lye Shall Send your Coat by Banning Who sets out tomorrow morning, if he fails will send it by the first opportunity. Your Drum went by Morris's Veshell the last Trim & suppose you have got it. The Colours are not yet Ready. I can now let you into a part of our proceedings in Congress. We have ordered two Millions of Dollars to be Struck here as a Continental paper Currency, for the defraying the expenses of Defending our Constitution Rights and priviledges. The money is to be Sunk by all the twelve Colonies in Seven Years According to their Quota's which are Settled in proportion to the number of Inhabitants in Each Colony. We have appoint'd Colll. George Whashington General & Commander in Chief of all the Colony forces, General Ward (now with the army before Boston) to be major General, & Second in Command, General Lee, a Major General & third in Command, Colll. Skiler [Schuyler] a Major General & fourth in Command, and Colll. Putnam a Major General & fifth in Command. All the Brigadier Generals, Colls., Lieutt. Colls., Majors, &c Are Confirmed according to their appointments by the Colonies where the Troops they command were Raised. General Washington Viewed the Militia of this place today, and Sets out for Boston Camp next day after tomorrow. General Lee will go with him & they will have a large Escort from this City as far as T[r]entown at least.

I am much pleased to hear you have Sold the Sloop and as times have but a verry Gloomy appearance I wish both the other Veshells were Sold, provided they were *well* sold. However you neglected to let me know what You are to get for the Sloop. I am Glad to hear that there is like to be a good Crop of Wheat & Hay. The Hay we know how to dispose of, but God knows what we shall do With the Wheat. There is little or no reason to Expect the Congress will Rise; Rather think they will Set the whole of this Season, but am in hopes that a week or fortnight hence the most material Business will be So

Settled as that I Shall obtain leave of Absence for two weeks, about two weeks hence you may Expect me down. Your Coat is Calculated for the light Infantry of the first Battallion, the uniform of the Second Battalion is to be Brown, & white facings, And their infantry Blue, & white faceings. Lieutt. Coll. of the first Battalion is to have an Epelet on the Right Shoulder and a Strap on the left, the Major an Epelet on the Left, and a Strap on the Right, of Gold Lace. I heard this afternoon by Express from Rode Island that a part of the Troops Expected at Boston from Ireland are arrived and Landed at Boston, and that the Remainder are looked for Every day as they Sailed together, I mean the first mentioned four Regiments with the Horse. Some of the Horse are also Come and landed; the above news I Believe is true And believe after they have had a few days to recruit from their Voige We may expect Warm Work, and Warm it will be I dare Say, for We Just had an Express from our provintials Camp, who informs of a Truith that we have there Eighteen thousand men ready to Receive the Regulars, and indeed wishing they may Come out—provided they intend to persist in their oppression; I Wish our new Generals were at the Camp. Remember me kindly to our family's Relations and friends and tell them I Expect to See them in about two weeks. I am Yrs.

Caesar Rodney

RC (PHi) . Recipient identified in Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden) , pp. 60–61.

## Matthew Tilghman to Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Dear Charles.

Phila., June 20, 1775

Yours of the 16th received by the post. I am long, and have been in the same state of uneasiness which you express. I will tell you some part of our doings which I am at liberty to communicate and which though you may have probably heard of it may be a satisfaction to have from me. By a grand Committee of the whole Congress two Resolutions have been formed, 1st, that 15,000 men be raised for the Defence and preservation of American Liberty. 10,000 whereof to be stationed near Boston and 5,000 in the City province of New York. 2nd, that two millions of Paper Dollars be struck for their support, to be sunk in the four last years of Seven by each province according to their respective Quotas which are not yet finally adjusted, and on Friday or Saturday last Coll. Washington was appointed General and Commander-in-chief, and will probably set off in four or five days for the Army. This is as far as I can go, and it may lead you to conjecture what is become of Lee and Major Gates. R.G., L. and J.H., have found excuses to go home.<sup>1</sup> They talked of returning, but we do not expect it. I have long flattered myself with

the hope of pacific measures that might avail something, but that hope has almost vanished. Some without Doors talk of sending some Body home. In my judgment 'tis the only step that affords the least glimmering of peace. It is thought Gen. Gage when the troops all arrived, will be 11 or 12,000 strong. The Provincials now have about 18,000. It is supposed they will not attack but it is generally thought that Gage will. Indeed from all circumstances I think it probable, and dreadful slaughter there will be. I wish I could have entertained you more agreeably, but I fear this is the subject on which we must speak and write for some time to come. May Heaven protect us. Pray don't fail mentioning the receipt of my letters. You do not in your last. Give my love to Peggy, and be assured that I remain, Most affectionately yours,

Mat. Tilghman.

MS not found; reprinted from *The Collector* 21 (April 1908): 63-64.

<sup>1</sup>Two of the delegates mentioned are obviously Robert Goldsborough and John Hall. Since Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, and William Paca remained in Philadelphia, the "L" printed in this document may be a misreading of an "S" in the MS intended to designate Thomas Stone.

## George Washington to the Captains of Several Independent Companies in Virginia

Gentlemen,

Philadelphia, 20 June, 1775.

I am now about to bid adieu to the companies under your respective commands, at least for a while. I have launched into a wide and extensive field, too boundless for my abilities, and far, very far, beyond my experience. I am called, by the unanimous voice of the Colonies, to the command of the Continental army; an honor I did not aspire to; an honor I was solicitous to avoid, upon a full conviction of my inadequacy to the importance of the service. The partiality of the Congress, however, assisted by a political motive, rendered my reasons, unavailing, and I shall to-morrow set out for the camp near Boston.

I have only to beg of you, therefore, before I go, (especially as you did me the honor to put your companies under my direction, and know not how soon you may be called upon in Virginia for an exertion of your military skill,) by no means to relax in the discipline of your respective companies.

I have the honor to be, &c.

MS not found; reprinted from George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, 14 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889-93), 2:489-90.



## George Washington to John A. Washington

Dear Brother,

Philadelphia June 20th 1775

I am now to bid adieu to you, & to every kind of domestick ease, for a while. I am Imbarked on a wide Ocean, boundless in its prospect & from whence, perhaps, no safe harbour is to be found. I have been called upon by the unanimous Voice of the Colonies to take the Command of the Continental Army—An honour I neither sought after, nor desired, as I am thoroughly convinced that it requires greater Abilities, and much more experience, than I am Master of, to conduct a business so extensive in its nature, and arduous in the execution; but the partiality of the Congress, joind to a political motive, really left me without a Choice; and I am now Commissioned a Genl. & Commander in Chief of all the Forces now raisd, or to be raisd, for the defence of the United Colonies. That I may discharge the Trust to the Satisfaction of my Employer, is my first wish—that I shall aim to do it, there remains as little doubt of. How far I may succeed is another point—but this I am sure of, that in the worst event I shall have the consolation of knowing (if I act to the best of my judgment) that the blame ought to lodge upon the appointers, not the appointed, as it was by no means a thing of my own seeking, or proceeding from any hint of my friends.

I am at liberty to inform you, that the Congress, in a Committee, (which will I dare say, be agreed to when reported) have consented to a Continental Currency—have ordered two Million of Dollars to be struck for payment of the Troops, &c. and have voted 15,000 Men as a Continental Army—which number will be augmented, as the strength of the British Troops will be greater than was expected at the time of passing that vote. Genl. Ward, Genl. Lee, Genl. Schyler and Genl. Putnam are appointed Major Genls. under me—the Brigadier Genls. are not yet appointed—Majr. Gates Adjutant Genl. I expect to set out tomorrow for Boston & hope to be joind there in a little time by Ten Companies of Riflemen from this Province, Maryland, & Virginia—for other Articles of Intelligence, I shall refer you to the Papers, as the Printers are diligent in collecting every thing that is stirring.

I shall hope that my Friends will visit, & endeavor to keep up the spirits of my Wife as much as they can, as my departure will, I know, be a cutting stroke upon her; and on this acct. alone, I have many very disagreeable sensations. I hope you & my sister (although the distance is great) will find as much leisure this Summer, as to spend a little time at Mount Vernon.

My sincere regards attend you both as also the little ones and am  
Dr Sir Yr most Affecte. Brother

Go Washington

RC (DLC).

## John Adams to Cotton Tufts

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia June 21. 1775

Major Mifflin goes in the Character of Aid de Camp to General Washington. I wish You<sup>1</sup> to be acquainted with him, because, he has great Spirit Activity, and Abilities, both in civil and military Life. He is a gentleman of Education, Family and Fortune.

C[ushing] and H[ancock] and P[aine] have given us a great deal of Trouble, in the Election of Lee, and I expect will avail themselves of all the Whims and Prejudices, of our People.<sup>2</sup>

We are like to have more trouble of the like kind in the choice of Brigadiers General. Old Pomroy must be the first. P[aine], to do him Justice, has renounced his Connections in this Instance. He declares he cant and wont vote for him. I had rather vote for Prebble in his Bed.

I expect our People when they come to know the Pay of the general officers and others, will grumble. Adams, Paine and I fought against it totis viribus—But in vain. It is amazingly high. But the Southern Genius's think it vastly too low.<sup>3</sup> Farewell,

John Adams

RC (NH).

<sup>1</sup> Cotton Tufts (1732–1815), Weymouth, Mass., physician, was first cousin and uncle of Abigail Adams. Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:14.

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the division within the Massachusetts delegation, see John Adams to James Warren, and Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren, June 20, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> The pay schedules for general officers are in *JCC*, 2:93–94.

## John Adams to Joseph Warren

Dr Sir,

Phyldelphia June 21. 1775

This Letter I presume will be delivered into your own Hand by the General.

He proposes to set out, tomorrow, for your Camp. God Speed him. Lee is Second Major General, Schuyler, who is to command at N. York is the third and Putnam the fourth. How many Brigadiers general we shall have, whether five, Seven or Eight, is not determined, nor who they shall be. One from N. Hampshire, one from R. Island, two from Connecticut, one from N. York, and three from Massachusetts, perhaps.

I am almost impatient to be at Cambridge. We shall maintain a

good Army for you. I expect to hear of Grumbletonians, some from parsimonious and others from Superstitious Prejudices. But We do the best we can, and leave the Event.

How do you like your Government? Does it make or remove Difficulties? I wish We were nearer to you.

The Tories lie very low both here and at New York. The latter will very Soon be as deep as any Colony.

We have Major Skeene a Prisoner, enlarged a little on his Parol. A very great Tool. I hope Govr Tryon, will be taken care of—but We find a great many Bundles of weak Nerves. We are obliged to be as delicate and soft and modest and humble as possible.

Pray Stir up every Man, who has a Quill to write me. We want to know the Number of your Army—a list of your officers—a State of your Government—the Distresses of Boston—the Conditions of the Enemy &c. I am, Dr sir your Friend  
John Adams

[P.S.] We have all recommended Billy Tudor for a Secretary to the General. Will he make a good one?

This moment informed of Powder arrived here, 500 Blls they say. We must send it along to you.

RC (MHi).

## Thomas Cushing to James Bowdoin, Sr.

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, June 21, 1775.

You<sup>1</sup> will doubtless have been informed that the Congress have unanimously appointed George Washington, Esqr, General & Commander in Chief of the American forces. I beg leave to recommend him to your respectful notice. He is a compleat gentleman. He is sensible, amiable, virtuous, modest, & brave. I promise myself that your acquaintance with him will afford you great pleasure, and I doubt not his agreeable behaviour & good conduct will give great satisfaction to our people of all denominations. General Lee accompanies him as Major General; I hope his appointment will be agreeable to our people, & that he will be received with all due respect.

I am, with great regard, Your most humble servt.

THOMAS CUSHING

RC (MHi); reprinted from "The Bowdoin and Temple Papers," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th ser. 9 (1897): 384–85.

<sup>1</sup> James Bowdoin, Sr. (1726–90), Boston merchant, member of the Massachusetts Assembly, 1753–57, and Council, 1757–76, was later governor of Massachusetts, 1785–87. He was elected to the First Continental Congress but did not attend. Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 11:514–50; and *DAB*.

## John Hancock to Dorothy Quincy

*Congress Room 21st June 1775.* Notes the receipt of her letter, and wants to know if his gifts have suited her. Continues: "I verily think now we shall Adjourn to Connecticut, as the Seriousness of the Times seems to Call for it. I shall let you know in Time, I heartily wish for it. . . . I am greatly hurried, have Five hundred Commissions to Sign for the Officers of our Army. I am now going to Sign General Washington's Commission. He will pass thro' Fairfield in 4 or 5 days."

RC (CtY) .

## Stephen Hopkins to Ruth Hopkins

*Philadelphia June 21, 1775.* Reveals that since his arrival in Philadelphia in the middle of May "I have had an ill turn and two or three fits of the fever and ague, but am now well," and expresses concern for his wife, who "has not been very well for several days and is now quite poorly."<sup>1</sup> Concludes: "Col. Washington will set out from here in a day or two for New England, to take the command of the Continental army, of which he is appointed Commander-in-Chief. He will be accompanied by Gen. Lee, who also has a command in that army, which is taken into the pay of all America."

MS not found; abstracted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 2 (1860) : 118.

<sup>1</sup>Nearly a month later Hopkins again reported that they were "still unwell." Hopkins to Ruth Hopkins, July 16, 1775. NN.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Phila June 22 1775

Our patriotick General Washington will deliver this Letter to you. The Massachusetts Delegates have joyntly given to him a List of the Names of certain Gentlemen in whom he may place the greatest Confidence.<sup>1</sup> Among these you are one.<sup>2</sup> We have assur'd him that he may rely upon such others as you may recommend to him. Excuse my writing to you so short a Letter and believe me to be Your affectionate friend

Saml Adams

[P.S.] Major General Lee and Major Mifflin accompany the General—A Triumvirate you will be pleas'd with. Cannot our friend Joseph Greenleaf be employ'd to his own & his Countrys Benefit?



RC (InU).

<sup>1</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to George Washington, June 22, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Adams wrote a similar letter to Elbridge Gerry, this date. Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 3:218-19.

## Silas Deane's Diary

Thursday June 22d. [1775]

At Congress, wrote Letters to Mrs. Deane, B. Deane, Joseph Trumbull, Genl Putnam, Saml. Webb, Joseph Webb &c, to Thaddeus Burr, Benja. Douglass & Peirpoint Edwards.

Recd. a Letter from Peter Vandervoort inclosing an Acct. of an Action at Bunkers hill.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 89, 93.

<sup>1</sup> For contemporary accounts of this battle of June 17, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1018, 1039, 1060, and 1062.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia June 22d 1775

This will be handed you by his Excellency General Washington, in Co with General Lee & retinue. Should they lodge a Night in Wethersfeild, You will accommodate their Horses Servants &c in the best Manner at the Taverns, and their Retinue will likely go on to Hartford. We this Moment received Advice of a Battle at Bunkers Hill, but the Account is very Confused, it is said to have happened on Saturday last, and the News arrived here this Morning. I have wrote you so lately and so particularly, that I have nothing in the small Way to add, and on Business I dare not think other than what is before Me. May God preserve Us. I am my Dear Yours &c

S. Deane

[P.S.] Mr. Mifflin of whom I have often spoke is a Major in the Militia here, & is Aid de Camp as I hear to the General. He is my particular Freind, & am happy in the Thought that you will be able to return some of the many Civilities I have received from him in this City.

If ever there was true Spirit & patriotism in Man he possesses them.

Inclosed is more of North Carolina composition. I gave your Compliments to them, & told them of your Opinion of *Cesar* at which We Laughed Very heartily.

RC (CtHi).

## Silas Deane to Joseph Trumbull

June 22d. [1775]

[P.S.] Since writing the above other Appointments have been made & among them Genl. Putnam is appointed a Major General of the Army of the United Colonies without one dissenting Vote, an honor peculiar to him and the Commander in Chief tho' We have been well United in all of them.<sup>1</sup> I hope You will obtain the above office and as You are acquainted with Genl Putnam I wish You to Second [*the*] Recommendation of mine in favor of Mr. Webb Lieut. of Capt. Chesters Company for one of his Aid De Camps.<sup>2</sup> I would not ask it butt I know the worth & Activity of the Young Man, and that he will suit Genl Putnam he being equally capable. I have some little right to pleade as I was the Generals Freind in the Assembly, & have not been idle here of which I make no Merit, & only wish I may not be censured by certain persons.<sup>3</sup>

RC (Ct) . A continuation of Deane to Trumbull, June 18, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> See the resolution of June 19. *JCC*, 2:99.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel B. Webb (1753–1807), Deane's stepson, was appointed Israel Putnam's first aide-de-camp on July 22, 1775. Webb, *Correspondence* (Ford), 1:73, 3:251–396. Deane simultaneously wrote to Webb explaining that he had recommended him to Putnam's favor and advising him "to apply instantly on the Receipt of this in person." Deane to Samuel Webb, June 22, 1775, *ibid.*, 1:71–72.

<sup>3</sup> See Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 20, 1775.

## John Hancock to Artemas Ward

Honble Sir, Congress Room, Philada. June 22d. 1775.

In my last I inform'd you that this Congress had Appointed George Washington Esqr. General & Commander in Chief of all the Forces Rais'd or to be Rais'd by the United Colonies; that Gentleman takes his Departure tomorrow morning from this City in order to Enter upon his Command, I the rather mention the Circumstance of his Departure, that you may Direct your Movements for his Reception.

I have the Honor to Transmitt you a Commission from this Congress appointing you *First Major General & Second in Command* of the Forces of the United Colonies, you will please to acknowledge the Receipt of it.<sup>1</sup>

I wish you the Divine protection, & Success in all your undertakings, & am with Respect, Sir Your most Obedt Servt.

John Hancock, Presidt.

RC (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> At 6 p.m. on this date Hancock wrote a second letter to Ward giving a list of the major generals and brigadier generals by seniority and concluding with a note on the Battle of Bunker Hill. "We have just a Report of a Battle, & that Coll Gardiner is mortally wounded. We are anxious. No Express. God send us a good account. I am now signing the Commissions for your whole army." *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 12 (1871) : 122.

## Massachusetts Delegates to George Washington

Sir

Phyladelphia June 22. 1775

In Compliance with your Request We have considered of what you proposed to us, and are obliged to give you our Sentiments, very briefly, and in great Haste.<sup>1</sup>

In general, Sir, there will be three Committees, either of a Congress, or of an House of Representatives, which are and will be composed of our best Men; Such, whose Judgment and Integrity, may be most rely'd on; the Committee on the State of the Province, the Committee of Safety, and the Committee of Supplies.

But least this Should be too general, We beg leave to mention particularly Messrs. Bowdoin, Sever, Dexter, Greenleaf, Derby, Pitts, Otis of the late Council—Hon. John Winthrop Esq. L.L.D. Joseph Hawley Esqr of Northampton, James Warren Esqr of Plymouth Coll Palmer of Braintree, Coll Orne and Elbridge Gerry Esqr of Marblehead, Dr Warren, Dr Church Mr John Pitts all of Boston, Dr Langdon President of Harvard Colledge, and Dr Chauncey and Dr Cooper of Boston. Coll Forster of Brookfield.

The Advice and Recommendations of these Gentlemen, and of Some others whom they may introduce to your Acquaintance may be depended on.

With great Sincerity, we wish you, an agreeable Journey and a glorious Campaign; and are with much Esteem and Respect, Sir, your most obedient Servants.

Samuel Adams

Rob Treat Paine

John Adams

John Hancock

Thomas Cushing

RC (DLC). Written by John Adams, and signed by John Adams, Samuel Adams, Hancock, Cushing, and Paine.

<sup>1</sup> John Adams drafted a similar letter to Washington at about the same time, which he apparently did not send, since that document, bearing Adams' signature, remained in Adams' papers. The first three paragraphs of the two letters are nearly identical, but in his private letter Adams personally recommended to Washington's attention William Bant, William Tudor, Jonathan Williams Austin, and his brother-in-law, William Smith. Adams, *Works* (Adams), 9:359-60.

## Edward Rutledge to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney

Dr. Charles

June 22d. 1775

I send you a Copy of a Letter we have just received of a Battle begun at Boston. We have no Express to the Congress, but suppose we have had as soon as the Battle was Ended one sent off to Us & may be in town to night. Our Generals go off tomorrow. General Lee is 2d Major General—Genl Ward the first—Colonel Schuyler of New York the 3d. or rather first in Command in the York Departmt. I have no time to write more. God bless you. My Love to all Friends [Tom?] particularly. Yrs affectionately. E. Rutledge

RC (ScC). Addressed: "To Charles Cotesworth Pinkney, Esqr., or in his Absence to Thomas Bee, Esqr., Charles Town, S. C."

## Samuel Ward to Henry Ward

My dear Bror.

Philadelphia 22d June 1775

Yesterday the famous Mr. Jefferson a Delegate from Virginia in the Room of Mr. Randolph arrived. I have not been in Company with him yet, he looks like a very sensible spirited fine Fellow & by the Pamphlet which he wrote last Summer he certainly is one.<sup>1</sup>

I have had the Pleasure of a Letter from you every Week save this since I have been here. I beg of you not to omit writing by every Post. I should be glad to know what was done at the last Assembly, and the Situation of the Colony in every Respect. What became of my Letter to you I cannot imagine, I have wrote you three before this & have recd. no Acknowledgment of any one of them; We wrote twice to the Depy. Govr. and have recd. no Answers: I have wrote to him again & for want of Time to write to you fully refer you to that Letter for all the news from the Congress.

Mr. Hopkins was ill but a few Days & is bravely now, but Mrs. Hopkins was unwell on Tuesday, & yesterday kept her Chamber all Day & he was obliged to stay at home with her. I have not seen either of them this morning.

Dr. Young had inoculated all his Family when I came into the City that I have seen but very little of him. He is gitting into Business fast.

The general Estimate, Imports &c. which I wrote<sup>2</sup> for will be necessary now as it is agreed to make a Proportion according to the number of People,<sup>3</sup> but the act for raising our Men, Copies of Letters from the provincial Congress requesting us to raise them & the Accts. of the Comee. of War I still want.



A Resolution was passed this Week desiring that Conn[ecticu]t would send what Forces they have (not already employed) to Boston as soon as possible & Rhode Island & Newhampshire to send all they have raised also there.<sup>4</sup> By the best Accts. something of Consequence must soon be done there. Should We receive a Check all your Firmness will be necessary to keep up the Spirits of the Colony & I doubt not but you will exert every Nerve to do it. In no Case whatever can Submission be thought of, for Slavery is worse than all the Calamities of War & Death in any Shape whatever; what innumerable Losses and Distresses the Dutch suffered for years. Their Firmness at length prevailed over all Opposition. The same Resolution will certainly deliver us.

Present my Compliments to Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Greene & other Friends & ever remember me as Your very affece. Brother

Sam Ward

23rd. Since writing the above We have an imperfect Acct. that our Army has recd. a Check at Bunkers Hill, if it be so and should prove so considerable one as to make it necessary to raise new Levies your most strenuous Efforts for that Purpose I dare say will not be wanting & I hope may prove successful.

The Congress came to a Resolution after the appointment of the Generalissimo that they would stand by him with their Lives & Fortunes.<sup>5</sup> To retreat will be certain Destruction & 'tho the Road through which We are to march is rugged a fixed Resolution will surmount all difficulties & land us in the beautiful safe & happy Regions of Liberty.

RC (PHi) .

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Thomas Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* . . . (Williamsburg: Clementina Rind, 1774) .

<sup>2</sup> See Ward to Henry Ward, June 15, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> This day Congress resolved to emit bills of credit not exceeding the sum of two million Spanish milled dollars "for the defense of America." Although a majority of the delegates at this time apparently favored the redemption of this paper money by the colonies on the basis of quotas determined by provincial population, not until July 29, 1775, did Congress pass resolutions to this effect. *JCC*, 2:103, 221-23.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 2:99.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 2:97.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Philadelphia June 23. 1775

I have this Morning been out of Town to accompany our Generals

Washington, Lee, and Schuyler, a little Way, on their Journey to the American Camp before Boston.

The Three Generals were all mounted, on Horse back, accompanied by Major Mifflin who is gone in the Character of Aid de Camp. All the Delegates from the Massachusetts with their Servants, and Carriages attended. Many others of the Delegates, from the Congress—a large Troop of Light Horse, in their Uniforms. Many Officers of Militia besides in theirs. Musick playing &c. &c. Such is the Pride and Pomp of War. I, poor Creature, worn out with scribbling, for my Bread and my Liberty, low in Spirits and weak in Health, must leave others to wear the Lawrells which I have sown; others, to eat the Bread which I have earned.—A Common Case.

We had Yesterday, by the Way of N. York and N. London, a Report, which distresses us, almost as much as that We had last fall, of the Cannonade of Boston. A Battle at Bunkers Hill and Dorchester Point—three Colonels wounded, Gardiner mortally. We wait to hear more particulars.<sup>1</sup> Our Hopes and our Fears are alternately very strong. If there is any Truth in this Account, you must be in great Confusion. God Almighty's Providence preserve, sustain, and comfort you.<sup>2</sup>

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:226–27.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Treat Paine's diary entry for June 24 reads: "Fair Cool. Evening heard (by Express from Connecticut) of the Battle in Charlestown." MHi.

<sup>2</sup> On June 27 Adams added a brief postscript in which he concluded: "I rejoice that my Countrymen behaved so bravely, tho not so skillfully conducted as I could wish. I hope this defect will be remedied by the new modelling of the Army."

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia June 23d 1775<sup>1</sup>

I parted with Gen. Washington Yesterday at about Six Miles from this City, and conclude before you receive this, you will have had the pleasure of waiting on him. On last Evening Dr. Smith preached a Sermon to the Second Battallion of this City and a Vast Concourse of People. I went as I knew the Doctors Ability, though you know I had none of his principles, and was most agreeably entertained with a discourse of about Thirty Minutes from Joshua 20th & "The Lord he is God of Gods" &c. It will appear in print therefore will say no more, than this, it exceeded in Stile, & Sentiment anything I ever heard on the Subject. As the Doctor has been called an high Churchman, and one that had a Bishopric in expectation, I hope his thus publicly sounding the Pulpit alarm, on the Subject of Liberty, will be an example to the Church Clergy elsewhere and bring them off from





John Sullivan

the Line of Conduct, which they have hitherto ingloriously pursued. You will write Me, in your next, the Reception which the Gentlemen met with in Connecticut, & what your Opinion is of them. I may not add as the post waits.<sup>2</sup> I am your most Affectionate Husband

S Deane

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Deane undoubtedly wrote this letter on June 24.

<sup>2</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Deane to Elizabeth Deane, June 26-27.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[June 23, 1775]

Early this Morning, General Washington & other officers of the American Army set out for the Army Escorted by the Light Horse & the officers of Foot on Horse Back. I rode 3 miles with him & then turned off[f] & rode to Point no Point, 7 a.m. Evening Dr. Smith preach'd to 2d Battallion at Christ's Church an excellent Sermon, Evening Rain'd very Cool.

MS (MHi) .

## Roger Sherman to David Wooster

Dear Sir

Philadelphia June 23d. 1775

The Congress having determined it necessary to keep up an Army for the Defence of America at the Charge of the United Colonies have Appointed the following General Officers: George Washington Esqr. Commander in Chief Majr. Generals Ward, Lee, Schuyler and Putnam; Brigadier Generals Pomroy, Montgomery, your Self—Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Majr. Sullivan, of New Hampshire, & one Green of Rhode Island. I am sensible that according to your former Rank you were intitled to the place of a Major General, and as one was to be appointed in Connecticut I heartily recommended you to the Congress.<sup>1</sup> I informed them of the Arrangement made by our Assembly, which I thought would be Satisfactory to have them continue in the Same Order, but as General Putnam's fame was Spread Abroad and especially his successful enterprise at Noddles Island the account of which had Just arrived, it gave him a preference in the opinion of the Delegates in General So that his appoint[ment] was Unanimous among the Colonies. But from your known Abilities and firm attachment to the American cause we were very desirous of your continuance in the Army, and hope You will accept of the ap-



pointment made by the Congress, I think the pay of a Brigadier is about 125 Dollars per Month. I Suppose a Commission is Sent to you by General Washington. We received Intelligence yesterday of an Engagement at Charlestown but have not had the particulars.

All the Connecticut Troops are now taken into the Continental Army. I hope proper care will be taken to Secure the Colony against any Sudden Invasion, which must be at their own expense. I have nothing further that I am at Liberty to acquaint you with of the doings of the Congress but what have been made public. I would not have any thing published in the Papers that I write lest Something may inadvertantly escape me which ought not to be published. I Should be Glad if you would write to me every convenient opportunity & inform me of Such Occurrences, and other matters as you may think proper and useful for me to be acquainted with. I am with great esteem Your humble Servant

Roger Sherman

P.S. The General Officers were Elected in the Congress not by Nomination but by Ballot.

RC (MWA) .

<sup>1</sup> In April the Connecticut assembly had commissioned Wooster as major general, with Spencer as brigadier general and Putnam as second brigadier general. Wooster responded to Congress' appointment by returning the Continental commission with his reply to Sherman of July 7: "I enclose with this the commission delivered to me by General Washington. You will see that somehow by mistake it was never dated. You will be good enough to deliver it to Mr. Hancock with my best compliments, and desire him not to return it. I have already a commission for the assembly of Connecticut." Lewis Henry Boutell, *The Life of Roger Sherman* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1896) , p. 88.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

My dear Son

Philadelphia 23rd June 1775

This is the first Time that I ever wrote to a Person whom I did not know whether to consider as one of this World or of the next; if Heaven has spared You, devote your Life to the Service of God & your Country; if You are wounded or a Prisoner let the Satisfaction that You are engaged in the Cause of God & Man support You; if neither let your Heart overflow with Gratitude to the great Preserver of Men; if You have been successful Humanity will direct the most generous Treatment of our vanquished Enemies at the same Time that Wisdom directs the pushing the Victory to the utmost; if You have met with a Check, Let a firm Reliance in the Justice of your Cause & the divine Protection give fresh Vigour rouse every generous Sentiment in the Army as far as your little Influence will extend & bravely exert every Nerve in Defence of your Country. We have im-

mense Resources and nothing will be wanting to make you soon superior to your Enemies.

Major Mifflin Who does Me the Favor to deliver You this is worthy of the greatest Regard as a Friend to his Country. I am afraid the common Cause here will suffer much by his Absence for he is almost the Soul of the City.

May God of his infinite Mercy preserve You all. Your very affectionate Father  
Sam Ward

P.S. Time admits no more.

The Congress has chosen your Brigadier Genl. as a continental brigadier Genl. & as such he is to be commissd.<sup>1</sup> You are all to receive continental Commissions from the General.

RC (RHi) . Addressed: "To Capt. Samuel Ward of the Rhode Island Forces near Boston."

<sup>1</sup> Ward is here referring to Nathanael Greene (1742–86), who at the age of 32 was the Continental Army's youngest general officer. *JCC*, 2:103; and *DAB*.

## John Hancock to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen, Philadelphia 24th June 1775.

By Order of the Congress I inclose you certain Resolves passed Yesterday, respecting those who were concerned in taking and garrisoning Crown Point and Ticonderoga.<sup>1</sup>

As the Congress are of Opinion that the Employing the Green Mountain Boys in the American Army would be advantageous to the common Cause, as well on account of their Situation as of their Disposition and alertness, they are Desirous you should embody them among the Troops you shall raise. As it is Represented to the Congress that they will not Serve under any Officers but such as they themselves Chuse, you are Desired to consult with General Schuyler, in whom the Congress are informed those People place a great Confidence, about the Field Officers to be Set over them.<sup>2</sup>

I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servt.

John Hancock President

RC (N) . Tr (DNA: PCC, item 40) . RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> For these resolves see *JCC*, 2:104–05.

<sup>2</sup> This day Hancock also sent Gen. Philip Schuyler a brief note enclosing copies of both this letter to the New York Provincial Congress and the congressional resolves mentioned therein. NN.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

Monday June 25th [*i.e.* 26th]. [Philadelphia June 26–27, 1775]

I miss'd the Opportunity of sending the above. We are at present in the most uneasy of all Situations that of Suspence. News of a Battle is arrived, but The particulars are very Confused. I hear Capt. Chester was in the hottest part of it, & lost Three Men, write Me I pray You all the particulars.

Tuesday Morning

Nothing further has arrived. *Genl. Sullivan* sets off this Day for the Army. He is appointed a Brigadier, & is of New Hampshire. My last Lettr. from you was of the 10th inst & it is Now the 26th. My Complimts. to all Freinds, if my Brother fitts out his Vessel at all he cannot make too great dispatch.

RC (CtHi) . A continuation of Deane to Elizabeth Deane, June 23, 1775.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia June 26th 1775

Yours per express, dated the 20th We received and are happy to find that every Measure within your Power for the Public good has been Uniformly pursued, while the Advice from the Congress has been rather as approving than Directing Your Conduct.<sup>1</sup> You will By this express receive a Letter from the President informing you of the appointment of General Washington & other General Officers, and by Unanimous Order of the Congress expressing the high sense they retain of your important Services to the United Colonies, at this critical period. In the arrangement of General Officers, the Character of General Putnam commanded every Vote for his Major General Ship, An Honor peculiar to the Commander in Chief & himself. We hope that his Appointment will give no Umbrage to General Wooster, or General Spencer as they are honorably provided for. We wish the prospect of a Supply of one Article was more favorable but from the large quantities in the West Indies hope for the best. The Article of Salt Petre is now under Consideration, and shall in a few Days be able to write at large on the Subject.

The Account brought us by Mr Avery of the Action of the 17th has given us the greatest possible anxiety, as it leaves us in suspense & Uncertainty as to the event of so important an Action, and our receiving no further Advices has increased it greatly.

By a Letter from Albany received Yesterday we are informed of the Defection of the Caughnawaga Indians effected by the presents

of Governor Carlton who is meditating hostilities. Are not some of their Children with Docr Wheelock?<sup>2</sup> If so may not some Advantage be taken of that Circumstance? Regulating & issuing a Continental Currancy and providing ways and means for its redemption has taken up much Time, but the work is in such forwardness, that we hope soon to have it circulating and that several other important regulations now under consideration will be compleated and take Place. We should be happy would our Business admit of greater Dispatch. The Distance from Our Families & Friends, & from the great Scene of Action gives us uneasiness, and with respect to adjourning Nearer which has been repeatedly mentioned though a majority of Voices might [be] obtained, yet We conceive it to be too delicate a Subject for Us to urge on many and various Reasons. It is probable the Congress after finishing the more important Business before them will have a recess appointing a Committee of War or Safety to sit in the meanwhile. This Committee will undoubtedly be directed to remove as near the Scene of Action as Hartford. We are greatly obliged to Col Williams & Capt Trumbull for their Letters but the express is in haste and prevents our returning their favors. We are with the greatest Esteem Your honors most Obedt. & very Humble Servants.

Elipha Dyer

Roger Sherman

[P.S.] Mr Sherman has enjoyed his health well, his not signing personally the Letters sent your Honor was owing to his having separate Lodgings.

Tr (Ct). The style of this letter suggests that it was written by Dyer. Although Silas Deane's name does not appear on the transcript, there is a slightly variant copy in his hand among the Deane Papers, CtHi.

<sup>1</sup> Trumbull's letter was read in Congress June 26 and is in PCC, item 66, 1:9-12. JCC, 2:107.

<sup>2</sup> Eleazar Wheelock (1711-79) was principal of an Indian school at Hanover, N.H., as well as president of Dartmouth College. DAB. On July 12, 1775, Congress authorized payment of \$500 for support of the Indian youth at his school. JCC, 2:177.

## Thomas Jefferson to Francis Eppes

Dear Sir

Philadelphia June 26. 1775.

You will before this have heard that the war is now heartily entered into, without a prospect of accomodation but thro' the effectual interposition of arms. General Gage has received considerable reinforcements, tho' not to the [wh]ole amount of what was expected. There has lately been an action at the outlet of the town of Boston. The particulars we have not yet been able to get with certainty. The



event however was considerably in our favor as to the numbers killed. Our account sais we had between 40 and 70 killed and 140. wounded. The enemy had certainly 500. wounded and the same account supposes that number killed; but judging from the proportion of wounded and slain on our part, they should not have perhaps above [200 killed. This] happened on Saturd[ay, and] on Monday when the express came away the provincials had began to make another attack. Washington set out from here on Friday last as Generalissimo of all the Provincial troops in North-America. Ward and Lee are appointed major Generals, and Gates Adjutant. We are exceedingly anxious till we hear of their arrival at Boston, as it is evident to every one that the provincial encampment is the most injudicious that can possibly be conceived. For the sole purpose of covering two small towns near Boston they have encamped so near the line of the ministerial army that the centries may converse. Gage too being well fortified is in little danger of an attack from them, while their situation is such that he may attack them when he pleases, and if he is unsuccesful they cannot pursue him a foot scarcely, on account of the ships and floating batteries bearing on the neck of Boston. If no evil arises from this till General Washington arrives we may expect to hear of his withdrawing the provincial troops to a greater distance. The Congress have directed 20,000 men to be raised and hope by a vigorous campaign to dispose our enemies to treaty. Governor Carleton has been spiriting up the Canadian Indians to fall on our back settlements but this we hope will be prevented. Governor Skeene appointed [to] take charge of the fortresses on [the] lakes was intercepted here, and as we had already taken possession of those fortifications and provided a governor there was no occasion for him to proceed. He is now therefore our prisoner. My best affections attend Mrs. Eppes and family, and am Dr. Sir Your friend & servt,

Th: Jefferson

RC (NjMoHP) . Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd) , 1:174-75.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Eppes (1747-1808) , of Chesterfield County, Va., was married to Elizabeth Wayles, Mrs. Jefferson's half-sister. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

## John Adams to James Warren

My dear Friend

Phyladelphia June 27. 1775

I am extreemly obliged to you for your Favour of the 20th of June. The last Fall, I had a great many Friends who kept me continually well informed of every Event as it occurred. But, this Time, I have lost all my Friends, excepting Coll Warren of Plymouth and Coll Palmer of Braintree, and my Wife.

Our dear Warren has fallen, with Laurills on his Brows, as fresh and blooming, as ever graced an Hero.

I have Suffered infinitely this Time, from ill Health, and blind Eyes at a Time when, a vast Variety of great objects were crouding upon my Mind, and when my dear Country was suffering all the Calamities of *Famine, Pestilence, Fire, and Sword* at once.

At this Congress We do as well as we can. I must leave it to some future opportunity, which I have a charming Confidence will certainly come, to inform you fully of the History of our Debates and Resolutions.

Last Saturday night at Eleven O Clock, an express arrived from the worthy Govr. Trumbull, informing of the Battle of Charlestown. An hundred Gentlemen flocked to our Lodgings to hear the News. At one O Clock Mr H[ancock] Mr A[dams] and myself went out to inquire after the Committee of this City, in order to beg some Powder. We found Some of them, and these with great Politeness, and Sympathy for their brave Brethern in the Mass. agreed, to go that night and send forward about Ninety Quarter Casks, and before Morning it was in Motion. Between two and three O Clock I got to bed.

We are contriving every Way we can think of to get you Powder. We have a Number of Plans for making Salt Petre and Gentlemen here are very confident, that We shall be able to furnish Salt Petre and Powder of our own Manufacture, and that very soon. A Method of making it, will be published very soon by one of our Committees.<sup>1</sup>

Before this reaches you, Gen. Washington, Lee. &c will arrive among you. I wish to god, you had been appointed a General officer, in the Room of some others. Adams and Adams strove to get it done. But, Notions, narrow Notions prevented it—not dislike to you, but fear of disobliging Pomroy, and his Friends.

Your Govt. was the best We could obtain for you. We have passed some Resolutions concerning North Carolina, which will do a great deal of good. We have allowed them to raise 1000 Men, and to take Care of Trayters, if necessary. This must be kept Secret.<sup>2</sup>

We are sending you, Ten Companies of Rifle Men. These, if the Gentlemen of the Southern Colonies are not very partial and much mistaken, are very fine fellows. They are the most accurate Marksmen in the World: they kill with great Exactness at 200 Yards Distance: they have Sworn certain Death to the ministerial officers. May they perform their oath.

You will soon find that the Continental Congress are in deep enough. The Commissions to the officers of the Army; the Vote for your Government; the Votes about North Carolina; and a Multitude of other Votes which you will soon hear of will convince you.

I have inclosed you an Hint about Salt Petre. Germans and others

here have an opinion that every stable, Dove house, Cellar, Vault &c is a Mine of Salt Petre. The inclosed Proclamation coincides with this opinion. The Mould under Stables &c may be boiled soon into salt Petre, it is said. Numbers are about it here.

RC (MHi). In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> *Several Methods of Making Salt-Petre: [By W. Shewell?] Recommended to the Inhabitants of the United Colonies by their Representatives in Congress.* (Philadelphia: W. and T. Bradford, 1775). It was reprinted by Benjamin Edes in Watertown, Mass.

<sup>2</sup> North Carolina was authorized to raise a force of 1,000 men, and Congress resolved to "consider them as an American army, and provide for their pay." *JCC*, 2:107.

## Benjamin Franklin to John Sargent

Dear Sir

Philada. June 27. 1775.

I have written to Messrs Browns and Collinson to pay the Ballance of my Acct to you;<sup>1</sup> and I beg you to take the Trouble of receiving & keeping it for me, or my Children. It may possibly soon be all I shall have left: as my American Property consists chiefly of Houses in our Seaport Towns, which your Ministry have begun to burn, and I suppose are wicked enough to burn them all. It now requires great Wisdom on your Side the Water to prevent a total Separation; I hope it will be found among you. We shall give you one Opportunity more of recovering our Affections and retaining the Connection; and that I fear will be the last. My Love to Mrs Sargent and your Sons. My best Wishes attend you all; being ever, with sincere Esteem, and the most grateful Sense of your long continu'd Friendship, Dear Sir, Your affectionate humle Servt.<sup>2</sup>

B Franklin

FC (PPAmP).

<sup>1</sup> John Sargent (1715–91), London draper, former MP, and director of the Bank of England, had been a friend, business associate, and correspondent of Franklin since c. 1757. Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754–1790*, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 3:404–5.

At the bottom of this MS is Franklin's brief note to Messrs. Browns and Collinson: "Pay the Ballance of my Account to John Sargent Esqr. whose Receipt shall be your Discharge."

<sup>2</sup> Conditions brought on by the onset of the war led Franklin three weeks later to advise Margaret Stevenson, his friend and former landlady in London, against completing plans for investing funds in America which she had entrusted to him. Returning a large sum to her, he also advised against purchase of English stocks in anticipation that the war with the colonies would be a long one and might possibly become a wider conflict drawing in "some European Power." See Franklin to Margaret Stevenson, July 17, 1775, Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth), 6:411–12.

## John Hancock to Certain Colonies

Gentlemen

Philadelphia June 27. 1775

By the Unanimous Vote of this Congress I am Directed to Assure you that they have a high Sense of your Services in the common Cause of the United Colonies, and to Inform you of the Appointment of the several General Officers to Command the Continental Forces, a List of whom I now Inclose you, the Subordinate Officers to be Recommended by the Provincial Congresses to the General, to whom Commissions from this Congress are Sent to be fill'd up agreeable to such Recommendation.<sup>1</sup> I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt Servt.

John Hancock President

RC (NjMoHP). Addressed: "Honl Lieut Govr. & Assembly of Rhode Island." Identical copies of this letter, with one exception noted below, were sent by Hancock to the provincial congresses of New York (N), Massachusetts (M-Ar), and New Hampshire (Nh-Ar).

<sup>1</sup> Hancock's letter to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress contains the following postscript: "Your Letter by Fessenden the Express just Come to hand, & Communicated to Congress, as soon as any Resolutions are pass'd they shall be immediately Transmitted. The Inclos'd Letters for New Hampshire & Rhode Island I pray you will immediately forward by Express."

## John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Honble Sir

Philadelphia 27th June 1775

By the unanimous Vote of this Congress I am Directed to Assure you of the high & grateful Sence they have of your Wisdom Assiduity and Zeal in the Common Cause of the United Colonies, and inform you of the Appointment of a Commander in Chief & other General Officers over the forces that are or may be Raised for the Defence of American Liberty a List of whom you have inclosed, the subordinate Officers of your troops to be Recommend[ed] by your Assembly or Provincial Congress to the General, to whom Commissions from this Congress are Sent to be filled up agreeable to such Recommendation.

I am also Directed by this Congress to Acquaint you that General Schuyler is ordered upon an important Service, in the prosecution of which, they have Resolved, that if he should have Occasion for a larger Quantity of Ready Money & Ammunition than he can in convenient time procure from the provincial Convention of the Colony of New York, he do in such case Apply to you for such Supplies of both as can be furnished by your Colony, and, you are Directed to afford him both Money & Ammunition, and this Congress will make provision for Reimbursing the same.<sup>1</sup>

I am likewise to informe you that this Congress have this Day



come to a Resolution that Major Skene an Officer lately arrived from England, & who has for some Days been kept in this City by their Order, and suffered to be abroad upon his Parole, be sent under a proper Guard to you, to be Retained at Hartford untill further Order of this Congress.<sup>2</sup>

Wishing you the Enjoyment of Health and every other personal Blessing, and that our Country may long be happy in the continuance of your Important Services, I am Honble Sir Your most Obedt Humble Servant

John Hancock President

[P.S.] You will please at present to keep these matters as Secret as the nature of them will admit.

Tr (Ct) . FC (Paul Mellon Collection, Upperville, Va., 1975) .

<sup>1</sup> In response to a letter from the Albany Committee of Correspondence alleging that Governor Carleton was inciting the Caughnawaga Indians to make an incursion into northern New York, Congress on June 26 reversed its June 1 resolve against an invasion of Canada and gave Gen. Philip Schuyler discretionary authority to "take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and any other parts of the country, and pursue any other measures in Canada . . . to promote the peace and security of these Colonies." *JCC*, 2:75, 109-10; *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1048; and John Hancock to Philip Schuyler, June 28, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> At this point in the FC Hancock deleted the following sentence: "The Resolve will be Deliver'd you by the Officer who brings Major Skeene."

## Richard Henry Lee's Draft Address to the People of Great Britain

[June 27? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

To the people of Great Britain from the Delegates appointed by the several English Colonies of New Hampshire Massachusetts Bay Rhode Island and Providence plantations Connecticut New York New Jersey Pennsylvania The lower Counties on Delaware Maryland Virginia North Carolina South Carolina and the Parish of St. Johns in Georgia to meet in Philadelphia May 1775.

It is with the deepest concern that we find ourselves compelled by the persevering and increased violence of administration again to appeal to your reason and justice upon a subject of the last importance to the safety, happiness, and welfare of the British empire. It is well known that the original cause of our present unhappy difference is the lately assumed right and practise of Parliament, to raise revenue on the subject in America, contrary to the clearest principles of justice and the English constitution, which exempt from payment of Tax, Tallage, Aid or other like charge not set by common consent. That British America is not represented in the British Parliament,

and consequently its consent not involved in the Acts of that Assembly, is too true to admit of doubt, too certain to be contested. But to obviate this argument Administration say, many in England are not represented and yet they are bound by Acts of the British Parliament concluding that because the representation of England is imperfect therefore the people of America must not be represented at all and by fallacious kind of logic, reasoning from the existence to the infinite extension of evil.

In prosecution of this new scheme of taxation a system of Statutes and regulations has taken place by which the trial by Jury is abolished; the oppressive powers of excise extended to all cases of revenue; the sanctuary of private houses exposed to violation at the pleasure of every Officer and Servant of the customs; the dispensation of justice corrupted by making Judges totally dependant on the Crown; life and liberty rendered precarious by supposed Offenders being liable to be transported over the Ocean to be tried for treason or felony, whereby the condemnation of the most innocent may follow from distance, want of evidence, money and friends; the profligate encouraged to shed the blood of the people by a mode of trial offering indemnity to the murderer; the Capital of one Colony condemned without being heard to most unequal punishment, involving with unexampled rigor the innocent and the guilty in the same undistinguished ruin; that great palladium of English liberty the Habeas Corpus Act suppressed; Charterd rights taken away without forfeiture proved and a new form of government established to prevent legal efforts against the despotism of wicked Rulers; the antient limits of Canada extended over immense regions bordering on the frontiers of all the Colonies and Arbitrary government created there, as well by immediate exertions as by future efforts to banish liberty with all its attendant virtues from this great Continent; and finally a fleet and army sent to execute these oppressive edicts. In this state of unparalleled abuse the people of America, by their Representatives in Congress Septemr 1774 presented a petition to his Majesty so full of duty, loyalty, and affection; so full of humble desires "of peace liberty and safety" as malice itself could not except against. The world will judge, what more could be done on this side the Atlantic to soften the rigor of authority and appease the rage of despotic Ministers, unless we had tamely surrendered our lives, liberty, and property into the hands of Administration, thereby rendering ourselves unworthy of the British Ancestry and undeserving the rights of men, by betraying the dignity of human nature. The duty of a British Minister should lead him to protect the just rights of the Subject in every part of the Empire, but the present Administration at variance with freedom in every Clime equal foes to British and American rights, under the fatal guidance of a Favorite at enmity with the glorious constitu-

tion of England, that work of Ages and admiration of surrounding nations instead of redressing grievances of such magnitude and so justly complained against, proceed to bitter declarations of rebellion, determination to subdue by force and increasing Armies in North America have at length drawn the Sword of violence to ravage this Country, burn houses, and destroy his Majesties faithful American subjects. When Ministry charge millions of people with cowardice faction and rebellion, it necessarily leads to reflect how extensive must be the abuse, and how different the present from former administrations, which has worked so wonderful a change in a whole nation, acknowledged frequently by the parent State, to be a brave, loyal, and useful people. Equally unjust is the charge of refusing to support civil government and the administration of justice, and denying contribution to the necessary expence of protection and defence. We have already declared "that such provision has been and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the Legislatures of the several colonies just and suitable to their respective circumstances." And the journals of Parliament shew that in time of war our Aids have been admitted to transcend our abilities. In times of peace justice and magnanimity will be content with the immense profits derived from our confined commerce, establishing so grievous a monopoly of our imports, and of our great staple commodities of exportation, as to impoverish us in proportion as it enriches Great Britain. A Monopoly that annually fixes so large a ballance against these Colonies, as to preclude, without great oppression the payment of fixt revenue, added to the necessary support of our respective civil establishments, and other large contingent expences. Whenever it shall be thought proper to indulge us with a Trade a[s] extensive as you our fellow subjects possess, we shall then, provided with the means of procuring wealth, freely contribute at all tim[es] our full proportion to the expences of the Empire. The injurious and unaccommodating intentions of our Ministerial enemies are fully manifested by a plan of conciliation (as it is called) so inconsistent with its avowed design, as to be incapable of deceiving the most unthinking; for when the Americans, upon constitutional ground, claim a right of being concerned in the disposal of their own property; Administration after various and violent attempts to destroy this claim, propose to conciliate, by [retaining?] a power of controuling both the sum and its application; leaving the injured American the wretched choice of payment, or of punishment in case of refusal. Unprejudiced Men will determine whether this plan is intended to conciliate, or by insulting the understanding to convert dissatisfaction into despair. It appears by the conduct of Administration upon our humble petition for peace presented unto his Majesty and the demands they make; that the design which hath for sometime

been carried on to alter the frame and constitution of these Colonies, is now come to ripeness; and the Contrivers of it conceive themselves arrived to that condition of strength, that they shall be able to put it into present execution. For what else can be signified by an unprovoked declaration of rebellion by the Commander of the British forces, after having converted the large and flourishing Town of Boston into a Military Garrison, marching into the Country, slaughtering the inhabitants, burning their houses, and ravaging all before him? Necessity hath therefore brought on this Congress and possessed it with the power of acting with more vigor and resolution than former Congresses had done, nor do the principles of Self preservation longer permit us to neglect providing a proper defence to prevent the pernicious practices of wicked men and evil Counsellors, alike enemies to the religion, laws, rights, and liberties of England and America. How necessary this was to be done, is sufficiently manifest from the designs and attempts of the despotic Governor of Canada to march an army of Canadians and Savages into these Colonies. Great cause therefore hath all good men to bless God, who put it into the heads and hearts of our Countrymen to possess themselves of the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and to make themselves Masters of those Lakes that cover the frontiers of many Colonies, and secure them from such cruel and wicked designs. For were these bad Ministers to succeed in their evil intentions and put North America in slavery, it is not difficult to foresee with what ease they might afterwards master the liberties of Great Britain. In this state of extreme danger to the British Empire, we have once more implored our common Sovereign to save the whole from the meditated ruin of his Ministers, and by redressing the unmerited grievances of his faithful American Subjects, restore peace to his afflicted people. We call God to witness, that it is the earnest wish of our hearts to be firmly united with you on the broad basis of civil and religious liberty equally extended to all the subjects of this great empire. And we earnestly entreat your powerful aid may be interposed to calm the distractions, and quiet the apprehensions, by removing the grievances of British America. We shall then with joy behold the return of those halcyon days, when peace, happiness, and flourishing Commerce, established the glory, strength, and safety of the British empire.

MS (MH). In the hand of Richard Henry Lee.

<sup>1</sup> Congress agreed to present a second address to the people of Great Britain on June 3, 1775, and appointed Richard Henry Lee, Robert R. Livingston, and Edmund Pendleton as a committee to prepare a draft. On June 27 the committee reported a draft, which was read but not considered further until July 6, when it was debated and recommitted. The committee reported again on the seventh, and on the eighth the address was debated and approved. *JCC*, 2:80, 110, 127, 157, 162.

The Lee draft does not appear to have been utilized in drafting the final version of the address. There is marked contrast in the organization and style of the two



documents, but apparently no other drafts of the address survive. The Lee draft does however represent the views of a committee member and may have been the draft submitted to Congress June 27. Nothing is known about the work of the committee after the address was recommitted, and the authorship of the final draft has not been established. A contemporary printed text is reprinted in *JCC*, 2:163–70. See also *JCC*, 3:509–10.

## Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dearest Betsy

Philada June 28 1775

Yesterday I received Letters from some of our Friends at the Camp informing me of the Engagement between the American Troops and the Rebel Army, in Charles town. I cannot but be greatly rejoiced at the tryed Valor of our Countrymen, who by all Accounts behavd with an Intrepidity becoming those who fought for their Liberties against the mercenary Soldiers of a Tyrant. It is painful to me to reflect upon the Terror I must suppose you were under on hearing the Noise of War so near you. Favor me, my dear, with an Account of your Apprehensions at that time, under your own hand. I pray God to cover the heads of our Countrymen in every day of Battle, and ever to protect you from Injury in these distracted Times. The Death of our truly amiable and worthy Friend Dr Warren is greatly afflicting. The Language of Friendship is, how shall we resign him! But it is our Duty to submit to the Dispensations of Heaven, "Whose Ways are ever gracious, ever just." He fell in the glorious Struggle for the publick Liberty.

Mr Pitts and Dr. Church inform me that my dear Son has at length escapd from the Prison of Boston. I have inclosd a Letter to him, which I desire you would seal and deliver to him, or send it to him if he is not with you.

Remember me to my dear Hannah and Sister Polly and to all Friends. Let me know where good old Surry is.

Gage has made me respectable by naming me first among those who are to receive no favor from him.

I thoroughly despise him and his Proclamation.<sup>1</sup> It is the Subject of Ridicule here, as you may see by the inclosd which I have taken from this days paper. I am in good health and Spirits. Pray my dear let me have your Letters more frequently—by every Opportunity. The Clock is now striking twelve. I therefore wish you a good Night.  
Yours most affectionately  
S Adams

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup>That is, General Gage's proclamation of June 12, 1775, offering pardon to all people in rebellion except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:968–70.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philadelphia June 28 1775

I have received your Letter of the 21 Instant and am beyond Measure rejoycd at the tryed Bravery of the American Troops in Charles town. I hope speedily to receive a particular & exact Account of the killed and wounded on both sides. If the List on the side of the ministerial Army comes near to 1000, as seems to be the general opinion it may cool the Courage of the three Generals lately arrivd; of the Courage of Gage I have been taught to entertain no opinion.

I find by the Letters from our Friends that a Suspicion prevails of the Courage Activity or military Knowledge of some of our Generals. But my dear Sir take Care lest Suspicions be carried to a dangerous Length. Our Army have behaved valiantly. There may have been an Error, but that Error may have proceeded not from a Want of Spirit but a Want of Judgment. We have appointed the Generals you ask for. Preserve that Union upon which every thing we wish for depends. The Experience of Washington & Lee may make good all Deficiencies. Why should any of our Friends hesitate about the propriety of giving a Command to Genl Lee? He was not born an American, but he has heartily espoused the Cause of America and abhors the oppressive Measures of the British Government against America. Prince Eugene, if I mistake not was a Frenchman but he was a Scourge to France, and Marshall Saxe would have been equally, perhaps more so, if Great Britain had not foolishly slighted his offerd Service. Admitting his Integrity, of which I cannot doubt, I think the sound Policy of appointing General Lee is evident. Other English officers may from hence be assur'd that if they will afford a sufficient Pledge of their Merit they may have the opportunity of distinguishing their Valor in the Cause of Liberty in America. So desirous was the Congress, that this Country should avail it self of the Abilities of Lee, that they have voted to indemnify him for the Loss of property he may incur by engaging in this Service to the amount of £11000 Sterling, being the Estimate of his Estate in England, as soon as it shall be made to appear that such Loss or any part of it hath happened.<sup>1</sup> This I think interrests him strongly, and I mention it, by no means that it should be made publick, for I think that would be imprudent, but to induce our Circle of Friends with the greater Chearfulness to reconcile his Appointment to any, if such there be, who have any Scruples about it.

I sincerely lament the Loss of our truly amiable & worthy Friend Dr Warren. There has scarcely if ever been a Cause so evidently just as that in which he fell so gloriously.

Pray write to me by every opportunity. I have not time to enlarge

or even to correct what I have written. Adieu my Friend

S Adams

[P.S.] The two inclosd Letters to Mrs Hooper and Mrs Inman are from Wm Hooper Esqr one of the Delegates from No Carolina who desires me to recommend them to your Care.

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup> Adams was a member of the committee appointed to confer with Lee on June 19, but the specific sum of indemnification was not recorded in the journals. *JCC*, 2:98-99.

## John Hancock to Philip Schuyler

Sir

Philadelphia June 28th. 1775.

By Direction of this Congress I transmit you several Resolutions which pass'd Yesterday the Importance of which you will readily see, and the Necessity of your immediate attention to the Execution of them.<sup>1</sup> The Alteration of the Sentiments of the Congress since your Departure relative to making an Impression into Canada was occasioned by a Letter they received from the Committee of Albany, a Copy of which you have inclosed.<sup>2</sup>

I have by Order of Congress, wrote to Governor Trumbull upon the Subject of Money and Ammunition. The Congress have directed you to make Application to him, for which Letter is forwarded by Express, and you will please to give him as early Notice as possible, of what Supplies of both you may have occasion for.

I have not Time to add, but to desire you will acknowledge the Receipt of the Resolutions. I am Sir Your most obedt. Servant

John Hancock President

[P.S.] You will observe as much Secrecy as the Nature of the Service will admit.

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:109-10.

<sup>2</sup> See *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1048.

## John Hancock to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia June 28. 1775

By Direction of the Congress I now Transmitt you severall Resolutions pass'd yesterday, by which you will Observe they have Directed Major General Schuyler to Examine into the State of the Posts at

Ticonderoga & Crown Point, and of the Troops Station'd there, as also to Enquire into the Disposition of the Canadians and Indians. You will likewise find they have Directed him to Take or destroy all Vessells, Boats or Floating Batteries prepar'd by Governor Carlton on or near the Waters of the Lakes, and to Take possession of St Johns & Montreal if he finds it practicable, & not Disagreeable to the Canadians. The Alteration of the Sentiments of Congress since your Departure relative to making an Impression into Canada was Occasion'd by a Letter they Receiv'd from the Committee of Albany, a Copy of which you have Inclos'd. They gave their Directions upon these important matters directly to Major General Schuyler, as he would be near the Posts above mention'd, and as their being Sent to you would Occasion such Delay as might prove Detrimental to the Service.

I Send you the Remainder of the Commissions Sign'd, should you have Occasion for more, please to Acquaint me, & they shall be immediately Transmitted you.

Brigr. Genl. Gates not yet Arriv'd in the City, I Expect him to morrow, and shall Deliver him his Commissions, and promote his Joining you as soon as possible. Inclos'd is a Letter from him.

With my best wishes for every personal Happiness, and Success in all your undertakings, I have the Honor to be, Sir Your most Obedt Huml. serv.

John Hancock President

RC (DLC).

## Roger Sherman to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Hond. Sir

Philadelphia 28 June 1775

Yesterday the Congress ordered Major Skeen (who has some time been Confined here within certain limits) to be sent to Hartford and confined to the limits of that Town on his parole of honor, not to depart nor hold correspondence with our Enemies, or Meddle in political Affairs. Also a resolve was passed to request your Honor on behalf of the Colony to Supply General Schuyler with such sums of Money, and Quantities of Ammunition as he may apply for, and can be furnished by the Colony.<sup>1</sup> It is supposed that he wont have occasion for more than £20,000 in Bills of Credit of our Colony, if so much, to be repaid by the Continent. We were not able to Inform what some of Money was in our Treasury but thought it probable he might be furnished with what is necessary. I am most of all concerned about a Supply of Gun Powder our Colony have taken Such an Active part, that I should not think it strange if Some Attack should be made upon it, and it wont be safe to be destitute of Am-



munition. I am affraid that our stores are too much exhausted already. Care has been taken by our Enemies to prevent our being supplied [by] the Dutch or Danes, in the West Indies. It is probable General Schuyler may undertake some important enterprise which I wish to have the Colony afford him all possible Assistance.

I wish to be informed of the arrival of any Supplies of Powder in any of the New England Governments. I don't know whither your Honr has been informed who are appointed General Officers in the Continental Army. All Officers below the rank of a Brigadier are left to the appointment of the Several Colonies but their Commissions to be signed by the President of this Congress. The Congress have appointed four Major Generals viz, Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler and Israel Putnam; and Eight Brigadiers viz Colo Pomroy Colo Montgomery of New York, General Wooster, Colo Heath, Colo Spencer, Colo Thomas of Massachusetts, Major Sullivan of New Hampshire, Mr Green Rhode Island. They were Elected by Ballot in the order above.

We informed who were appointed in Connecticut and in what Order, and the Rank they had before Sustained in the Army, but General Putnam had rendered himself famous by his Intrepidity and especially in the late Action at Noddle's Island so that the Election was unanimous. An Adjutant General is appointed from Virginia. I forget his Name. The Chief General is allowed 3 Aid De Camps and each Major General 2. Their pay is 33 Dollars per Month, the Persons to be appointed by the Generals respectively. I have not seen all the Letters wrote by Colo Dyer & Mr Dean to your Honour. As I lodge at some Distance from them we have but little leisure to confer together. The Congress sits from 9 in the Morning to 4 or 5 and sometimes 6 in the Afternoon. I have not been absent when the Congress were on Business so much as ten Minutes during the Session. The controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies has been carried to greater extremity than I expected but I have now no expectation that the Ministry will relax their Measures unless they are convinced that they cannot carry them into Execution. The Salvation of the Colonies under Divine Providence depends upon their united and Vigorous application to Arms, that is the only conciliatory Plan that appears to me likely to prove Successful, or at least without which no other will have any effect. I am Your Honors Most Obedient humble Servant

Roger Sherman

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> JCC, 2:108, 110.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia June 29th. 1775

I hope before this, You have seen Genl. Washington, & Friends, on their Way, in health, & spirit. The Bearer of this is General Gates of Virginia a Gentleman, of great experience in Warr, and who leaves an affluent, & independant situation for the Service of these Colonies.<sup>1</sup> If he calls on You, you will receive him with the respect due to his Character. He is appointed Adjutant General to rank as Brigadier General. I have no Time To Write Mr. Webb a particular Letter, Wrote him last Night on Business. My respects to him & the whole of both Families. You will introduce him to the General, and ask him to give him directions on the road & assist as farr as possible in forwarding his Journey. I am my dear your's S Deane

[P.S.] The Generals name is *Horatio Gates*—an Englishman served as a Major in the Regular Army thro' last Warr.

Anecdote.

The Rifle Men are raising fast. A Commission is given to one *Mr. Cresop* to command from Virginia. He being absent when it Arrived, his Father the brave old Colonel *Cresop*,<sup>2</sup> Now Ninety Two years of Age took the Command, and determines to join the Army, at their head, if his Son, should not arrive in Season. I saw a Lettr. from him this Morning which exceeded any thing I ever read. I will if possible get a Copy.

Remember my Caution as to my Lettrs.

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup>Gates was also the bearer of a personal letter Deane wrote this day to his stepson, Samuel B. Webb, who was in the Second Regiment of Connecticut troops at Cambridge. Webb, *Correspondence* (Ford), 1:72-73.

<sup>2</sup>This may have been in reference to Col. Thomas Cresap (1702-90), pioneer of western Maryland, and his son Michael (1742-75). The latter was commissioned captain of the 1st company of Maryland Rifles, June 21, 1775, but died of a chronic illness a few months later. *DAB*.

## Delaware Delegates to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia June 29th. 1775.

The Bearer hereof, Mr. John Parke, has taken his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts in the College in this City, and studied the law under one of us (Mr. McKean) for almost four years.<sup>1</sup> He is an Ensign, in the 2d. Battalion of the Militia here, and is desirous of serving his country as a Volunteer under you. He has frequently drawn his *pen* and is now resolved to draw his *sword* in support of

the American cause. We therefore beg leave to recommend him particularly to your countenance and favor and hope you will distinguish him agreeable to his merit as soon as an opportunity of promotion presents.<sup>2</sup>

We wish you health, success, happiness and every blessing Heaven can bestow, and are, Sir, Your most obedient humble servants

Caesar Rodney

Tho McKean

RC (DLC) . Written by Rodney and signed by McKean and Rodney.

<sup>1</sup> John Parke (1754–89), lawyer and poet from Kent County, Del., was appointed assistant quartermaster general of the army at Cambridge in August 1775. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> A letter recommending Parke was also written by John Hancock to Elbridge Gerry. Hancock described Parke as “a gentleman of reputation here and firmly attached to the American cause,” and urged Gerry to “introduce him to the connection of our friends; you know who I mean.” Hancock to Elbridge Gerry, June 29, 1775, *Magazine of American History* 12 (July–December 1884): 460.

## Richard Henry Lee to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 29th June 1775

Nothing material has occurred since you left this place, except the imperfect accounts we have of the Charlestown battle, which upon the whole seems to have nothing unfavorable to our great cause, but the loss of Dr. Warren. To an infant Country, it is loss indeed, to be deprived of wise, virtuous, and brave Citizens. I hope however, still to hear, that our Enemies have lost Characters very useful to them. We received the account of this engagement late on Saturday evening last, and a few of us immediately applied to, and prevailed with the Committee of this City, to dispatch 90 odd quarter Casks of powder to the Camp, which I hope will arrive safe and in good time.

We are this day informed in Congress that the six Nations and Canada Indians are firmly disposed to observe a strick neutrality, and I think we shall endeavor to cultivate their friendship. The Congress has been engaged these two days about the mutiny and military regulations, and at last we shall adopt those of Massachusetts with very few alterations.<sup>1</sup> You will see that we have again taken up the business of entering Canada, and have left the propriety of it to Gener. Schuyler. If it can be done, in a manner agreeable to the Canadians, it will certainly shut the door against dangerous tampering with the Indians on all our Western frontiers. Nothing has yet been done about a Military Hospital,<sup>2</sup> and I suppose we shall wait for your return of the state of the Army. Dr. Shippen says that three young Gentlemen here perfectly compitent, will be ready when called on, to serve in the capacity of Surgeons.

I have only to assure you, that it will always make me happy to hear from you, and that I am, with great regard, dear Sir, Your Affect. and obedient servant.

Richard Henry Lee

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:111-22.

<sup>2</sup> A committee "to report the method of establishing an hospital" was not appointed until July 19. Congress approved the establishment of a hospital and elected Benjamin Church director and chief physician on July 27. *JCC*, 2:191, 209-11.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir

Philada. June 29th 1775

Since I wrote you last there has been a Verry Considerable Engagement between our Troops and the Regulars upon Bunkers Hill a little Back of Charles Town, an accot. of Which you'l have in Yesterdays paper—as full as we have had it as Yet. But Expect further Accounts of it Every day. I have Sent You by Capn. Henry Bell a Book for your further improvement in the Military Art. A gun for Caesar, and for Betsey, Sally and their friends 16 or 17 fine Pine-apples. I Expect without fail to Set out for Kent Next Tuesday Morning. Should have Set out Saturday afternoon but Mr. Read prevailed on me to let him go home this Week on promise to Return by next Monday Dinner. He is then to Attend till I Return which is to be in two weeks from the time I leave this. I hope you are all well. Yrs.

Caesar Rodney.

P.S. We have Just heard that the Company of Light Horse belonging to this City are gone on With the General to the Camp near Boston.

RC (CtY).

## New York Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia 30 June 1775

We have recd your Letter of the 23d inst. & are sorry to be informed of your being retarded by any Difficulties in completing your levies.

It would be extremely imprudent to suggest the least hint of your objections to the Congress. Be assured that the Northern & some other Colonies are ready to raise Men almost on any terms & would be



happy in an opportunity of furnishing Troops without any Allowance for Bounty or Cloaths.

Permit us earnestly to recommend to you to proceed in this Business with Alacrity & Dispatch. The Honor as well as the Interest of the Province is much concerned in the Success of this Measure. Your Neighbours of Connecticut boast of their having raised their Men in ten Days Time. Endeavour not to be behind Hand with them.

We have the Pleasure to acquaint you that a continental Currency is forming, and when compleated, you will be immediately supplied with a Sum adequate to your Exigencies.

If Forces cannot be raised without Bounties, we beg Leave to submit it to your Consideration, whether it would not be better to do it at the Expence of the Province, or by advancing it on the Credit of their Pay, than lose the Opportunity of signaling your Attachment to the Cause & provide for a great Number of your Poor.

From the Intelligence we have receivd of the State of Ammunition in your City & Province, we are apprehensive that you are so destitute of powder as to be exposed to very imminent danger in case of an attack, against which we think it extremely necessary that Provision be speedily made.

We fear there are too many in New York who flatter themselves with Safety and Security from the Removal of the troops. For our Parts we consider it as a mere temporary suspension of Danger, and that this opportunity of putting the Country in a Posture of Defence, is very fortunate and by all Means to be improved.

We are Gentlemen with the greatest Respect your most obedt. & hble Servts.

Phil. Livingston

John Jay

John Alsop

Wm Floyd

Robt. R. Livingston Junr

P.S. Since writing the above the Congress has requested the Committee of Philadelphia immediately to send forward 50 quarters of Powder.<sup>1</sup> It set out this Day Consigned to the Committee at Elizabeth Town who will send it to Dobbs Ferry. You are requested to provide for its being immediately taken from thence & carried to Albany for the Use of The Troops at Ticonderogat & Crown point &c.

RC (N). Written by Jay and signed by Jay, Alsop, Floyd, Philip Livingston, and Robert R. Livingston. *Journals of N.Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:16. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup>Congress resolved on June 26 to ask the Philadelphia Committee for gunpowder, but the powder was not actually shipped until June 30. *JCC*, 2:108; and John Hancock to Philip Schuyler, July 1, 1775. Congress made a follow-up appeal to the committee on the 30th for an immediate shipment, which led Burnett to the curious conclusion that Jay actually wrote the body of this letter on June 26 and added the postscript on June 30. Burnett, *Letters*, 1:148n.4.

## Virginia Delegate to Unknown

[Philadelphia, June 30, 1775]

You will see that our enemies had little to boast of, for being able to force our troops from Bunker's hill. It is no wonder they did so, with superior numbers, ships of war, floating batteries, and field artillery. Their loss has certainly been very great, and now they dare not go from under protection of their ships cannon. Our army now before Boston amounts to about 15,000 effective men, commanded by generals Washington, Ward, Lee, Putnam, Gates of Berkeley, with several brigadiers. In New York, we have now about 4000; and they are to be increased to 5000, under the immediate command of general Schuyler. The Canadians absolutely refuse to join Carleton, and the Indians assure us they will observe a strict neutrality. Thus, we seem to be well secured in the north against ministerial madness. A faithful observance of the association with us will surely rouse the *sleeping lion* ere long, and bring exemplary punishment on the most abandoned ministry that ever abused mankind and disgraced human nature. Sir William Meredith has cheated the Liverpool-men, and they are sending out goods as usual; but all their ships, yet arrived, have been sent back. It will be necessary, however, to keep a good look-out, to prevent their slipping in through other doors less attentively watched than this place, and Charlestown in South-Carolina.

We are here confined to a constant and painful attendance on business, from 9 in the morning, to 4, 5, and sometimes 6, in the afternoon; and, what is more, have not the most distant prospect of rising yet.

We have sent to Virginia and Maryland for two companies of rifle-men from each province, and six from this, to join the army before Boston. Two millions of dollars are ordered to be struck, upon the faith of the twelve united colonies, for the payment of the continental army.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), July 21, 1775, "Supplement." Printed under the heading: "*Extract of a letter from one of the Virginia delegates, dated Philadelphia, June 30.*"

## Benjamin Franklin's Vindication

[June-July ? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Forasmuch as the enemies of America in the Parliament of Great Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impression of us in the minds of other European powers, have represented us as unjust and ungrateful in the highest degree; asserting, on every occa-

sion, that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain; that they were, at the expense of the same, protected in their infancy; that they now ungratefully and unjustly refuse to contribute to their own protection, and the common defence of the nation; that they aim at independence; that they intend an abolition of the Navigation Acts; and that they are fraudulent in their commercial dealings, and purpose to cheat their creditors in Britain, by avoiding the payment of their just debts;

And, as by frequent repetition these groundless assertions and malicious calumnies may, if not contradicted and refuted, obtain further credit, and be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation and interest of the confederate colonies, it seems proper and necessary to examine them in our own just vindication.

With regard to the first, *that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain*, it is a known fact, that none of the twelve united colonies were settled, or even discovered, at the expense of England. Henry the Seventh, indeed, granted Commission to Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons, to sail into the western seas for the discovery of new countries; but it was to be "*suis eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis*," at their *own* costs and charges.\* They discovered, but soon slighted and neglected these northern territories; which were, after more than a hundred years' dereliction, purchased of the natives, and settled at the charge and by the labor of private men and bodies of men, our ancestors, who came over hither for that purpose. But our adversaries have never been able to produce any record, that ever the Parliament or government of England was at the smallest expense on these accounts; on the contrary, there exists on the journals of Parliament a solemn declaration in 1642, (only twenty-two years after the first settlement of the Massachusetts, when, if such expense had ever been incurred, some of the members must have known and remembered it,) "That these colonies had been planted and established *without any expense to the state*."†

New York is the only colony in the founding of which England can pretend to have been at any expense; and that was only the charge of a small armament to take it from the Dutch, who planted it. But to retain this colony at the peace, another at that time full as valuable, planted by private countrymen of *ours*, was given up by the crown to the Dutch in exchange, viz. Surinam, now a wealthy sugar colony in

\*See the Commission in the Appendix to POWNALL's *Administration of the Colonies*. Edition 1775.

†" *Veneris, March 10th, 1642*. Whereas, the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this state*, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation; the Commons now assembled in Parliament, &c. &c. &c."

Guiana, and which, but for that cession, might still have remained in our possession. Of late, indeed, Britain has been at some expense in planting two colonies, Georgia and Nova Scotia; but those are not in our confederacy; and the expense she has been at in their name has chiefly been in grants of sums unnecessarily large, by way of salaries to officers sent from England, and in jobs to friends, whereby dependants might be provided for; those excessive grants not being requisite to the welfare and good government of the colonies, which good government (as experience in many instances of other colonies has taught us) may be much more frugally, and full as effectually, provided for and supported.

With regard to the second assertion, *that these colonies were protected in their infant state by England*, it is a notorious fact, that, in none of the many wars with the Indian natives, sustained by our infant settlements for a century after our first arrival, were ever any troops or forces of any kind sent from England to assist us; nor were any forts built at her expense, to secure our seaports from foreign invaders; nor any ships of war sent to protect our trade, till many years after our first settlement, when our commerce became an object of revenue, or of advantage to British merchants; and then it was thought necessary to have a frigate in some of our ports, during peace, to give weight to the authority of custom-house officers, who were to restrain that commerce for the benefit of England. Our own arms, with our poverty, and the care of a kind Providence, were all this time our only protection; while we were neglected by the English government; which either thought us not worth its care, or, having no good will to some of us, on account of our different sentiments in religion and politics, was indifferent what became of us.

On the other hand, the colonies have not been wanting to do what they could in every war for annoying the enemies of Britain. They formerly assisted her in the conquest of Nova Scotia. In the war before last they took Louisburg and put it into her hands. She made her peace with that strong fortress, by restoring it to France, greatly to their detriment. In the last war, it is true, Britain sent a fleet and army, who acted with an equal army of ours, in the reduction of Canada; and perhaps thereby did more for us, than we in the preceding wars had done for her. Let it be remembered, however, that she rejected the plan we formed in the Congress at Albany, in 1754, for our own defence, by a union of the colonies; a union she was jealous of, and therefore chose to send her own forces; otherwise her aid to protect us was not wanted. And from our first settlement to that time, her military operations in our favor were small, compared with the advantages she drew from her exclusive commerce with us. We are, however, willing to give full weight to this obligation; and, as we are daily growing stronger, and our assistance to her becomes of more



importance, we should with pleasure embrace the first opportunity of showing our gratitude by returning the favor in kind.

But, when Britain values herself as affording us protection, we desire it may be considered, that we have followed her in all her wars, and joined with her at our own expense against all she thought fit to quarrel with. This she has required of us; and would never permit us to keep peace with any power she declared her enemy; though by separate treaties we might well have done it. Under such circumstances, when at her instance we made nations our enemies, whom we might otherwise have retained our friends, we submit it to the common sense of mankind, whether her protection of us in these wars was not our *just due*, and to be claimed of *right*, instead of being received as a *favor*? And whether, when all the parts of an empire exert themselves to the utmost in their common defence, and in annoying the common enemy, it is not as well the *parts* that protect the *whole*, as the *whole* that protects the *parts*? The protection then has been proportionably mutual. And, whenever the time shall come, that our abilities may as far exceed hers, as hers have exceeded ours, we hope we shall be reasonable enough to rest satisfied with her proportionable exertions, and not think we do too much for a part of the empire, when that part does as much as it can for the whole.

The charge against us, *that we refuse to contribute to our own protection*, appears from the above to be groundless; but we farther declare it to be absolutely false; for it is well known, that we ever held it as our duty to grant aids to the crown, upon requisition, towards carrying on its wars; which duty we have cheerfully complied with, to the utmost of our abilities; insomuch that frequent and grateful acknowledgements thereof, by King and Parliament, appear on the records.\* But, as Britain has enjoyed a most gainful monopoly of our commerce; the same, with our maintaining the dignity of the King's representative in each colony, and all our own separate establishments of government, civil and military; has ever hitherto been deemed an equivalent for such aids as might otherwise be expected from us in time of peace. And we hereby declare, that on a reconciliation with Britain, we shall not only continue to grant aids in time of war, as aforesaid; but, whenever she shall think fit to abolish her monopoly, and give us the same privileges of trade as Scotland received at the union, and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world; we shall willingly agree (and we doubt not it will be ratified

\*Supposed to allude to certain passages in the journals of the House of Commons on the 4th of April, 1748; 28th of January, 1756; 3d of February, 1756; 16th and 19th of May, 1757; 1st of June, 1758; 26th and 30th of April, 1759; 26th and 31st of March, and 28th of April, 1760; 9th and 20th of January, 1761; 22d and 26th of January, 1762; and 14th and 17th of March, 1763. B[enjamin] V[aughan].

by our constituents) to *give and pay* into the sinking fund [one hundred thousand pounds] sterling per annum for the term of one hundred years; which duly, faithfully, and inviolably applied to that purpose, is demonstrably more than sufficient to extinguish *all her present national debt*; since it will in that time amount, at legal British interest, to more than [two hundred and thirty millions of pounds.]†

But if Britain does not think fit to accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her groundless jealousies, *that we aim at independence, and an abolition of the Navigation Act*, (which hath in truth never been our intention,) and to avoid all future disputes about the right of making that and other acts of regulating our commerce, do hereby declare ourselves ready and willing to enter into a *covenant with Britain*, that she shall fully possess, enjoy, and exercise that right, for an hundred years to come; the same being *bonâ fide* used for the common benefit; and, in case of such agreement, that every Assembly be advised by us to confirm it solemnly by laws of their own, which, once made, cannot be repealed without the assent of the crown.

The last charge, *that we are dishonest traders, and aim at defrauding our creditors in Britain*, is sufficiently and authentically refuted by the solemn declarations of the British merchants to Parliament, (both at the time of the Stamp Act and in the last session,) who bore ample testimony to the general good faith and fair dealing of the Americans, and declared their confidence in our integrity; for which we refer to their petitions on the journals of the House of Commons. And we presume we may safely call on the body of the British tradesmen, who have had experience of both, to say, whether they have not received much more punctual payment from us, than they generally have from the members of their own two Houses of Parliament.

On the whole of the above it appears, that the charge of *ingratitude* towards the mother country, brought with so much confidence against the colonies, is totally without foundation; and that there is much more reason for retorting that charge on Britain, who, not only never contributes any aid, nor affords, by an exclusive commerce, any advantages to Saxony, *her mother country*; but no longer since than in the last war, without the least provocation, subsidized the King of Prussia while he ravaged that *mother country*, and carried fire and sword into its capital, the fine city of Dresden! An example we hope no provocation will induce us to imitate.

†See DR. PRICE'S *Appeal on the National Debt*. B[enjamin] V[aughan].

MS not found; reprinted from Benjamin Franklin, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin . . .*, ed. Jared Sparks, 10 vols. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co., 1836–40), 5:83–90.

<sup>1</sup> Although this document was identified as the work of Benjamin Franklin when it was first published by Benjamin Vaughan in the *Public Advertiser*, July 18, 1777, its purpose and origin remain obscure. Vaughan asserted that “it was drawn up in a Committee of Congress, June 25th, 1775, but does not appear on their Minutes; a severe act of Parliament, which arrived about that time, having determined them not to give the sum proposed.” And Jared Sparks, who reprinted it in 1838, noting that on June 25 “Dr. Franklin was on a Committee for reporting to Congress a declaration to be published by General Washington, on his arrival in camp at Cambridge,” concluded that “the discussion of that subject in the Committee may have suggested these remarks.” *Ibid.*, 5:83. However, neither surmise is convincing, since on the one hand June 25 fell on a Sunday, and on the other, the substance of the “vindication” bears little relation to the work of the committee appointed to prepare a statement to be read to the army upon Washington’s assumption of command at Boston. Edmund C. Burnett suggested that since “the question of colonial support of the mother country” was “the principal point of discussion in the Vindication it may have been written in connection with the preparation of the answer to Lord North’s conciliatory motion.” But since Congress learned officially on July 20 that Georgia had finally elected delegates who would soon take their seats, it seems unlikely that Franklin would have continued to refer to “the twelve united colonies” in composing a document for a committee that was not appointed until July 22. And Burnett’s final suggestion that “possibly Franklin composed and circulated the ‘Vindication’ merely for the entertainment or enlightenment of his friends” is likewise flawed, because it rests upon a passage from an undated letter of Peter Collinson to Franklin once calendared under the date 1775 but obviously written several years earlier, as Collinson died in 1768. Burnett, *Letters*, 1:185n; and I. Minis Hays, ed., *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Printed for the American Philosophical Society, 1908), 4:402.

Although the specific occasion for its composition remains unknown, there is no reason to doubt that it is the work of Franklin and represents the common concern that the American cause would be injured by unanswered allegations that Americans ignored their reciprocal obligations within the empire, were dishonest traders, and evaded the legitimate costs of their defense. Surely it was written before July 20, 1775, and may well have been stimulated by fears that Lord North’s conciliatory proposals of February 20—which had been submitted to some colonial assemblies early in May and were formally laid before Congress on May 26—would find a favorable reception in the colonies. But it seems as much directed to a British as to an American audience and may well have been composed in consequence of the discussions that led Congress on June 3 to appoint committees to draft a petition to the king, an address to the people of Great Britain, an address to the people of Ireland, and a letter to the inhabitants of Jamaica. See *JCC*, 2:61–63, 79–80. For Franklin’s early view of North’s proposals, see his letter of February 25, 1775, to Joseph Galloway. Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth), 6:313–14. For evidence that Congress continued to be concerned about the impact of ministerial charges directed against American leaders, see *JCC*, 3:353, 392, 409–12, 455, 513.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear,

Phila. 1st July 1775

I wrote you yesterday by Genl. Gates on his Way To join the

Army. Received Yours of the 26th inst. but have not Time to be particular as the Bearer Major Morgan is in haste to join the Army, only that Col. Schuyler has left Us to take Command of the Forces in New York Government, & whither Our Scheme will be carried into execution or Not is at present uncertain.<sup>1</sup> On this rely, I shall ever be mindful of you, my Freinds & my Country & labor to serve them.

Docr. Franklin is with Us but he is not a Speaker tho' We have I think his hearty Approbation of & assent To every Measure. But, my Dear, Times like these call up Genius, which slept before, and stimulate it in action to a degree, that eclipses what might before have been fixed as a Standard. The Warr will not last Seven Years if I have any Judgment in Matters, and as to powder I hope the Measures we are taking will procure a supply, but I do not approve of wasting it on Batteries, Shipps &c, however much, I approve of & applaud the Bravery of Our Men. I hope Genl. Washington answered the Character I gave of him, I only wish he had a better regulated & provided Army to Command, but hope for the best, if We can worry them thro' this Campaign, resources will be procured or relief obtained. I have the fullest assurance that These Colonies will rise triumphant, & shine to the latest posterity, tho' trying Scenes are before Us which Our Wise Father is in Mercy exercising Us with at this Day. Towns wrapt in Flames, Garments roll'd in Blood, The Feilds of the husbandman loaded with Military preparation, & parade, & parents, Wives, Children, in anxious & soul torturing expectation for or weeping over the Fate of their dear Connections these are Scenes distressing, but they are Necessary for the good of the Whole, and it is for Us to encounter them with Chearfulness, & Alacrity. For my own part, I believe the Cabinet will be my Station, but am equally free to take the Feild if occasion call for Me. Parson Jarvis may be expected to speak what he wishes for but thank God, he & other Wretches of his Stamp will be disappointed—the Congress Unanimously resolving to stand by the General, with their Lives & Fortunes.<sup>2</sup>

You must tell J Webb I cannot write him. I sent him 4 Doz. Gunlocks yesterday, & can send him more, if he wants. The Rifle Men are part of them on their March and I wish Our Troops would imitate their Uniform as it is cheap, & light. I am with Love to all, of both Families, & a kind remembrance of Neighbours Your most Affectionate Husband

S. Deane

[P.S.] Tell my Brother to get his Vessel away as quick as possible somewhere or other, if he send her at all, this is what the Merchts are doing here. Whither the ports will be stopp'd before September is quite Uncertain, but his Vessel can do No good here, unless he make a privateer of her, & indeed I hope to see Vessels of Warr on Our side soon.



RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Deane to Philip Schuyler, July 3, 1775.<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 2:97.

## John Hancock to Philip Schuyler

Sir

Philadela. July 1st. 1775

I duly Rec'd your Letters of 29 & 30th ulto. (that Refer'd to by you of 28th not yet come to hand) and immediately laid them before the Congress, in Consequence of wch. I have their Directions to Transmitt you their Resolution, whereby you will observe that Genl Wooster is order'd with the Troops under his Command to Remain at New York, and that you Raise as many of the Green Mountain Boys & others in the Vicinity of Ticonda. as will be necessary to Execute the Resolutions of Congress I heretofore Transmitted you.<sup>1</sup> You will please particularly to Notice that altho' the Congress have given you peremptory Instructions to Take or Destroy all the Boats Vessells &c preparing by Gov Carlton on or near the Lake, yet with respect to your proceedg. to Montreal & Quebeck such Circumstances are pointed out by their Resolution which they Expect you [*to*] be fully possess'd of previous to your undertakg the prosecution of that Expedition.

I inclose you the Arrangement of the officers with their pay so far as has been determin'd by Congress, as soon as the whole is Settled you shall be made Acquainted; as to the Allowance of provisions, that at present must be left to your Discretion, untill you hear further from this Congress or the General on that Subject.

I am to inform you that besides the Quantity of powder Sent from Connectict. to Ticonderoga, the Committee of this City by Desire of Congress yesterday Sent forward 50 quarter Casks of Powder to that place.

Any Resolutions of Congress that take place respectg you I shall be Carefull immediately to transmitt you. I am Sir Your most Obedt. Servant.

John Hancock president.

[P.S.] If you are in Want of any more Commissions, let me know & they shall be sent, none are to be issued, but such as go from this Congress.

RC (PHC) . Tr (NN) . RC incomplete; signature and postscript supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:123-24.

## Richard Henry Lee to Robert Carter

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, 1 July, 1775.

We had the news of Williamsburg by Mr Jefferson. It seems indeed as if Lord Dunmore was taking true pains to incur the censure of the whole reasonable world, conceiving, I suppose, that it is the most likely way to please his masters in the administration. The enclosed printed hand-bill will give you an account of a very bloody engagement between a detachment of the continental army and the ministerial forces from Boston.<sup>1</sup> Our enemies are compelled to remain under cover of their ship's cannon. Should they come out we have 15,000 men under command of Generals Washington, Ward, Lee, Putnam and others, ready to give a good account of them. The ministerial plan against New York we shall oppose with 5,000 men, under the immediate command of Gen. Schuyler. The Canadians (20 noblesse excepted) have peremptorily refused to join Gov. Carleton, and when he has warmly solicited the Indians to take up the hatchet against us, they tell him it is buried too deep, they cannot find it. To us they promise a strict neutrality. Things being thus secured where our enemies proposed to make the deepest impression, it remains with us in the middle and southern colonies to take care that the association be faithfully observed, attend to military discipline, to the making of salt-petre for future supplies. These things, with the necessary application to manufactures, will prevent the powers of darkness from prevailing against us. . . .

We just hear that thirteen transports are arrived at New York with about 2,000 soldiers and on their being ordered round to Boston, they meet and swear they will not go there to fight against their friends. Gen. Howe, who commanded the ministerial troops in the late battle, we have our accounts, is since dead of his wounds. He was, by much, the best officer they had. He came on this business much against his judgment, and died fighting against the country, that in honor of his brother's virtue, erected a splendid monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

The Congress, I fear, will sit a great part of the summer. Business crowds, fast upon us, and the public here seems unwilling we should get up before it is known how the battle of Lexington was received in England. Yours obediently,

Richard Henry Lee.

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *The Collector* 2 (September 1888): 9. Recipient identified in *Stan V. Henkels Catalog*, no. 663 (April 1891), item 940.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Elijah Hide's account of the June 17 battle at Charlestown that was printed in broadside form by Francis Bailey of Lancaster, Pa., on June 26, 1775. Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, 12 vols. (Chicago: Privately printed, 1903-34), no. 13857; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser 2:1018-19.

## South Carolina Delegates to the Charleston Secret Committee

Gentlemen

Philadelphia July 1. 1775

By Directions of the continental Congress, we have sent the vessel by which this goes, to procure from you a Quantity of Gun-Powder for the Use of the Armies actually in the Field for the Service of America.<sup>1</sup> The frequent & severe Skirmishg in the Neighbourhood of Boston have so exhausted their Magazines that an immediate Supply is absolutely necessary.

We entreat you to purchase all that can be bought in Town, & to dispatch this Vessel with it for this Place as soon as possible, Together with as much as can be spared out of the Public Stock without Danger to your own Safety.

Shoud there be any damaged Powder on Hand, please send it also, as it may be recovered here.

By one of the Resolutions inclosed to the General Committee you'll see that it is recommended to the Southern Colonies to secure all the Salt Petre that can be got as well from the Stores as from private Persons, which, as you have no Powder Mills erected or Persons skilful in making Gun Powder, we woud advise may be sent to be manufactured here.

Shoud you be able to send more than four Thousand Weight of Powder we woud wish the overplus may be sent by some other Opportunity.

In order to prevent Suspicion we have sent [ ]<sup>2</sup> Bushells of Indian Corn in this Vessell which may be sold or exchanged for Rice, in which the Casks of Powder may be concealed so perhaps as to prevent suspicion shoud she unhappily be unable to avoid being overtaken by a Cruizer.

The utmost Secrecy and Dispatch are absolutely necessary.

As large Quantities of Powder will be wanted we strongly recommend that you continue to import all that you can, and think it probable that large Quantitys might be got from the government of the Havana as we can find no application there from any of these Colonies. We are, Gentlemen, Your most Obedt Servants

Henry Middleton

Chris Gadsden

Tho Lynch

J. Rutledge

E. Rutledge

RC (PHC). Written by Lynch and signed by Lynch, Gadsden, Middleton, Edward Rutledge and John Rutledge.

<sup>1</sup> Upon receipt of this letter the committee communicated it to the South Carolina Council of Safety, which decided to apply to the Georgia Provincial

Congress for the gunpowder requested by the delegates, Georgia having recently acquired more than six tons from a captured British schooner. To this end the Council of Safety sent William Henry Drayton and Miles Brewton to Savannah, where they succeeded in persuading the Provincial Congress to provide them with five thousand pounds of gunpowder, which they dispatched by ship to Philadelphia on July 21. On August 1 payment of \$293 to the South Carolina delegates for gunpowder was approved "by order of Congress." JCC, 2:237; William Bell Clark et al., eds., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington: Department of the Navy, 1964- ), 1:856, 931-32; and John Drayton, ed., *Memoirs of the American Revolution, from its Commencement to the Year 1776, Inclusive; as Relating to the State of South-Carolina: and Occasionally Referring to the States of North-Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (Charleston, S. C.: A. E. Miller, 1821), 1:271-73.

<sup>a</sup> MS blank.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philada July 2 1775.

The Messrs. Hall of Maryland are just now arrivd here from Cambridge which place they left the 22 Ult. They have brot us but one Letter, viz from our good Friend Coll Palmer. I am glad to hear that the Number of killed & wounded on the side of the Enemy amounts to so many more than 1000. I dare say you would not grudge them every last Hill near you upon the same Terms. A Gentleman of New York the Son of Mr. Phillip Livingston one of the Delegates from that place writes him that the Pilot who brot in the Nautil[us] Ship of War lately from Boston reports that he heard the officers on board frequently lament the Death of General Howe. If this be true I rejoyce in it, for that Man deservd to die for his Ingratitude.

Indeed my Friend, your Cause here suffers by our not receiving more frequent and particular Accounts from you. The Delegates from the other three Colonies have better Intelligence of what is doing near Boston than your own. We know Nothing of the Disposition of the Army, not even who commanded in the late important Engagement. I know your hands are full of Business, but may not a Committee be appointed to collect and send to us material Intelligence. There is a regular Post but we hardly think it worth while to send a Servant to the office for Letters.

I have a thousand things to say to you which I cannot write. Did I not flatter my self that we were doing essential Service to the common Cause, I would not tarry here a Moment. Some Matters are agreed to and many more talkd of which I know you will be pleasd with—but let me tell you that were you here your Patience wd be tried. It is not in the Power of Man to create Events. Our Business is to foresee as far as we are able prepare for and improve them. It is my opinion that great ones will be produced in a short time. Perhaps



I may not be sufferd to live to enjoy them—for I find I have the honour of being publickly proscribd by an infamous Traitor. I can not express to you my Contempt of him and his proclamation.<sup>1</sup> It is my fate to be always in a hurry. Adieu.

[P.S.] My Love to the Circle.

RC (MHi). In Adams' hand, though not signed. Endorsed by Warren: "Mr. S. Adams, 2 July 75."

<sup>1</sup> General Gage had issued a proclamation on June 12, 1775, offering pardon to everyone in rebellion except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. *Am Archives*, 4th ser. 2:968–70.

## John Alsop to the New York Provincial Congress

Gent.

Philadelphia, 3rd July, 1775.

Your favour of 28th ult. I received, respecting some blankets. In answer, a friend of mine has a quantity at Maryland with some strands and other Indian goods, which he chooses to sell altogether. They are ordered here as soon as they arrive. He will give the invoice, which I shall lay before the Congress, as I suppose they will purchase the whole. Shall inform them of number of blankets wanted by you; but I fear there is not so many as you stand in need of. I am, with respect, gent. Your very hble. servt. John Alsop

MS not found; reprinted from *Journals of N.Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:60.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

July 3d 1775

I write not meerly because I cannot let slip any Oppy but to ask after Your health of which You have said Nothing, since I left home, but left Me to judge by Your Letters. What think You of coming to Philadelphia, unless We adjourn this Week We shall tarry here Two Mo[nths] longer. If you can get Company to New York, will meet you there, & wait on you to this City. The Weather is not more severe, for heat than with you, and you may have the Satisfaction of seeing this part of the Continent. You will perhaps think Me wild, but think how severe it is to be detained here for Th[ree or] Four Months together absent from family & from You. [Thin]k on the Subject and write Me whither you think S[uch a] Journey would not be of Service to your health. [You] may expect to see Governor Skene in person in [a] few Days with you, who will Visit Hartford

as a place where he will have less Business on hand than what he is ambitious of engaging in here.

How are all Freinds at New London. I have had no Time to write them. Remember Me to Jose & Family, are there signs of increase. Have wrote Barn[aba]s & am in haste My Dear Your Affectionate Husband  
S. Deane

P.S. My Love to Jesse & Sally. Tell my Brother to fix away his Ves-sel quick, if he intend it at all this Year. Do not fear as to my taking an Active part in Military matters, I have not as yet Vanity enough to engage where so many must be my Superiors, but will readily do it, when I can serve my Country, no better, some other Way. Your Next I expect will give Me some Acct. of the Generals passing you.

Yesterday [I] heard Mr. Dushay, & Mr. Duffill [hit a?] high Lib-erty key. They would have pleased you.

RC (CtHi). *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 23 (1930): 6-7. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

## Silas Deane to Philip Schuyler

Sir Philadelphia 3d July 1775

I have wrote You twice since Your leaving Us and am not a little impatient, for a reply, in which I wish You to be as particular as possible for you in Your complication of Business of importance.

You know the Two great Objects I ever had in View the *Coup du Main* at N. York, & to the Northward. I hope you have had Time to think a little of the former and if practicable, to leave Your Instruc-tions with some faithful, resolute, and determined persons to execute.<sup>1</sup> I say again were my presence Necessary I would chearfully venture my Life in the [Action]. As to matters to the Northward, I pray You may have patience, equall to Your Resolution, & Zeal for I apprehend You may have many obstacles to encounter, but am con-fident, if it can be effected You will Succeed. I am in haste Dear Sir Your most Obedt. & very huml Servt  
S Deane

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Schuyler's letter to Deane of June [i.e. July] 3, 1775, suggests that they had planned the capture of a British warship, possibly the *Asia*, which was then anchored at New York. Schuyler reported that the ship was alert to possible attack and concluded: "I fear an attempt to possess her would be fruitless, and all circumstances considered I believe destroying her would answer no good purposes, against which they have also taken precaution." *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 2 (1870): 251-52. Deane also wrote to Captain Isaac Sears this day, and Sears' reply of July 8 apparently refers to this same scheme. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-80. See also Deane to Elizabeth Deane, June 18 and July 1, 1775.

## John Langdon to Matthew Thornton

Sr.

Philadelphia 3d July 1775

No doubt before this comes to hand General Sullivan (who set out for home last Tuesday)<sup>1</sup> will have waited on you, or the Committee of the Province, to whom I beg leave to Refer for Particulars. Since his Departure, we hear that Several Companies of expert Rifle men have marched from Virginia and Mariland; Six Companies from this Colony will march this week, to Join the Army before Boston. I have also the pleasure to inform you that the powder Mills are going on fast, haveing been Supplied with several Tons of salt petre, the Manufacturing of which Article is like to meet with great Success, here, as also in Virginia and without doubt, in two or three months, will be able to furnish large quantities.

We hear from South Carolina, that a Considerable quantity of powder was Arrived there, some of which will be immediately forwarded to Boston; this may be depended on. There has been within a few days, a Considerable quantity sent from this place to our Armies before Boston and Ticonderoga. Every method has been taken, and will Continue to be taken, for the importation of large supplies of that Necessary Article of powder, some of which hope will arrive soon. It is not likely that I shall be able to get Powder to send to our Province, as the whole will be in the hands of the Committee, to be sent from time to time to our army; therefore if any should be wanting for the Common Cause, no doubt it may be had from the [army] thence. I would here beg leave to Suggest, that we should not by any means, at Present, make use of Cannon, if it's Possable to avoid it, untill we are more fully suppli'd.

The Assembly of this Province have voted to raise four thousand five hundred minute men; every measure seems to be takeing to defend our Just rights to the last extremity. The general voice of the people here is, that our Cause is Just and Righteous and that God is on our side as has most evidently appeared.

The low, base, and wanton Cruelty of the Ministerial Sons of Tyranny, in burning the once pleasant and populous Town of Charlestown, Beggers all Description.<sup>2</sup> This does not look like the fight of those who have so long been Friends, and would hope to be Friends again, but Rather of a Most Cruel enemy, but we shall not wonder when we Reflect, that it is the infernal hand of Tyranny which always has and ever will Delluge that part of the World (which it lays hold of) in Blood.

I am in some hopes that the Congress will rise in abt a fortnight, but this is meer Conjecture, as it will depend on what news we Receive from our Army, and some other matters.

I am very sorry to be alone, in so great and important a business

as that of Representing a whole Colony, which no one man is equal to, but how to avoid it, I know not; whether it will be tho't worth while (at this uncertainty) to send me any Assistance, our Honbl Convention will be Judges.

I shall endeavour (as far as my poor abilities will admit of) to render every service, to my Country, in my Power. I am with great Respect, your most Obt Servt.

John Langdon

RC (Nh-Ar) .

<sup>1</sup> Congress appointed John Sullivan a brigadier general of the Continental Army on June 22. His departure June 27 left Langdon as New Hampshire's sole delegate. *JCC*, 2:103.

<sup>2</sup> The burning of Charlestown occurred June 17 during the Battle of Bunker Hill.

## North Carolina Delegates to the Presbyterian Ministers of Philadelphia

Gentlemen

[July 3–8? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

The Delegates for the province of North Carolina request of the Presbyterian Ministers of the City of Philadelphia that they would use their pastoral Influence to work a change in the disposition of the people of that province who by the Artifices of wicked and designing men have been led astray from the path of duty & taught to believe that the contest which at present subsists betwixt America & the parent State, owes its origin to factious & seditious men in these Colonies who aim at Independence of Great Britain & are desirous to establish a system of democracy in America, thereby to rise into power & to build up themselves upon the ruin of the British Constitution.

These Chimerical opinions have been propagated by the Rulers of that Colony, & have gained too ready a belief with men, who are not accustomed to speculate politically, or to look forward to what must be the necessary consequence if Great Britain should be able to enforce her Slavish tenets.

The Men who have been most the dupes to the designs of Administration are the Inhabitants of the back parts of that Colony, a laborious hardy set of people who become formidable from that as well as their numbers, & should Govt have influence enough to draw them into action, might endanger [*the*] liberties of North Carolina & go far to defeat the plan of Opposition devised by the Continental Congress. Such a struggle would be productive of bloodshed & therefore loudly calls for the kind offices of the ministers of peace to prevent its baneful Consequences.

The Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New York<sup>2</sup> speaks a lan-



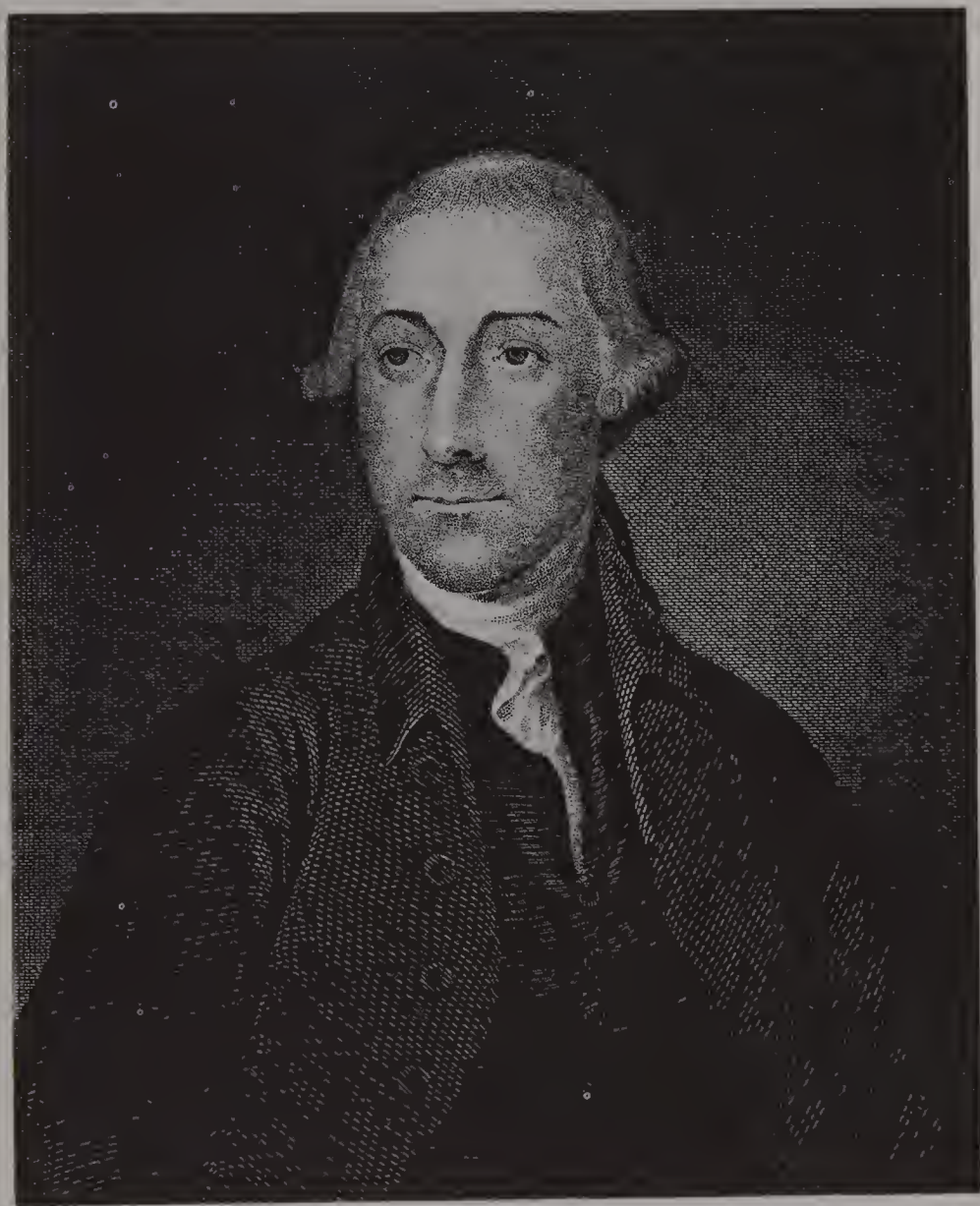
guage that will find a ready access to their hearts, and if accompanied with a letter stating more at large the nature of the continental opposition urging them to take an active share in behalf of America, & to submit themselves to these Regulations which the present unhinged state of the usual forms of Govt have rendered necessary substitutes for provincial Assemblie's, will effectually produce those happy purposes which it is the intention of this Application to obtain.

We wish that much stress may be laid upon the Attempt of the British Parlt. to take their money without their Consent. This will touch their pockets & make them feel the earnings of a laborious honest Industry to be at the discretion of any body of Men to take from them without their having any share in the appointment of those who are to order it will affect them deeply. We are Gentlemen  
With great Respect your most Obed Humb Sert

FC (NCU: Hayes Collection microfilm). Written by Joseph Hewes and intended for the signatures of Hewes and William Hooper, Richard Caswell having left Congress and returned to North Carolina at the end of June. See Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston, July 8, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> The North Carolina delegates were prompted to compose this letter as a result of the reception in Congress on July 3 of an intercepted letter of Gen. Thomas Gage to North Carolina Governor Josiah Martin, dated April 12, 1775, forwarded by the New York Provincial Congress pursuant to an order of June 27. Gage's letter, containing a promise to provide Martin with a supply of gunpowder "by way of New-York" to bolster the position of North Carolina loyalists, had been sent to the New York Provincial Congress on June 6 by the South Carolina Committee of Intelligence, which charged Martin's agents with attempting to arouse former Regulators in the South Carolina backcountry to oppose the patriot party in that province. Apparently Hewes and Hooper inferred from this accusation that Governor Martin was pursuing the same tactics among the Regulators in the North Carolina backcountry and thought to frustrate this design by inducing a group of Presbyterian ministers in Philadelphia to address a plea for support of the measures of Congress to their co-religionists in the Carolina backcountry. In any event, Hewes and Hooper dispatched this letter no later than July 8, and this in turn led to the publication of a pamphlet dated July 10, 1775, and signed by Revs. Francis Alison, James Sproat, George Duffield, and Robert Davidson, entitled *An Address of the Presbyterian Ministers, of the City of Philadelphia, to the Ministers and Presbyterian Congregations, in the County of \_\_\_\_\_ in North-Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1775). Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston, July 8, 1775; JCC, 2:124; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:317-18, 1323-24.

<sup>2</sup> Presbyterian Church, Synod of New York and Philadelphia, *A Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia to the Congregations under their Care; to be Read from the Pulpits . . . June 29, 1775 . . .* (New York: Shober and Loudon, 1775). Written by John Witherspoon. See also John Adams to Abigail Adams, June 11, 1775.



Joseph Hewes

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Philadelphia Committee

Philada. July 3. 1775.

By order of the Continental Congress The Committee of the City of Philada. are earnestly recommended Immediately to Convey Major Philip Skeene & Mr. Lundy & deliver them to the Committee of New York who are requested to Convey them to Hartford in Connecticut There to Deliver them & the Order of Congress to the Committee of that Town and that this be done in the most Effectual Manner and the utmost care taken that [they do] not Escape.<sup>1</sup>

The Expences Will be paid by Congress.

B. Franklin      John Dickinson

Geo. Ross      James Wilson

RC (PHi) . Written by Ross, dated by Franklin, and signed by Franklin, Ross, Dickinson, and Wilson.

<sup>1</sup>See resolve and order of June 27, *JCC*, 2:108–9. A second resolution on the subject was adopted on July 5, *JCC*, 2:126–27.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir,

Phila. Monday. July 3rd. 1775.

I wrote by Capt. Bell that I should set out for Dover as of to-morrow morning. I now have to tell you that the business of the Congress will not admit of my going till Sunday Morng. Therefore, if alive & well, you may expect me at Dover on the P.M. of Monday next. Since I wrote last, we have had some further accts. of the battle at Bunkers Hill in a letter signed by one Burr, who is a man much to be confided in. This letter is published in this day's paper, which I have enclosed you. By private intelligence rec'd the day before yesterday, Genl. Howe, about 3 days after the Engagement died in Boston of his wounds rec'd at Bunker's hill. The nine Compys. of Rifle-men for Penna. are nearly completed & are to be headed by Capt. Thomson as Col. & you may tell Mr. Magaw that his brother is appointed & going Major. They will be ready to march for the Camp near Boston by the latter end of this week. This comes by [Ang. Marlone?], who I expect will find you pretty much engaged in my Harvest. I am, Sir, Yours &c.

Cesar Rodney

Tr (DLC) . Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden) , 62–63.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My dear

Phyladelphia July 4. 1775

This Letter is to go by my worthy Friend Mr. Stephen Collins of this City. This Gentleman is of Figure and Eminence as well as Fortune in this Place. He is of the Perswasion of the Friends, but not stiff nor rigid. He is a Native of Lynn in New England, a Brother of Ezra Collins in Boston, a Nephew of Friend Collins the Apothecary in Boston. I have been treated by him in this City, both in the former Congress and the present, with unbounded Civility, and Friendship. His House is open to every New Englandman. I never knew a more agreeable Instance of Hospitality.

I beg, my dear, that he may be treated with every Expression of Gratitude, Affection and Esteem. Perswade him to go to Weymouth to see your Father and Dr. Tufts, if you can, and your Unkle Quincy.

A certain Mr. John Kaighn, (they pronounce his Name Cain) another Quaker of liberal sentiments is in Company with Mr. Collins. This Mr. Kaighn has been a principal Cause of the Prevalence of the Principles of Liberty among the Quakers, and of forming a Company of Light Infantry, composed entirely of Gentlemen of that Perswasion, who appear constantly in neat uniforms and perform very well.

I have lost all my Friends in the Massachusetts Bay, excepting my Wife, Coll. Warren and Coll. Palmer. From each of these I have received two or three Letters and no more. Not a scratch of a Pen have I been able to obtain from any Body else. We are constantly obliged to go to the Delegates from Connecticut and Rhode Island for Intelligence of what is passing at Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury and Watertown. I am, my dear ever yours, John Adams

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:238.

## George Clinton to George Washington

[*Philadelphia?*] 4th July 1775. Recommends for Washington's consideration "Mr. White,<sup>1</sup> the Son of Anthony White Esq'r of New Jersey," who, "Inspired with Love for our much injured Country . . . now vissits your Camp to offer his Service as a Vollenteer in the Army under your Command."

MS not found; abstracted from Hugh Hastings and J. A. Holden, eds., *Public Papers of George Clinton* . . . , 10 vols. (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. et al., 1899-1914) , 1:208-9.

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Walton White (1750-1803) was subsequently appointed by Congress lieutenant colonel of the Third New Jersey Battalion on February 9, 1776. JCC, 4:123.



## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 4, 1775]

Tuesday July 3d [*i.e.* 4th]. All Day at Congress wording on Petition &c.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup> The second petition to the king, which was approved the next day. *JCC*, 2:127.

## John Hancock to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety

Gentlemen

Philadelphia July 4. 1775

Being so peculiarly Engag'd in Dispatching an Express to General Washington by order of Congress, Gives me only Leisure to Inclose you Invoice of what of the Medicines &c wrote for in Mr Gerry & Doctor Church's Letter, that could be procurd in this City, & as there was no possibility of Conveying them safely to any port by Water, considering the Service of the Medicines, I have hired a Waggon with Two persons to proceed by Land with all cautious Speed. They have a Certifficate from me to obtain any assistance on the Road in the course of their Journey. I have us'd the utmost Dispatch & Diligence in procuring & Sending off the Articles, & hope they will meet your Approbation.

The Gentleman Mr Robt Erving of whom I hir'd the Waggon does not go himself, he is a fine fellow, & Says if you want to improve his Horses, Waggon & Men they are at your Service. If his Men should want a little Money to bring them back, you will let them have it; I will Settle with the Owner of the Waggon for the Hire.

I must Close. When I can get a Leisure hour I will write you & all my Friends. Docr Church knows how I was hurried, & it still Continues. He must Apologize to my Friends for my not writing. God give you Success. I am Gentn. Your most Obed Svt John Hancock

RC (M-Ar) . Addressed: "On the Service of the United Colonies, To Elbridge Gerry Esqr., Docr. Benj Church, Moses Gill Esqr., or any of the Gentlemen of the Committee of Safety or Supplies at Cambridge or Watertown, Massachusetts Bay."

## Thomas Jefferson to Francis Eppes

Dear Sir

Philadelphia, July 4th, 1775.

Since my last, nothing new has happened. Our accounts of the bat-

tle of Charleston have become clear, and greatly to our satisfaction. Contrary to what usually happens, the first accounts were below truth; it is now certain that the regulars have had between 1200 and 1400 killed and wounded in that engagement, and that of these 500 are killed. Major Pitcairn is among the slain, at which everybody rejoices, as he was the commanding officer at Lexington, was the first who fired his own piece there and gave the command to fire. On our part were killed between 60 and 70, and about 150 wounded. Among those killed was a Dr. Warren, a man who seems to have been immensely valued in the North. The New Englanders are fitting out light vessels of war, by which it is hoped we shall not only clear the seas and bays here of everything below the size of a ship of war, but that they will visit the coasts of Europe and distress the British trade in every part of the world. The adventurous genius and intrepidity of those people is amazing. They are now intent on burning Boston as a hive which gives cover to regulars; and none are more bent on it than the very people who come out of it and whose whole prosperity lies there. This however, if done at all, it is thought better to defer till the cold season is coming on, as it would then lay them under irremediable distress. Powder seems now to be our only difficulty, and towards getting plenty of that nothing is wanting but saltpetre. If we can weather out this campaign, I hope that we shall be able to have a plenty made for another. Nothing is requisite but to set about it, as every colony has materials, but more especially Virginia and Maryland. My compliments most affectionately to Mrs. Eppes. Mr. and Mrs. Skipwith, I expect, have left you. Adieu.

Th. Jefferson

MS not found; reprinted from Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:184-85.

## Edmund Pendleton to William Woodford

My Dear Sir

Philadelphia, July 4, 1775

I was yesterday favored with yours of the 27th of June and was much obliged by your account of how the Assembly ended, as I believe the Trap guns have destroyed all the fingers in Williamsburg, none of Us having received a line from thence, nor do we even get a paper. Wronghead<sup>1</sup> will probably solicit Troops to be sent Us, but other circumstances may overrule his Application by the time it reaches London; Independent of that I do not believe you will have any: It is I fancy, their plan was to have struck a bold stroak at Boston and as they vainly supposed frightened them out of all resistance, and then to have dispersed part of their Generals with Troops to other parts to diffuse terror through the Continent, but the scene

is changed, they find all their force little enough to defend themselves at Boston and have accordingly ordered several transports which have arrived at New York, to proceed directly with their Cargoes to Boston, and I doubt not the like orders are lodged at other places. My last account of the Enemy's loss seems so far confirmed—that all now fix it between 12 and 1400 and we have little doubt, but that General Howe is now among the slain. Ours remains under 200.

I was afraid after so much time had elapsed to send your things to the head of the Elk, imagining Mr Johnston's Vessel had sailed. They are now in Mr. Griffin's Warehouse, whose storekeeper sets out this week for Rappahannock and will land them either at Hobb's Hole [Tappahannock] or at Port Royal, from either you will easily get them. Gentlemen here generally agree there will be no danger 'til the 20th of July, in passing by Water. Your Marquie is a grand one, and affords us as Comfortable Lodgings as any brick House in Town, I am sure you'll be pleased with it, if 'tis not too heavy a Carriage. I have received your three Bills for 15. 3. 1 Sterling. Johnny Taylor is at present on a Visit to New York and is to return tomorrow. I am obliged to you for forwarding his and my letters. I doubt we shall have a dull Market for our Crop of wheat unless something favorable should turn up, however I am glad to hear 'tis a good one: I will not again say when I *hope* to see Virginia, there is no time but I most ardently Wish it. My compliments to Colonel Taylor and all friends. I am as Usual, Yours,

Edmd Pendleton

MS not found; reprinted from Edmund Pendleton, *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton 1734-1803*, ed. David J. Mays, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 1:113-14.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Lord Dunmore.

## Charles Thomson to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philada. 4 July 1775

The enclosed was yesterday intercepted by the Committee of this City & laid before the Congress, who have recommended that it be forwarded to you.<sup>1</sup>

I am Gentlemen Your most humble servant,

Chas Thomson

In behalf of the Committee of Philadelphia

RC (N). *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 1:68. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> The enclosure in question was a June 13 letter from North Carolina Governor

Josiah Martin to Henry White, a New York provincial councilor who acted as Martin's business agent in that colony, requesting White to send him a royal standard and other supplies. Upon receiving this enclosure the New York Provincial Congress appointed a committee to investigate White, in consequence of which he satisfied the committee that he had refused to send Governor Martin the items that he had requested. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1343-47. See also North Carolina Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress, July 8, 1775.

## John Adams to Joseph Palmer

Philadelphia, June [*i.e.* July] 5, 1775

The bearers of this letter, Mr. Stephen Collins and Mr. John Kaign, are of the peaceable society called Quakers or Friends, yet they are possessed of liberal sentiments, and are very far from being enemies to American principles or practices. They are warm, zealous friends of America, and hearty well wishers to her councils and arms, and have contributed much to promote both in this province.

We have an infernal scoundrel here, a certain Col. S———,<sup>1</sup> who comes over full of plans and machinations of mischief. He has had the most unreserved and unlimited confidence of Lord Dartmouth, during the whole of the past winter, and it seems for some time before; and together with a contemptible puppy of a parson, V———,<sup>2</sup> has been contriving to debauch, seduce, and corrupt New-York. The ministry have given him a commission in the woods as surveyor, and another to be governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He is permitted to roam about, upon his parole of honour not to transgress certain limits, but is doing mischief.

The colonies are not yet ripe to assume the whole government, legislative and executive. They dread the introduction of anarchy, as they call it.

In this province, indeed in this city, there are three persons, a Mr. W———, who is very rich and very timid;<sup>3</sup> the provost of the college, who is supposed to be distracted between a strong passion for lawn sleeves and a stronger passion for popularity, which is very necessary to support the reputation of his Episcopal college;<sup>4</sup> and an I——— P———, who is at the head of the Quaker interest;<sup>5</sup> these three make an interest here which is lukewarm; but are all obliged to lie low for the present.

I am greatly obliged to you for your letters, which contain the most exact accounts we have been able yet to obtain. We are to the last degree anxious to learn even the most minute particulars of every engagement.

I want an exact list of all the officers in our army, if it can possibly be obtained.

I wish I could know exactly what powder you have. We are trying



our possibles to get it; but one would not have conceived it possible that the colonies should have been so supine as they have been.

A large building is setting up here to make saltpetre, and we are about trying what can be done in the tobacco works in Virginia.

This day has been spent in debating a manifesto setting forth the causes of our taking arms. There is some spunk in it. It is ordered to be printed, but will not be done soon enough to be enclosed in this letter.

MS not found; reprinted from *The New York Review, and Atheneum Magazine* 2 (1826): 220–21. Although dated June 5, this letter contains several passages which clearly indicate that it was written in early July.

<sup>1</sup> On July 5, 1775, Congress recommended that Philip Skene be imprisoned in Hartford, Conn. *JCC*, 2:126.

<sup>2</sup> For a further description of Vardill, see John Jay to John Vardill, September 24, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Willing (1731–1821), Philadelphia merchant and partner of Robert Morris, was a member of the Continental Congress, 1775–76. *DAB*. For a similar view, see John Adams to Abigail Adams, July 23, 1775.

<sup>4</sup> William Smith (1727–1803), Anglican minister, teacher and provost of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, assiduously but unsuccessfully sought the post of American bishop. *DAB*.

<sup>5</sup> Israel Pemberton (1715–79), Philadelphia merchant and Quaker leader, was later imprisoned as a loyalist. *DAB*. Pemberton's aggressive role towards Massachusetts during the confrontation between Baptist leaders and the New England delegates to Congress on October 14, 1774, had angered Adams. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:152–54.

## John Hancock to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia July 5th. 1775

Since my last to you by Alexander the Express nothing has Taken place in Congress that particularly Respects your Department.

By Direction of the Congress I now Transmitt you by Mr. Fessenden our Return Express, the Rules & Articles pass'd by Congress for the Government of the Troops under your Command,<sup>1</sup> I wish them safe to hand.

I have not Time to add, but that I am with much Respect, Sir  
Your most Obedt hum servt. John Hancock President

[P.S.] Should you have Occasion for a further Supply of Commissions, please to Inform me & they shall be immediately Transmitted you.

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> On June 30, Congress approved and ordered published a detailed list of "Rules and Regulations" for the Continental Army, which was subsequently printed under the title *Rules and Articles, for the better Government of the Troops Raised, or to*

*be raised, and kept in pay by and at the joint Expence of the Twelve united English Colonies of North-America* (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775). *JCC*, 2:111-23.

## Thomas Jefferson to George Gilmer

[July 5, 1775]

The battle of Charlestown I expect you have heard, but perhaps not so as you may depend on. The provincials sustained two attacks in their trenches, and twice repulsed the ministerial forces, with immense slaughter. The third attack, however, being made with fixed bayonets, the provincials gave ground, retired a little way, and rallied ready for their enemy; but they, having been pretty roughly handled, did not choose to pursue. We lost between 60 and 70 killed, and about 150 wounded. The enemy had 1400 killed and wounded, of whom were about 500 killed. Major Pitcairn was among the slain; an event at which every one rejoices, as he was the commanding-officer at Lexington, first fired his own piece, and gave command to fire. On our side doctor Warren fell, a man immensely valued to the north. The New Englanders are fitting out privateers, with which they expect to be able to scour the seas and bays of every thing below ships of war; and may probably go to the European coasts, to distress the British trade there. The enterprising genius and intrepidity of these people are amazing. They are now intent on burning Boston, in order to oust the regulars; and none are more eager for it than those who have escaped out, and who have left their whole property in it: So that, their rage has got the better of every interested principle.

Nobody now entertains a doubt but that we are able to cope with the whole force of Great Britain, if we are but willing to exert ourselves. It will indeed be expensive, extremely expensive; but people must lay aside views of building up fortunes during these troubles, and set apart a good proportion of their income to secure the rest. As our enemies have found we can reason like men, so now let us show them we can fight like men also. The government of Pennsylvania have raised £35,000 to put their country in a posture of defence. There appear to be as many soldiers here as men. Powder is the great want, and towards having plenty of that nothing is wanting but salt-petre.

The Congress have directed 20,000 men to be raised immediately, the greater part of which is already raised. Two millions of dollars also are voted. This is all I am at liberty to tell of their proceedings. As to the time of their rising, it is totally beyond conjecture, expresses after expresses daily coming from the northward; and the machinations of the *people in office*, on other parts of the continent, keep us

from making any progress in the main business. At the same time, such an impatience for home seems to possess us all, that nothing keeps the Congress together but the visible certainty that, till our military proceedings are got into a good train, their separation would endanger the common cause greatly. If things cannot be got into such a state soon as they may be left, we must petition to be exchanged, for fresh hands, that we may return to our families.

P.S. After folding up my letter, we received an account, from an undoubted hand, that the mortality among the wounded regulars has been so great, that the killed on the spot, and those who have died of their wounds, make up 1000. The reason of this is, that they have been long confined to salt provisions, having not so much as a vegetable, a drop of milk, or even any fresh meat.

MS not found; reprinted from Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:185–86, where the recipient and the reply to this letter are also discussed.

## Virginia Delegate to Unknown

[Philadelphia, July 5, 1775]

The last accounts from Boston, and which are pretty Authentick, inform us, that Gage lost in the late battle, of killed upon the spot, and since dead of their wounds, 1000 men, and that 500 are ill in the hospital of their wounds. General Howe is not killed, as was supposed; but there is the greatest reason to believe General Burgoyne is among the slain, as he has certainly not been seen since the battle. In Boston, they give out, that he is gone home.

Another battle is soon expected; and our people say, they are ready to give a good account of the enemy. We have not the smallest appearance yet of the Congress rising. On the contrary, business multiplies on us every day; And many insist, that we shall not rise whilst the armies keep the field.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), July 21, 1775, "Supplement." The extract follows another unidentified Virginia delegate letter, dated June 30, 1775, and appears under the heading: "*Extract of another letter, from the same gentleman, dated Philadelphia, July 5.*"

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dear Sir

Phyladelphia July 6. 1775

I have at last the Pleasure of acknowledging your Favour of the 26 June. I have mourned, week after week, the loss of all my old Corre-

spondents, in a Course of Time when they were of more Consequence to me and to my Errand, than ever. What is become of Tudor? Where is Tudor? Is he gone to England? Is he sick? Is he afraid to write? Is he gone into the Army, and become so intent on War with his Enemies, as to forget his Friends? These were Questions very often in our Mouths.

But the Past shall be forgiven upon Condition, that you keep an exact Journal of occurrences from day to day for the future and transmit it to me by every opportunity.

We have Spent this whole Day in debating Paragraph by Paragraph, a Manifesto as some call it, or a Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of our taking up Arms.<sup>1</sup> It will be printed Tomorrow, and shall be transmitted as Soon as possible. It has Some Mercury in it, and is pretty frank, plain, and clear. If Lord North dont compliment every Mothers Son of us, with a Bill of Attainder, in Exchange for it, I shall think it owing to Fear.

Surely, upon the Same Principle that he has ordered or suffered Gage, to proclaim Adams and Hancock unpardonable, he must order all of Us to be declared so—for all have now gone further than they ever did.

The military Spirit in this City, would agreeably Surprise you. It breaks out into a great Variety of Forms—Rifle Men, Indians, Light Infantry, light Horse, Highlanders, with their Plaid and Bag Pipes, and German Hussars.

This Morning a Person came to the Door of the State House where the Congress Sitts, in all his Pontificalibus. I went out to see him. His Errand was to shew us the Dress, and Armour of a German Hussar. A Stout Man, with an high large Cap on his Head, with a Streamer flowing from it down to his Waistband: a deaths Head painted on the Front of it. A large Hussar Cloak, ornamented with gold Cord, Lace, and Fringe. A Scarlet Waist coat underneath, with gold Button holes and yellow Mettal Buttons, double breasted—a light Musquet, Slung over his shoulder, and a Turkish Sabre or Scymetar by his side, longer, better fortified and more conveniently shaped than our Highland broad Sword. His Horse, well bridled, Saddled—Pistals in gold Holsters. An active Fellow, Slinging his Musket and Sabre about and mounting with great agility—taken all together the most formidable military Figure, I ever Saw.

It Seems he has a great Inclination to See, Burgoines, light Horse. He tells us, he can inlist immediately 50 or 60, German Veterans who have long Served in Germany, and are as desirous of going in the Character of Hussars, or Troopers, as he is.<sup>2</sup>

This would Set before our New England People, a fine Example for their Imitation: But what is of more Moment, it would engage the Affections of the Germans, of whom there are many in N. York,



Pensylvania, Maryland and other Colonies, more intensely in the Cause of America. What will be done, I know not. Let me intreat you, as you love your Country, and your Friend write me by every opportunity. My Compliments to your Father and Mother and all Friends.

John Adams

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>See *JCC*, 2:127-57. The authorship and the evolution of the text of the "Declaration" has been discussed at length in Julian P. Boyd, "The Disputed Authorship of the Declaration on the Causes and Necessity for Taking Up Arms, 1775," *PMHB* 74 (January 1950): 51-73; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:187-219.

<sup>2</sup>For further comments on this incident, see Adams' second letter to James Warren this date.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir

Phyladelphia June [*i.e.* July] 6th. 1775

Every Line I receive from you, gives me great Pleasure, and is of vast Use to me in the public Cause. Your Letters were very usefull to me last Fall. Your Character became thus known, as much esteemed. The few Letters I have recd from you this Time, have increased the Desire of more, and Some other Gentlemen who happened to know you, particularly Governor Hopkins and Ward of Rhode Island have confirmed every good opinion which had been formed. I must intreat you to omit no opportunity of Writing and to be as particular as possible.

Want of frequent Communication and particular Intelligence led us into the unfortunate Arrangement of General officers, which is likely to do so much Hurt. We never recd the most distant Intimation of any Design to new model your Army; and indeed Some of Us, were obliged to give up our own Judgments meerly from Respect to what We took to be the Arrangement of our provincial Congress. I have made it my Business ever Since I heard of this Error, to wait upon Gentn. of the Congress at their Lodgings, and else where to let them into the secret and contrive a Way to get out of the Difficulty, which I hope we shall effect.<sup>1</sup>

I rejoice to hear of the great military Virtues and Abilities of General Thomas.

Alas poor Warren! Dulce et decorum est pro Patria mori. Yet I regret his Appointment to such a Command. For God Sake my Friend let us be upon Guard, against too much Admiration of our greatest Friends. President of the Congress, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, Major General and Chief Surgeon of the Army, was too much for Mortal, and This accumulation of Admiration upon one Gentleman, which among the Hebrews was called Idolatry, has

deprivd us forever of the Services of one of our best and ablest Men. We have not a sufficient Number of such Men left to be prodigal of their Lives in future.

Every Brain is at Work to get Powder and salt Petre. I hope We shall Succeed: but We must be very Oeconomical of that Article. We must not use large Cannon, if We can possibly avoid it.

This Letter will go by two fighting Quakers. Mr Stephen Collins [and John] Kaighn. The first is the most hospitable benevolent [man] alive. He is a Native of Lynn—a Brother of Ezra Collins of Boston, &—is rich, and usefull here. The last has been the Instrument of raising a Quaker Company in this City, who behave well, and look beautifully in their Uniforms.

My Love, Duty, Respect &c where due. Adieu      John Adams

[P.S.] Secret and confidential, as the Saying is.<sup>2</sup>

The Congress is not yet So much alarmed as it ought to be. There are Still hopes, that Ministry and Parliament will immediately recede as Soon as they hear of the Battle of Lexington, the Spirit of New York & Phyladelphia, the Permanency of the Union of the Colonies &c: I think they are much deceived and that We shall have nothing but Deceit and Hostility, Fire, Famine, Pestilence and Sword, from Administration and Parliament. Yet the Colonies like all Bodies of Men must and will have their Way and their Humour, and even their Whims.

These opinions of Some Colonies which are founded I think in their Wishes and Passions, their Hopes and Fears, rather than in Reason and Evidence will give a whimsical Cast to the Proceedings of this Congress. You will see a Strange Oscilation between Love and Hatred, between War and Peace. Preparations for War, and Negotiations for Peace. We must have a Petition to the King and a delicate Proposal of Negotiation &c. This Negotiation I dread like Death. But it must be proposed. We cant avoid it. Discord and total Disunion would be the certain Effect of a resolute Refusal to petition and negotiate.<sup>3</sup> My Hopes are that Ministry will be afraid of Negotiation as well as We, and therefore refuse it. If they agree to it, We shall have occasion for all our Wit, Vigilance and Virtue to avoid being deceived, wheedled, threatened or bribed out of our Freedom.

If we Strenously insist upon our Liberties, as I hope and am pretty sure We shall, however, a Negotiation, if agreed to, will terminate in Nothing. It will effect nothing. We may possibly gain Time and Powder and Arms.

You will see an Address to the People of G. Britain, another to those of Ireland, and another to Jamaica.

You will also see a Spirited Manifesto. We ought immediately to dissolve all Ministerial Tyrannies, and Custom houses, set up Governments of our own, like that of Connecticutt in all the Colonies,

and confederate together like an indissoluble Band, for mutual defence and open our Ports to all Nations immediately. This is the system that your Friend has aimed at promoting from first to last; But the Colonies are not yet ripe for it. A Bill of Attainder, &c may soon ripen them.

RC (MHi). Adams had mistakenly written June in the dateline, but the contents of the letter indicate that it was written in July.

<sup>1</sup> John Thomas (1724–76) threatened to resign when William Heath, his junior in the Massachusetts service, was ranked above him in the brigadier generals' list. On July 19, Congress promoted Thomas to Seth Pomeroy's spot as first brigadier general. *JCC*, 2:191; Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), pp. 295, 304–6, 753–54; and *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Adams wrote this postscript in a small hand, in a narrow column of a separate sheet of paper, and enclosed it with the larger letter to Warren.

<sup>3</sup> Adams recalled these divisions in his autobiography, where his most bitter comments centered on the Petition to the King. "This Measure of Imbecility, the second Petition to the King embarrassed every Exertion of Congress: it occasioned Motions and debates without End for appointing Committees to draw up a declaration of the Causes, Motives, and Objects of taking Arms, with a view to obtain decisive declarations against Independence &c. In the Mean time the New England Army investing Boston, the New England Legislatures, Congresses and Conventions, and the whole Body of the People, were left, without Munitions of War, without Arms, Cloathing, Pay or even Countenance and Encouragement." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:321.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dr sir

Phyladelphia June [*i.e.* July] 6th 1775

I have this Moment Sealed a Letter to you which is to go by my hospitable, honest, benevolent Friend Stephen Collins. But, I have several Particulars to mention to you, which are omitted in that Letter. Ten Companies of expert Riflemen have been ordered already, from the 3 Colonies of P[ennsylvania], M[aryland], & V[irginia]. Some of them have marched, under excellent officers. We are told by Gentlemen here that these Riflemen are Men of Property and Family, some of them of independent Fortunes, who go from the purest Motives of Patriotism and Benevolence into this service. I hope they will have Justice done them and Respect shewn them by our People of every Rank and order. I hope also that our People will learn from them the Use of that excellent Weapon a Rifled barrell'd Gun.

A few Minutes past, a curious Phenomenon appeared at the Door of our Congress. A German Hussar, a veteran in the Wars of Germany, in his Uniform, and on Horse back, a forlorn Cap upon his Head, with a Streamer waiving from it half down to his Waistband, with a Deaths Head painted in Front a beautiful Hussar Cloak orna-

mented with Lace and Fringe and Cord of Gold, a Scarlet Waist coat under it, with shining yellow metal Buttons—a Light Gun strung over his shoulder—and a Turkish Sabre, much Superiour to an high Land broad Sword, very large and excellently fortified by his side—Holsters and Pistols upon his Horse—In short the most warlike and formidable Figure, I ever saw.

He says he has fifty Such Men ready to inlist under him immediately who have been all used to the service as Hussars in Germany, and desirous to ride to Boston immediately in order to see Burgoinnes light Horse. This would have a fine Effect upon the Germans through the Continent, of whom there are Multitudes. What will be done is yet uncertain.<sup>1</sup> I should not myself be fond of raising many Soldiers out of N England. But the other Colonies are more fond of sending Men than I expected. They have their Reasons, Some plausible, Some whimsical. They have a Secret Fear, a Jealousy, that New England will soon be full of Veteran Soldiers, and at length conceive Designs unfavourable to the other Colonies. This may be justly thought whimsical. But others Say, that by engaging their own Gentlemen and Peasants and Germans &c they shall rivet their People to the public Cause. This has more weight in it. But that it may have this Effect it is necessary that all who shall be sent, be respectfully treated.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Warren saw to the publication of Adams' story of the German Hussar. *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, July 24, 1775; and *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester), August 2, 1775. On July 11, Congress authorized the Pennsylvania delegates "to treat with and employ 50 Hussars" but later reconsidered and rescinded their decision on August 1. *JCC*, 2:173, 238.

## Samuel Adams to Artemas Ward

Dear Sir

Philada. July 6 1775

I beg leave to recommend to your Notice the officers in general serving in the Companies of rifle men raising here for the Service of the Army and particularly Lt Burd, Lt Connor & Lt Scull who are mentiond to me by Gentlemen upon whose Judgment I can rely as officers of mine. You are sensible that the Union of the Colonies depends much upon cultivating friendship & Harmony between the Gentl. of the Army & their Care of the different Colonies. Wishing you Health Happiness and a still greater Share of Laurels I am in great Sincerity yours Affectionately

Saml Adams

[P.S.] Pray make my Complimts to General Heath and the rest of our friends and ask the same favor for me of them.



RC (MHi) .

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 6, 1775]

Thursday At Congress, rode up to GermanTown. Mr. Kirkland arrived & was examined before the Congress.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Kirkland (1741–1808), a missionary among the Oneida Indians, assisted Congress in preparation for a “talk” with the Six Nations and was later instrumental in securing their declaration of neutrality. *DAB*. See John Adams to James Warren, July 10, 1775; Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, July 28, 1775; and *JCC*, 2:172–73, 186–87. Kirkland’s powerful position among the Oneidas is discussed in detail in Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), pp. 34–47.

## Silas Deane to Titus Hosmer

Sir

Philadelphia July 6th 1775

This will be handed you<sup>1</sup> by Governor Skene, who is by order of Congress to reside for the present, at Middletown, or Wethersfield, with such Liberties as to Governor Trumbull shall appear proper.<sup>2</sup> At Philadelphia he had Eight Miles allowed him round the City to take his exercise in at Pleasure.

I think he might be allowed Hartford, Wethersfield, and Middletown to choose his residence in. It probably will not be of Long Continuance, and I have assured him and the Gentlemen with him, that they will meet with no personal insult or injury but with every civility their situation will admit of. Their Expences will be reimbursed by the Continent. I am with Compliments to all Friends Dear Sir your most Obed Huml Servant

Silas Deane

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> Titus Hosmer (1737–80), Middletown, Conn., lawyer, a member of the Connecticut assembly, 1773–78, and a delegate to Congress in 1778, had been elected with Deane, Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Jonathan Sturges to represent Connecticut in Congress in 1775 but did not attend. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> See John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, July 6, 1775; and *JCC*, 2:126–27.

## Silas Deane to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia July 6th 1775

Yours inclosing the Onyda Speech We received the 5th and the

same, together with yours to the President were read in Congress.<sup>1</sup>

We fondly hope the Arrangement of the General Officers will be agreeable tho our Colony Orders were broke in upon in consequence of the heigh Opinion, which the Congress entertained of General Putnams Service & Zeal. The Congress will not proceed further in appointing Officers, or ordering the exact Number of Men untill they have the State of the Army laid before them which will be done immediately on the Generals Arrival.

A Continental Battallion is to Consist of 1 Colonel, 1 Lieut Colonel, 1 Major, 8 Captains, 16 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quarter Mastir, 1 Chaplain, 1 Surgeon, 1 Mate, 32 Sergeants, 32 Corporals, 16 Drummers, & 554 Privates. In Consequence of this the Colony will be intituled to a Larger Number of Officers which We conceive the Assembly should nominate immediately, as General Washington has with him blank Commissions to fill up according to the several Nomination[s], of the Assemblies or Congresses, on the Continent. As to our raising more men, We can give no Advice, untill We hear from the Genl, who has orders, not to Dismiss any of the Troops now raised untill further Orders.

The President writes to you, on Gover Skeens Acct. who with Mr Lundy are sent at the expence of the Continent to reside in Connecticut for the present under your Honors limitations & directions. Mr Skeen is desirous of residing at Wethersfield or Middletown in which we have told him, Your honor will indulge him as also in permitting the Servants, he has with him, of going to Labor, on his Estate, if needed. It is unnecessary at present, to give the particular motives for sending them Northward. Mr Skeen will be nearer his Estate and Family & his Parole equally binding.

We hope the Continental emission will soon be out, when you will be refunded the Monies advanced Genl Schuyler.

There are two Powder Mills near this City which when in Stock, can make about Fifteen hundred per Week & the Congress are making the most effectual preparation for supplying the Continent with every necessary Article for Defence. The sample of Salt Petre was very good and will inquire as to Sulphur. Experiments are making to strike out a plan for procuring any requisit Quantity of Salt Petre and Powder with the progress of which We hope soon to acquaint you, and with the arrival of a large Supply Daily expected. A Quantity has been sent from this City, by Land, for the Camp and for Ticonderoga, at which place, Gen Schuyler will Command. Indian Affairs have engrossed much of our Attention, and general Regulations will soon take place, with respect to them. After compleating some of the general Matters now before Us, it is probable there will be an Adjournment to New Haven or Hartford.

The Army will soon be recruited by near One thousand Rifle Men.

Whether they will want more, or Not you will be the best Judges but we fear that the Congress will not think of taking more into pay from Connecticut than Six Thousand. We should think that a Draught of Minute Men, to be under immediately on Marching would be a good Regulation, and what will undoubtedly be agreeable to the Congress. Those provinces are now at a great expence with their Militia, and this in perticular their Assembly have come into resolutions (which we will procure, and send you in Our Next) for putting this Province, into the best possible state of Defence. There is nothing from London than the 24th of May.

With the greatest truth, and regard, Subscribe for my Self and Colleagues, Your honors most Obedient and Very humble Servant

Silas Deane

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> The reading of Trumbull's letters is not recorded in the journals.

## John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia July 6th, 1775

The Congress have thought proper to Order Philip Skene Esqr. Lieutenant Govr. of Crown Point and Ticonderoga together with one Mr. [ ] Lundy who appear to have intentions Inimical to the Liberty of America, to be sent to Hartford in your Colony, there to be confined on their Parole within such limits as your honor shall point out to them.<sup>1</sup>

The Safety of America requiring that these men Should not be suffered to go at large the Congress rely on your Honour, that you will take Measures to have the Orders of Congress Strictly Observed.

It is left to you, Sir to settle what may be allowd for their support & expences, while they are in confinement for the payment of which the Congress will provide.

By order Congress I am Sr Your obedient humbbl Servant

John Hancock President

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:126-27.

## Henry Middleton to Arthur Middleton

My dear Son,

Philadelphia July 6th. 1775.

I have just time to acquaint you<sup>1</sup> that I have sent under the care of

Mr. Daniel Tucker, who tells me he shall embark in about an hour in a Schooner bound to George Town, two packages containing the Number of pieces of woollens mentioned in the enclosed paper, which I have bought for cloathing your Uncles Negroes. The Stuffs are not so good as I could wish them to be; and as they are much narrower than Negro cloth, will come rather high; but they will make a very good shift, and I thought it was better to purchase them, than let the Negroes suffer of want of cloathing. Mr. Tucker will forward them to Charles Town to Cap Blake, and I beg You will desire him to send them to Mr. Dupont as soon as he can meet with an Opportunity, after they come to hand.

We do not know that any thing material has happened in the Massachusetts since the 17th ultimo. The Regulars suffered almost incredibly in the Engagement which happened on that day, for I believe it is pretty certain that they lost in the field of battle not less than thirty officers, and upwards of six hundred privates; and that they had upwards of fifty Officers and not less than six hundred privates wounded. General How it is said was amongst the latter and that he is since dead; but this report seems to want confirmation. General Gage has received a considerable reinforcement since the Engagement, but as the regulars have had so severe a drubbing, we are afraid they will not be prevailed upon to face the provincials again soon.

I purpose to set out on Saturday for New York, in order to see my friend Mr. Fenwicke, who Mr. Huger tells me is in a confirmed dropsy and is given over by the physicians, who attend him. I am really under much concern for poor Mrs. Fenwicke and greatly pity her Situation. I understand that he knows nothing yet of his Son Ned's being married to Miss Stuart; and as he has left him only an annuity in Case such a match should take place, I intend to break it to him and try whether I cannot persuade him to make an alteration in his Will in Ned's favour; and I hope he will not carry his resentment to the grave with him.

Mr. Tucker waits and therefore I must conclude my Letter; I need not tell you that I have wrote it in a hurry. Remember me affectionately to my Daughter and the Children, and to your Brother and Sisters & to Mr. Drayton & Mr. Pinckney. I am, Your truly affecn.  
 Father  
 Henry Middleton

P.S. I have enclosed you the Captain's receipt for the packages.

RC (SchI).

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Middleton (1742-85), South Carolina planter, was at this time a member of the Charleston Secret Committee and later a delegate to Congress, 1776-77, 1781-82. *DAB*.



## New York Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress

Gentlemen

Philadelphia, 6 July, 1775

We have the honour of your Favour of the 29th of June accompanying your Plan and Proceedings respecting an Accommodation with the parent state.<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be more interesting or acceptable to us than a Communication of the Sentiments and wishes of our worthy Constituents on this most important Subject: and while we applaud the wisdom of your Decisions, we beg you to be assured that they shall command our most earnest and respectful Attention.

Deeply sensible of the Calamities of a civil war, we have nothing more at Heart than to be instrumental in compromising this unnatural Quarrel between the two Countries, on the solid Basis of mutual Justice and constitutional Liberty; and the most strenuous Efforts on our part shall be exerted with unremitting Ardour to accomplish this salutary Purpose.

We acknowledge with the utmost Gratitude the Deference you are pleased to pay to our Judgment, and your Delicacy in leaving us unrestrained in a point, of all others the most essential to yourselves and your Posterity, to the Continent of America and the whole british Empire; and happy shall we esteem ourselves if in the Discharge of this difficult and arduous trust we shall merit your Approbation and the Confidence of our Country. We have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect. Gentlemen Your most obedient huml servants,

Henry Wisner

Phil. Livingston

Wm Floyd

Jas. Duane

John Jay

Robt R Livingston Junr

John Alsop

8th July 1775

P.S. We have unanimously agreed to be silent on that article in the plan of accommodation which asserts, "*That no earthly legislature or tribunal ought or can of Right interfere or interpose in any wise howsoever in the religious and ecclesiastical Concerns of the Colonies.*" As the Inhabitants of the Continent are happily united in a political Creed, we are of opinion that it would be highly imprudent to run the Risque of dividing them by the Introduction of Disputes foreign to the present Controversy; especially as the Discussion of them can be attended with no one single advantage. They are Points about which Mankind will forever differ and therefore should always, and at least in Times like these be kept out of Sight. We are the more confirmed in these Sentiments by this Circumstance. That

both this & the former Congress have cautiously avoided the least Hint on Subjects of this Kind, all the Members concurring in a Desire of burrying all Disputes on ecclesiastical Points which have for Ages had no other Tendency than that of banishing Peace & Charity from the World.

Lewis Morris

Henry Wisner

Robt R Livingston junr

Phil. Livingston

John Alsop

Jas. Duane

Frans. Lewis

John Jay

Wm. Floyd

N.B. The other Delegates are absent.

RC (N). Body of letter written by Duane and signed by Duane, Alsop, Floyd, Jay, Philip Livingston, Robert R. Livingston, Jr., and Wisner. Postscript written by Jay and signed, in addition to Jay and the other delegates already mentioned, by Francis Lewis and Lewis Morris. *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:16-17. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> For the texts of the New York Provincial Congress' plan of accommodation and its covering letter to the New York delegates, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1326-27, 1329.

## Robert Treat Paine to John Thomas

Dear Sir

Philada. July 6th. 1775

Mr. Stephen Collins the Bearer hereof a worthy Citizen here & a freind of mankind, being about to visit your Camp deserves some Credentials of his great merit, his great kindness to our Country men & Zeal in the common Cause recommends him to notice; Mr. John Kaighn reputable citizen here & promoter of military Skill among the Quakers travels with him.<sup>1</sup>

I hope your Welfare & Success & a full reward for your military Labors & am with great Regard & affection your freind & hble Servt.

R T Paine

RC (PHC). Addressed: "To John Thomas, Esq., Major General of the American Troops near Boston."

<sup>1</sup> Paine wrote similar letters of introduction for Collins and Kaighn to Elbridge Gerry and to Artemas Ward this date. CtY and MH.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence

Philadelphia, 6th July, 1775.

Without a very minute enquiry into the whole it would ill become us to censure or approve the conduct of any person,<sup>1</sup> and therefore shall not take upon us to do either. We have only to say we doubt not you will exert your utmost abilities according to the trust reposed in you to restore and preserve confidence, harmony and affection between all your people. The Assembly taking into consideration the situation of many conscientious people of this Province with respect to arms have on the 30th day of June last, by their recommendation of that date, given to them as well as others advice which we hope all persons will most cheerfully follow.<sup>2</sup>

The Congress and your Assembly greatly to their honour have taken means for the protection of America and this Colony, and we would advise you gentlemen to carry into execution the plans recommended by them, that this colony may unitedly act upon one and the same principle.<sup>3</sup>

Those who contribute will put their money into the hands of a person they shall choose to be paid over to such treasurer as the committee shall appoint for the uses recommended by the Assembly.

We are, gentlemen, Your very humble servants,

John Dickinson      Cha Humphreys

James Wilson      Geo. Ross

Tr (DLC) .

<sup>1</sup> A reference to members of several pacifist sects in the county refusing to bear arms. The letter to which the Pennsylvania delegates are responding has not been found, but the issue of asking Congress' advice on permitting pacifists to make monetary contributions in lieu of bearing arms was discussed at the committee's meeting of July 1, 1775. Minutes of the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence, DLC.

<sup>2</sup> The Assembly's resolutions of June 30, designed to prevent ill feeling between those "conscientiously scrupulous of bearing Arms" and "the Associators for the Defence of their Country," are in *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7245-49.

<sup>3</sup> Congress apparently discussed the role of the German clergy of Pennsylvania on July 4, but Secretary Thomson's entry in the journals on that subject was subsequently lined out, and no other evidence is available indicating that the issue was considered in Congress in 1775. *JCC*, 2:126.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia 6th July 1775

We inclose a Resolution of our Assembly authorising us to recom-

mend proper Officers for the Battalion of Riflemen to be raised in this Province,<sup>1</sup> and a Letter from the Committee of York County, where a Company of an hundred Men has been raised.

We therefore beg Leave to recommend Mr Michael Dowdle for Captain; Mr Henry Miller for first Lieutenant; Mr John Dill for second Lieutenant; and Mr John Matson for third Lieutenant of that Company.

We are, with the greatest Esteem, Sir Your most obedient Servants

John Dickinson      Cha Humphreys

Geo. Ross              James Wilson

RC (NN). Written by Wilson and signed by Wilson, Dickinson, Ross, and Humphreys.

<sup>1</sup> See *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7241.

## Roger Sherman to Joseph Trumbull

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 6th. 1775

I am obliged to you for the kind notice You took of my Son in mentioning to Colo. Dyer that he was well. I have not heard from him Since the Battle at Charles town. When You write again Should be glad You would inform whether he was in that Battle and what Place he Sustains in the Army. I did not know that he was there till You mentioned it. The Congress are very diligent in making every needful provision in their power for the Support of the American Cause at the Same time do not Neglect any probable means for a reconciliation with Great Britain, tho' I have no expectation that administration will be reconciled unless the Colonies submit to their Arbitrary System, or convince them that it is not in their power to carry it into execution. The latter, I hope will soon be done. You have had a bloody Battle, but I think in every encounter through the merciful Interposition of Divine Providence the advantage has been much in our favour. The people here Seem as Spirited in the Cause as in New England. Many of the Quakers as well as others have armed themselves and are Training every Day. Majr. Mifflin of this City who was a very Useful member of this Congress has before now Joined Your Army as Aid de Camp to General Washington, whom I would recommend to your Notice as an upright, firm, Spirited and Active Friend in the Cause of Liberty. The Congress has agreed on articles for regulating the Army not much differing from those Established by the New England Colonies except the addition of a few, and a more particular limitation of the discretionary powers given to Courts Martial.<sup>1</sup> Ships are frequently arriving here from London but bring no important News. I want to know what measures the ministry



will take after hearing of the Battle at Concord & Lexington; if they dont relax, but order reinforcements, I hope every Colony will take Government fully into their own hands until matters are Settled. I have nothing to acquaint you with of the doings of the Congress but what you will hear of before this comes to hand. I Should be glad if you would write to me when you have leisure. We want as circumstantial an account as may be of occurrences there. When we hear of numbers wounded we want to know whether dangerously, or Slightly &c. Your accounts have been the most particular that I have seen. I Should be glad if you would mention my sons State of health when you write to me or Colo. Dyer. I wish this Congress would adjourn nearer the great Scene of action and am not without Expectations that it will. I am Sir Your Friend & humble Servant.

Roger Sherman

RC (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> Congress adopted these articles on June 30. *JCC*, 2:111-23.

## Samuel Ward to Henry Ward

Dear Brother

Philadelphia 6th July 1775

Mr. Collins by whom you'll receive this, is a Relation of our Friend John Collins. He is a Man of Fortune & Character & most warmly attached to his Country. I therefore recommend him most heartily to You and the other Gentlemen in Providence.

"Several Gentlemen in this City have Letters from London, of about the Middle of May; they generally agree that all Petitions, Remonstrances, &c. will be to no Purpose. The Congress however have determined to petition the King once more, under the Idea, that if it should be rejected, those moderate People who now keep back will, when they find no Hopes but in the Success of a War, most heartily unite with Us in prosecuting it eff[ectu]ally. Another Address to the People of England is also determined upon. It is proposed to send this by Mr. Richd. Penn, the late Govr. of this Province, who sails the latter End of this Week. This Gentn. is a sincere Friend to his Country, a Man of good Sense & Firmness, and determined to speak with the same Freedom at home which he uses here."<sup>1</sup>

You will see in the Papers a Resolution that the fishery & restraining Acts are unconstitutional &c.<sup>2</sup> Many were for stoping Trade 20th. July entirely but it was said that as the Merchts. had made Contracts & ordered their affairs so as to carry on Trade to 10th Sepr. it would be a greater Damage to this Country to stop Trade immediately than to G. Britain. Upon this Principle the Resolution was so formed that those who chuse to continue in Trade to the 10th

Sepr. may do it.

The Loss sustained by our Troops at Charleston is not so great as We at first apprehended. I was afraid when I wrote They had received an entire Defeat and thank God it is not so: I find however by the Depy. Govr. Letter that the Colony is again called upon for Men. I had the Letter read in Congress. One of the same Import from Govr. Trumbull was read also But the Petition to the King & Address to the People postponed the Consideration of them but I doubt not but the Conduct of the Colony will be approved.

We flatter Ourselves here that the Presence of our new Generals will establish good Order in and give Vigor to the whole Army. "Some measures have been taken for getting a Supply of Powder, & others are in Contemplation, & the Powder Mills are going in Virginia, this Province & New York. In the first mentioned Province a Mill makes 100 [. . .] per Week from Salt petre and Sulphur of their own manufacture, & it is expected much larger Quantities will soon be made."

I have not had the Pleasure of a Letter from You a long Time. I know you are not very well & are much hurried but if possible do find Time to write to Me once a Week & communicate every Thing which you think may be of Service to your Country or agreeable to Your most affectionate Brother.<sup>3</sup>

Sam Ward

RC (RH*i*).

<sup>1</sup> Ward wrote in the margin, "Set what is marked." The whole of this and part of the fifth paragraph, both enclosed in quotation marks, were intended by Ward for publication in Rhode Island. They appeared in the *Newport Mercury*, July 17, 1775, under the title "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia, dated July 6," and subsequently were reprinted in several other American newspapers.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 2:125.

<sup>3</sup> Ward also wrote personal letters this day to his son Samuel and to his daughter Mary. Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg), pp. 59-62.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

Philadelphia July 7. 1775

I have received your very agreeable Favours of June 22d and 25th. They contain more particulars than any Letters I had before received from any Body.

It is not at all surprizing to me that the wanton, cruel, and infamous Conflagration of Charlestown, the Place of your Fathers Nativity, should afflict him. Let him know that I sincerely condole with him, on that melancholly Event. It is a Method of conducting War long since become disreputable among civilized Nations: But every Year brings us fresh Evidence, that We have nothing to hope for

from our loving Mother Country, but Cruelties more abominable than those which are practiced by the Savage Indians.

The account you give me of the Numbers slain on the side of our Enemies, is affecting to Humanity, altho it is a glorious Proof of the Bravery of our Worthy Countrymen. Considering all the Disadvantages under which they fought, they really exhibited Prodigies of Valour.

Your Description of the Distresses of the worthy Inhabitants of Boston, and the other Sea Port Towns, is enough to melt an Heart of stone. Our Consolation must be this, my dear, that Cities may be rebuilt, and a People reduced to Poverty, may acquire fresh Property: But a Constitution of Government once changed from Freedom, can never be restored. Liberty once lost is lost forever. When the People once surrender their share in the Legislature, and their Right of defending the Limitations upon the Government, and of resisting every Encroachment upon them, they can never regain it.

The Loss of Mr. Mathers Library, which was a Collection, of Books and Manuscripts made by himself, his Father, his Grandfather, and Greatgrandfather, and was really very curious and valuable, is irreparable.

The Family picture you draw is charming indeed. My dear Nabby, Johnny, Charly and Tommy, I long to see you, and to share with your Mamma the Pleasures of your Conversation.

I feel myself much obliged to Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Wibirt, and the two Families you mention, for their Civilities to you. My Compliments to them. Does Mr. Wibirt preach against Oppression, and the other Cardinal Vices of the Times? Tell him the Clergy here, of every Denomination, not excepting the Episcopalian, thunder and lighten every sabbath. They pray for Boston and the Massachusetts—they thank God most explicitly and fervently for our remarkable Successes—they pray for the American Army. They seem to feel as if they were among you.

You ask if every Member feels for Us? Every Member says he does—and most of them really do. But most of them feel more for themselves. In every Society of Men, in every Clubb, I ever yet saw, you find some who are timid, their Fears hurry them away upon every Alarm—some who are selfish and avaricious, on whose callous Hearts nothing but Interest and Money can make Impression. There are some Persons in New York and Philadelphia, to whom a ship is dearer than a City, and a few Barrells of flower, than a thousand Lives—other Mens Lives I mean.

You ask, can they realize what We suffer? I answer No. They cant, they dont—and to excuse them as well as I can, I must confess I should not be able to do it, myself, if I was not more acquainted with it by Experience than they are.

I am grieved for Dr. Tufts's ill Health: but rejoiced exceedingly at his virtuous Exertions in the Cause of his Country.

I am happy to hear that my Brothers were at Grape Island and behaved well. My Love to them, and Duty to my Mother.

It gives me more Pleasure than I can express to learn that you sustain with so much Fortitude, the Shocks and Terrors of the Times. You are really brave, my dear, you are an Heroine. And you have Reason to be. For the worst that can happen, can do you no Harm. A soul, as pure, as benevolent, as virtuous and pious as yours has nothing to fear, but every Thing to hope and expect from the last of human Evils.

Am glad you have secured an Assylum, tho I hope you will not have occasion for it.

Love to Brother Cranch and sister and the Children.

There is an amiable, ingenious Hussy, named Betsy Smith, for whom I have a very great Regard. Be pleased to make my Love acceptable to her, and let her know, that her elegant Pen cannot be more usefully employed than in Writing Letters to her Brother at Phyladelphia, tho it may more agreeably in writing Billet doux to young Gentlemen.

The other Day, after I had received a Letter of yours, with one or two others, Mr. William Barrell desired to read them. I put them into his Hand, and the next Morning had them returned in a large Bundle packed up with two great Heaps of Pins, with a very polite Card requesting Portias Acceptance of them. I shall bring them with me [when] I return: But when that will be is uncertain. I hope not more than a Month hence.

I have really had a very disagreeable Time of it. My Health and especially my Eyes have been so very bad, that I have not been so fit for Business as I ought, and if I had been in perfect Health, I should have had in the present Condition of my Country and my Friends, no Taste for Pleasure. But Dr. Young has made a kind of Cure of my Health and Dr. Church of my Eyes.

Have received two kind Letters from your Unkle Smith—do thank him for them—I shall forever love him for them. I love every Body that writes to me.

I am forever yours.

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:241–43.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 7, 1775]

Friday 7th. At Congress still on petition.<sup>1</sup>



MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup>According to the journals, the address to the inhabitants of Great Britain was considered this day. The second petition to the king was approved and ordered engrossed July 5 and was signed July 8. *JCC*, 2:127, 157-58.

## John Dickinson to Arthur Lee

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia July 7th 1775

The enclos'd will convince You how Affairs stand in America.<sup>1</sup>

I am Sir, your Affectionate friend.

*(John Dickinson)*

[P.S.] The Bearer Dr. Hutchinson, a worthy young Gentleman of this place, can give You a Detail of the several Engagements at Boston &c.<sup>2</sup>

As several Copies of the Decl[arati]on are gone by this Ship with several Errors in them, it may be proper to have the inclos'd put first into the Press.

RC (MH) . In the hand of John Dickinson; signature inked out.

<sup>1</sup>Apparently a copy of the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms.

<sup>2</sup>Undoubtedly James Hutchinson (1752-93), Philadelphia physician, who went to England at this time to complete his medical studies under Dr. John Fothergill of London. *DAB*.

## Benjamin Franklin to Jonathan Shipley

Philada July 7. 1775

I received with great Pleasure my dear Friends very kind Letter of April 19, as it informed me of his Welfare, and that of the amiable Family in Jermyn Street. I am much obliged by the Information of what passed in Parliament after my departure; in return I will endeavor to give you a short Sketch of the State of Affairs here.

I found at my arrival all America from one End of the 12 united Provinces to the other, busily employed in learning the Use of Arms. The Attack upon the Country People near Boston by the Army had rous'd every Body, & exasperated the whole Continent. The Tradesmen of this City were in the Field twice a day, at 5 in the Morning, and Six in the Afternoon, disciplining with the utmost Diligence, all being Volunteers. We have now three Battalions, a Troop of Light Horse, and a company of Artillery, who have made surprizing Progress. The same Spirit appears every where and the Unanimity is amazing.

The day after my Arrival, I was unanimously chosen by our Assembly then sitting, an additional Delegate to the Congress, which met the next Week. The numerous Visits of old Friends, and the publick Business has since devoured all my time: for we meet at nine in the Morning, and often sit 'till four. I am also upon a Committee of Safety appointed by the Assembly, which meets at Six, and sits 'till near nine. The Members attend closely without being bribed to it by either Salary Place or Pension, or the hopes of any; which I mention for your Reflection on the difference, between a new virtuous People, who have publick Spirit, and an old corrupt one, who have not so much as an Idea that such a thing exists in Nature. There has not been a dissenting Voice among us in any Resolution for Defence, and our Army which is already formed, will soon consist of above 20,000 Men.

You will have heard before this reaches you of the Defeat the Ministerial Troops met with in their first *Sortie*; the several small Advantages we have since had of them, and the more considerable Affair of the 17th when after two severe Repulses, they carry'd the unfinished Trenches of the Post we had just taken on a Hill near Charlestown. They suffered greatly however, and I believe are convinc'd by this time, that they have Men to deal with, tho' unexperienced, and not yet well arm'd. In their way to this Action without the least Necessity they barbarously plundered & burnt a fine, undefended Town, opposite to Boston, called Charlestown, consisting of about 400 Houses, many of them elegantly built; some sick, aged and decrepit poor Persons, who could not be carried off in time perish'd in the Flames. In all our Wars, from our first settlement in America, to the present time, we never received so much damage from the Indian *Savages* as in this one day from these. Perhaps Ministers may think this a Means of disposing us to Reconciliation. I feel and see every where the Reverse.<sup>1</sup> Most of the little Property I have, consists of Houses in the Seaport Towns, which I suppose may all, soon be destroyed in the same way and yet I think I am not half so reconcilable now, as I was a Month ago.

The Congress will send one more Petition to the King which I suppose will be treated as the former was, and therefore will probably be the last; for tho' this may afford Britain one chance more of recovering our Affections and retaining the Connection, I think she has neither Temper nor Wisdom enough to seize the Golden Opportunity. When I look forward to the Consequences, I see an End to all Commerce between us; on our Sea Coasts She may hold some fortified Places as the Spaniards do on the Coast of Africa, but can penetrate as little into the Country. A very numerous Fleet extending 1500 Miles at an immense Expense may prevent other Nations trading with us: but as we have or may have within ourselves every thing

necessary to the Comfort of Life, & generally import only Luxuries and Superfluities, her preventing our doing that, will in some respects contribute to our Prosperity. By the present Stoppage of our Trade we save between four and five Millions per Annum which will do something towards the Expence of the War. What *she* will get by it, I must leave to be computed by her own political Arithmeticians. These are some of my present Ideas which I throw out to you on the Freedom of Friendship. Perhaps I am too sanguine in my opinion of our Abilities for the Defence of our Country after we shall have given up our Seaports to Destruction; but a little time will shew.

General Gage we understand enter'd into a Treaty with the Inhabitants of Boston, whom he had confin'd by his Works, in which Treaty it was agreed that if they delivered their Arms to the Select Men, their own Magistrates, they were to be permitted to go out with their *Effects*. As soon as they had so delivered their Arms, he seiz'd them and then cavil'd about the meaning of the word *Effects* which he said was only wearing Apparel and Household Furniture, and not Merchandize or Shop Goods which he therefore detains: And the continual Injuries and Insults they met with from the Soldiery, made them glad to get out by relinquishing all that kind of Property. How much those People have suffered, and are now suffering rather than submit to what they think unconstitutional Acts of Parliament is really amazing. Two or three Letters I send you enclosed may give you some, tho' a faint Idea of it. Gage's Perfidy has now made him universally detested. When I consider that all this Mischief is done my Country, by Englishmen and Protestant Christians, of a Nation among whom I have so many personal Friends, I am ashamed to feel any Consolation in a prospect of Revenge; I chuse to draw it rather from a Confidence that we shall sooner or later obtain Reparation. I have proposed therefore to our People that they keep just Accounts, and never resume the Commerce or the Union, 'till Satisfaction is made. If it is refused for 20 Years, I think we shall then be able to take it with Interest.

Your excellent Advice was that if we must have a War, let it be carried on as between Nations who had once been Friends & wish to be so again. In this ministerial War against us, all Europe is conjur'd not to sell us Arms or Amunition, that we may be found defenceless, & more easily murdered. The humane Sir W. Draper, who had been hospitably entertain'd in every one of our Colonies, proposes, in his Papers call'd the Traveller,<sup>2</sup> to excite the Domestic Slaves, you have sold us, to cut their Master's Throats. Dr. Johnson a Court Pensioner, in his *Taxation no Tyranny* adopts and recommends that Measure, together with another of hiring the Indian Savages to assassinate our Planters in the Back Settlements. They are the poorest & most innocent of all People; and the Indian manner is to murder and scalp

Men Women & Children. This Book I heard applauded by Lord Sandwich in Parliament, and all the ministerial People recommend it. Lord Dunmore & Governor Martin have already, we are told, taken some steps towards carrying one part of the Project into Execution, by exciting an Insurrection among the Blacks. And Governor Carleton, we have certain Accounts, has been very industrious in engaging the Indians to begin their horrid Work. This is making War like Nations who never had been Friends, and never wish to be such while the World stands. You see I am warm: and if a Temper naturally cool & phlegmatic can, in old age, which often cools the warmest, be thus heated, you will judge by that of the general Temper here, which is now little short of Madness. We have however as yet ask'd no foreign Power to assist us, nor made any offer of our Commerce to other Nations for their Friendship. What another year's Persecution may drive us to, is yet uncertain. I drop this disagreeable subject, and will take up one that I know must afford you and the good Family, as my Friends, some Pleasure. It is the State of my own Family, which I found in good Health; my Children affectionately dutifull & attentive to every thing that can be agreeable to me; with three very promising Grandsons, in whom I take great Delight. So that were it not for our publick Troubles, and the being absent from so many that I love in England, my present Felicity would be as perfect, as in this World one could well expect it. I enjoy however, what there is of it while it lasts, mindfull at the same time that its Continuance is like other earthly Goods, uncertain. Adieu my dear Friend, and believe me ever, with sincere & great Esteem Yours most Affectionately

B Franklin

[P.S.] My respectfull Complts. to Mrs. Shipley.

Your Health on this side the Water is every where drank by the Name of *the* Bishop.

I send for your Amusement a Parcel of our Newspapers. When you have perused them, please to give them to Mr. Hartley of Golden Square.<sup>3</sup>

RC (CtY).

<sup>1</sup> It was apparently the destruction of Charlestown that moved Franklin to pen a brief note ostensibly directed to William Strahan, which he dated July 5, 1775, but undoubtedly never sent. One of the most famous expressions from his pen, it has been cited as an example that for Franklin letter-writing was a "form of art." The entire letter reads: "Mr. Strahan, You are a Member of Parliament, and of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. Look upon your Hands! They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! You and I were long Friends: You are now my Enemy, and I am, Yours, B. Franklin." DLC; and Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1941), pp. 539-40.

<sup>2</sup> William Draper, *The Thoughts of a Traveler upon our American Disputes* (London: J. Ridley, 1774).



<sup>3</sup> Franklin also wrote a similar letter this date to Joseph Priestley, an extract of which is printed in Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth), 6:408–11; and on July 8 wrote a personal letter to Mary Hewson, which is in *ibid.* pp. 411–12. William Strahan also received a letter of July 7 from Franklin (apparently not extant), to which he responded on September 6, lamenting the dim chances for an “Accommodation” and the prospect that Congress might resort to “Foreign Assistance.” Strahan’s lengthy response, which is in PPAmP, is printed in *PMHB* 27 (April 1903): 165–69.

## Joseph Hewes to the Edenton Independent Company

Gentlemen

Philadelphia 7th July 1775

Your favour of the 31st of May by Capt. Hatch I have received. Before it came to hand I had sent by a Schooner bound to Curituck two Drums, two Colours and a Staff for each Colour and I now send to Mr. Smith half a dozen Fifes. It is not in my power to get a [Cutlass?] in this City nor can I get a gun & Bayonet for my self on any terms, such is the want of Arms here. I have endeavoured to get a drill Sergeant, a drummer, and Fifer for your Com[pan]y but cannot get either. The demand for those fellows is so great at present that [some] of them actually [earn?] the high wages of £6 per week. I am very glad to hear that your Company is so ready to turn out in defence of American Liberty. I hope you spare no pains to have your Men properly drilled that you may be set for action when the service of your Country may call you forth.

I am with great respect Gentr Yours

FC (NcU: Hayes Collection microfilm) .

## Thomas Lynch to Ralph Izard

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, July 7, 1775.

I this day received your favor dated at Rome, in which you say that you had received no letter from me. Be assured that I wrote two or three, and enclosed you the proceedings of our Congress, and sent them to Mr. Stead, with directions to forward them to you wherever you are.

It gives me much pleasure to hear that those proceedings are approved by the world. We have, indeed, the same accounts from several quarters. America, we hear, is looked up to as the last resource of liberty and the common rights of mankind. Brave and generous, we fight for mankind, and they say, “to it, brave boys,” but afford us not one necessary of war—not a musket or bayonet, not a grain of powder. England has cut off our usual supply. Holland and France

follow the noble example. They say the Americans are cowards, poltroons, dare not fight; yet these doughty heroes take care to deprive us of the means of defence. If we are so fearful, why disarm us? But they know the contrary. In the first of General Gage's attempts against the people, his regulars were put to flight by half their number of militia, without officers or commanders. . . . This account comes through men of character on the spot, and may be depended on; it is confirmed by most undoubted letters, and you may say so.

There are now marching to the camp, a thousand riflemen. They are, at 'listing, rejected, unless they can hit a playing-card, without a rest, at one hundred and twenty yards distance. Almost every fencible man, in all the colonies, is trained, and ready to supply any loss. The regulars have, in any case, never appeared equal to our troops, man for man. What, then, have we to fear? loss of money, alone; and may the wretch perish, who puts *that* in competition. Will Lord Effingham come to us? he would be almost adored.<sup>1</sup>

Dear sir, can the friends of old England find no way to stop this fatal war going on—to the certain destruction of that once great state? All America pants for reconciliation; they dread, what may be easily prevented by government, a total separation. Should war go on another year, a government must be formed here—it is unavoidable; and when once that is done, it will be, I fear, impossible to restore the connection. When America acts unitedly, she will feel herself too strong to submit to such restrictions as she now does. In short, the time will be past.

The people of New-York are now fixed on the side of liberty. Georgia is near coming in.

Mrs. Lynch unites with me, in compliments to Mrs Izard. We hope to see you, before we leave this part of America. Your affectionate friend,

Thomas Lynch.

MS not found; reprinted from Ralph Izard, *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina, from the Year 1774 to 1804; with a Short Memoir*, ed. Anne Izard Deas (New York: Charles S. Francis & Co., 1844), pp. 99–101.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Howard, third Earl of Effingham (1747–91), eccentric British Army officer, was well known for his sympathy with the American cause both before and during the War for Independence. Sir Egerton Brydges, K. J., *Collins' Peerage of England; Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical . . .*, 9 vols. (London: F. C. and J. Rivington et al., 1812), 4:282.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Saturday July 8th. 1775

I have wrote You many Lettrs. My last was by Govr Skene, who set off yesterday, for Wethersfeild who carried Letters from Me. His

Companion *Lundey* is a specious, stupid, profligate Fellow. Caution You and my Freinds against taking any particular Notice of him, his Finances are as I understand as Low as his Character. J Webb &c, ought to take Care of him in the Credit way. You ask, when I return? This is a hard Question, if We do not adjourn I see no prospect of returning before October, if We agree to adjourn, You may expect Me in Three Weeks or thereabouts. I sent You one of Doct Smith's Sermons, had the pleasure last Evening of hearing my Favorite *Duché* on the same Subject preached to Col. Dickinson's (the Farmer) Regiment, and a Vast Concourse of People. It will be published so need not say anything more, than that you will never by reading have the same Idea of it as those who heard it.

Your Lettr. of the 3d is now come to hand, and I find Your Opinion of the Generals and Mr. Mifflin, agree with mine, the latter is greatly miss'd in this City, as he was the Soul, of every thing either Civil or Military here, not that the Military fails, but it does not increase as it would under his animating, & indefatigable endeavors. Pray why is Barzillai, gone to the Camp? Does Barn[ab]as intend his Briga[ntine] for Sea. I advised him to make dispatch & shall write him again by this post.

The Congress are in good health Notwithstanding their Confinement to Business without the least intermission. If We tarry untill Fall, Nothing but Your want of Health will I trust prevent Your seeing this City and returning with Me. I am my Dear Yours

S D

[P.S.] I think it a pity, that Middletown was disappointed. I gave the General Lettrs. to Mr. Hosmer, but I wish his Excellency had wholly missed Hartford since they exerted themselves so faintly to wait on him. I hope by Jos. Webbs going to Camp with the General will enable him to procure a berth for Saml. Webb which I recommend him to, an honorable, tho a dangerous one, but I think that must Now be his Course of Life for the future.

RC (CtHi).

## John Hancock to David Wooster

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 8th. 1775

Mr. Middleton & Mr Rutledge, Gentlemen of South Carolina and Members of the Congress, making a Tour to New York will before they Return to Congress, undoubtedly make a Visit to your Camp; they are Gentln. of the first Character & Fortune in Carolina & most firmly Attach'd to our Cause. I Beg your particular Notice of them, &

that you will please to shew them Respect & Honour in your Military Department, which will have a good Effect.

I wish you all Happiness, & wherein I can Render you Service I Beg you will freely Command, Sir Your most Obedt hume sevt

John Hancock

RC (PHi). Addressed: "To David Wooster Esqr. Major General in the Continental Army, & Commander of the Connecticut Forces at or near New York."

## Joseph Hewes to James Iredell

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 8th. July 1775

I have sent by Captain Hatch's Sloop Ten pair of Shoes for yourself and Six pair for Mrs. Iredell and Mrs. Dawson. I did intend to have sent double the number for the Ladies but could not prevail with the workman to get them ready in time. The demand for Womens Shoes is so great that the makers cannot compleat half their Orders, when a Tradesman has made a thousand Promises and broke them all he has one Answer ready for every charge, Sir I have been under Arms in the Field.

I have sent to the Committee of Correspondence at Edenton a Copy of a Letter from General Gage to Governor Martin also a Copy of a Letter from Gov. Martin to Henry White Esqr. in New York. The first was sent to the Congress from the Provincial Convention of New York, the latter from the Committee of this City. By them you may see what part our Governor intends to take in the present unhappy dispute.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress some days ago took into consideration the state of the Trade of America. All the arguments that could be made for and against Shutting up the Ports on the 20th of July were duly attended to, and after mature deliberation they determined to let the matter rest on the association agreement entered into last Congress so that the Ports will remain open till the 10th of September next unless Shut sooner by the People themselves in their separate Committees.<sup>2</sup> A Resolution was entered into against the two last restraining Acts of Parliament which you will see in the News Papers.<sup>3</sup>

The humble Petition and Remonstrance from the New York Assembly has been treated by the King and Parliament with the same Contempt & neglect as they treated that, from the Congress last Winter. It is said the ministry desired that Agent to inform the Petitioners that they might apply to the Army & Navy at Boston for an answer. This circumstance has induced many of the Tories in that Colony to renounce their principles.

It is certain that administration have endeavoured to prevail on the



Canadians and Indians to fall upon our Frontiers, and that they have in contemplation a Scheme to set our Slaves free and arm them against us. By the Fishing & restraining acts they meant to destroy our Trade and Starve us. They have made mean concessions to all the Powers of Europe to prevent our getting a supply of Arms & Ammunition. They have sent a formidable Fleet and Army to Seize our Vessels and cut our throats. They then charge us with Rebellion because we will not believe that they have a right to make Laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. Strange, that we should be deemed Rebels for an article of faith—after all this they add insult to injury and tell us we are all poltroons and Cowards.

Close attention to business, bad health, and a weakness in my Eyes all contribute to prevent me from writing so much as I otherwise should do, I write in pain and can scarcely see to read what I have written.

I have sent to Mr. Smith a number of News papers, some Magazines, Sermons, Articles of War for the Continentall Army and a Declaration of War from the Representatives of the united Colonies of North America, they are all intended for the amusement of my friends.

My warmest good wishes and best Compliments attend you and the Ladies of my Acquaintance. Desire them to pray for Dear Sir  
your mo. obedt. hume Servt.

Joseph Hewes

RC (NcD) .

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to the New York Provincial Congress, July 4, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Congress discussed the situation of American commerce on July 3 and 4 but made no mention in its journals of rejecting a proposal to move back to July 20 the date for making nonexportation effective. *JCC*, 2:124-25.

<sup>3</sup> On July 4 Congress approved and ordered published a resolution which declared unconstitutional two parliamentary acts restraining the trade of all the mainland colonies save New York, Delaware, North Carolina, and Georgia, and which stated that the colonies would continue their commercial opposition until these statutes, among others, were repealed. *JCC*, 2:125.

## Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston

Sir

[July 8, 1775]

Since my last by Mr. Underhill I am favoured with yours of the 11th of June. The death of our old friend Colo. Harvey has given me real uneasiness. He will be much missed, I wish to God he could have been spared and that the G——r<sup>1</sup> and Judge H——d had been called in his Stead.

I wrote a long Letter to R Smith on the 20th of June and forwarded it by a Vessel to Currituck. The injunctions of Secrecy being then

in part taken of[f], I gave him some account of our proceedings in Congress. We have agreed to emit paper Bills of Credit to the amount of two millions of Dollars, for the redemption of which every Colony is bound Jointly & severally, the Quota of each Province to be settled in proportion to the number of Souls it contains, and to be sunk in Seven years in the manner most agreeable to their respective assemblies or Conventions, to raise an Army of Fifteen thousand men (those already raised in the Eastern Colonies to make part of it) Ten thousand to be employed near Boston & five thousand in New York, on Hudsons River, the Lakes, &c. So stood the first Resolution. We have since resolved to employ an additional number so that the whole will exceed Twenty thousand men. We have appointed as you will see by the News papers a General & Commander in Chief, a number of Majors General & Brigadiers General. All the other officers are to be appointed by the Provincial Conventions. We have Resolved to petition the King, to address the People of England, also the people of Ireland, to write a Letter to the City of London, and to the Inhabitants of Jamaica, we have published a manifesto or declaration of War.<sup>2</sup> Caswell set off about Ten days ago to meet the assembly which you say is expected on the 12th of this month. He carried most of the Resolves with him and will give you a particular account of our proceedings. Before he left us we wrote a Circular Letter to the Committees of our Province. Since his departure the Congress received a Copy of a letter from General Gage to Govr Martin forwarded by the Provincial Convention of New York, also a copy of Gov. Martins Letter to Henry White Esqr. of New York delivered to us by the Committee of this City.<sup>3</sup> These Letters have alarmed Hooper & my self. We have sent Copies of them to the Committees of Edenton & Wilmington. We have prevailed on the Presbyterian Ministers here to write to the Ministers and congregations of their Sect in North Carolina, and have also made application to the Dutch Lutherans & Calvinists to do the same. These people are all Staunch in our cause and have promised to set their Brethren in North Carolina right. If the Governor attempts to do any thing he ought to be seized, and sent out of the Colony, so should the Judge. The powers of Government must soon be superseded and taken into the hands of the People. Administration has endeavored to let loose the Indians on our Frontiers, to raise the Negroes against us, to destroy our Trade, Block up our Harbours, make mean concessions to all the European Powers to prevail with them not to furnish us with Arms and Ammunition, and have sent a formidable Army to cut our throats, and then abuse us with the names of Rebels & Cowards.

I have sent R Smith a few Copies of a Sermon preached by Smith the Provost of the College,<sup>4</sup> it is much liked here. I have also sent him several Magazines, News papers our Declaration of War, and

Rules & articles of War &c &c. To these I must refer you for News & amusement. Hooper thinks the Congress will break up the latter end of next week, I think otherwise, perhaps not before the last of August, but this is only guess work. I hope by your influence and example you will drive every principle of Toryism out of all parts of your province. I consider myself now over head & Ears in what the ministry call Rebellion. I feel no compunction for the part I have taken nor for the number of our Enemies lately [. . .] in battle at Bunkers Hill. I wish to be in the Camp before Boston tho' fear I shall not be able to get there 'till next Campaign. General Howe says the Americans fought more like Devils than Men, he never knew nor heard of such carnage in so short a time. He confesses that if their reinforcement had come up fifteen minutes sooner the British Troops would have been all cut off. It is reported here that General Burgoyne is among the Dead, but we have no certainty of it.

I hope your family & Connections are all well. My best Compliments to them. Hooper Joyns in this with Dear Sir Your most obed hum Sev

Joseph Hewes

RC (Nc-Ar) . Undated, though endorsed "8 July 1775."

<sup>1</sup> That is, North Carolina Governor Josiah Martin and Chief Justice Martin Howard.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking up Arms, approved by Congress July 6. *JCC*, 2:127-57.

<sup>3</sup> See North Carolina Delegates to the Presbyterian Ministers of Philadelphia, July 3-8? 1775; and Charles Thomson to the New York Provincial Congress, July 4, 1775.

<sup>4</sup> See William Smith, *A Sermon on the Present Situation of American Affairs. Preached in Christ-Church, June 23, 1775 . . .* (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Jr., 1775) .

## Richard Henry Lee's Draft Letter to the Lord Mayor of London

My Lord

[July 8, 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Permit the Delegates of the people of twelve Antient Colonies to pay your Lordship and the August body of which you are head a just tribute of gratitude and thanks for the virtuous and unsolicited resentment you have shown to the violated rights of a free people.<sup>2</sup> The City of London my Lord, having in all ages approved itself the patron of liberty, and the support of just government against lawless tyranny & usurpation; cannot fail to make us deeply sensible of the mighty aid our cause receives from such advocacy. A cause my Lord worthy the support of the first City in the world, as it involves the fate of a great Continent, and bids fair to shake the foundations

of a flourishing, and until lately, a happy empire.

North America My Lord wishes most ardently for a lasting connection with G. Britain on terms of just and equal liberty less than which generous minds would not offer, nor brave and free ones be willing to receive. A cruel war has at length been opened against us and whilst we prepare to defend ourselves like the Descendents of Britons we still hope that the mediation of wise and great citizens will at length prevail over despotism and restore peace & harmony on permanent principles, to an oppressed and divided Empire.

We have the honor to be

MS (PPAMP). In the hand of Richard Henry Lee.

<sup>1</sup> On July 6 Lee was appointed with Robert R. Livingston, Jr., and Edmund Pendleton to prepare a letter to "the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London." This draft was reported and approved with only minor changes on July 8. The final version is printed in the journals. *JCC*, 2:157, 170-71.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the address of the mayor and aldermen of London to the king, April 10, 1775, supporting the American cause. See Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 3, 1775, note.

## North Carolina Delegates to the New York Provincial Congress

Sir, Philadelphia, June [*i.e.* July] 8th, 1775.

The committee of this city, a few days ago, transmitted to you an original letter from Gov. Martin to Henry White, Esq. from the contents of which it is very obvious that Gov. Martin has formed designs highly inimical to the friends of America.<sup>1</sup> From authentic information we learn that he is to receive a supply of gunpowder from Gen. Gage, via New-York, and that he has sent from North-Carolina a cutter well armed to receive it. She is a small boat, rigged like a schooner, mounts a few swivels, and is commanded by a Mr. Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tamar man of war; the vessel we believe was formerly purchased in New-York by a Capt. Vollet. We beg your particular care, in case she should arrive in your port, to take the steps you may think prudent to secure her and her cargo.<sup>2</sup> She is probably to receive the gunpowder from the Asia, or some other man of war lying in your harbour.

We are, sir, with great respect, Your most obedt. humble servts.

Will. Hooper,

Joseph Hewes.

MS not found; reprinted from *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 1:73.

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to the New York Provincial Congress, July 4, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> The response of the New York Committee of Safety, which received this letter



because the Provincial Congress was in adjournment, assuring Hooper and Hewes it would do everything in its power to intercept this cargo, is in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1780.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Sunday July 9th [1775]

Yesterday I wrote, or rather blotted the inclosed, at Table, in the Congress which send you without apology. Mr. Wykoff invited Me in the Morning to take a ride with him after Congress, on horseback, into the Jersies. The Congress held untill after 5 oClock, returning to my Lodging found him, with horses ready, ate an hasty Dinner & mounted. Five Miles of Our Road lay thro' the Rich & Beautiful Meadows, of this Town, when we crossed the Delaware, to the City of Gloucester. Ten Degrees inferior To Rockyhill, (but all are Cities here, that have Corporate privileges) thence Six Miles to Woodbury when Night overtook Us, or met Us, for all was a Wood beyond. Here a Company of One Hundred had been closing the Labor of the Week with Military exercise, in their Rifle Dress, & were now washing away the remembrance of their Fatigue at the Tavern. Woodbury affords but one Tavern, even where, every man may have a License for asking & Forty Shilling per Annum.

My Freind meeting the Man he had Business with there We agreed to ride Four Miles further & Lodge with him. He conducted Us thro' a Wood not unlike *Suffeild* plain untill We arrived at his Mansion on the brink of a Creek, & good Meadow. He most hospitably called up his wife who making no Apology fill'd her pan with Bacon & Eggs, put a Skillet of Chocolate on the Fire & prepared for Supper, while he made a Bowl of Toddy. Our Supper was of the above preparation with Cucumbers, Butter, & Cheese. I drank a Bowl of Chocolate while my delicate Citizen ply'd the Bacon & Eggs close, which I avoided, knowing by Experience the Effects on my head. We lodged together & in the morning (Sunday) had Coffee, Cucumbers, & Gammon, & Egg Rum all which Complaisance as well as hunger urged Us to partake of. After Breakfast We walked out to View his Farm. He milks upwards of Twenty Cows, has a fine English horse called Liberty, (to which Wild air is not equall) which cost him more than Two Hundred pounds,—Though the whole Furniture of his House would be a bad Bargain at Thirty pounds.

We set out at about Nine oClock & returned. The Country here, were it not, for Now, & then, a Creek which has a little Meadow on its bank, would be no great way Superior to Suffeild Plains. It bears good Rye, but cannot support Wheat. I am thus particular to give you some Idea of the Country adjacent on every side, in doing of

which I must not forget, my Ride to *German Town* Five Miles from hence famous for Stocking Manufacture. I cannot describe pompous Villa's, or Elegant Gardens where there are None Unless I meant a romance, & as I mean only to divert You with honest Chat, I describe the Country as it is. Between this City & German Town there is not one Elegant Seat, and the greatest improvement on Nature is that on their Groves, owing by no means to Luxury, but to penury & Want. The Growth is Red Oak interspersed with Black Walnut &c. The poor are allowed to cut up the Brush & trim the lower limbs. This leaves the Groves in the most Beautiful View You can imagine. All is clean on the Ground, removing every Shrub & Bush, leaves the Wind free play to sweep the Floor, and the Soil by no means Luxuriant, shooting up the Trees rather *sparingly*, so much Grass starts as to give a pale Green Carpet, while the Trees are trimmed up Ten to Fifteen Feet on their Trunk & give the Eye a prospect farr into the Grove, and the Footman, or Horseman free access. This is the State of the Groves Near this City, by a Stranger supposed to be Natural entirely, which (this trimming & cleaning of the poor excepted) is really the Case. I am the more particular on this as the London or Gentlemans Magazine mentions this appearance of their Groves as the simple Effect of Nature, in which Opinion I joined, untill Ocular Demonstration convinced Me of the Contrary. German Town consists of one Street built intirely of rough Stone. Two Miles nearly in length & the houses, correspond to the appearance of the Inhabitants, rough Children of Nature, & German Nature too. I cannot add on this Subject. A handsome Lady might be shewn here, as a Monster, and had the Women, (or what they call such,) any spirit they would hunt her down as a Phenomenon in Nature, portending Evil to Society. Satire apart, in Sober Truth I can give You no description but what must beggar the real appearance of the Country Women near this City. Yet my Landlady in the Jersies by her hospitality, & simplicity, (for she was young & a Quaker) made Me almost think her handsome, tho' I found, her Husband putting on Regimentals, & exercising, greived her Conscience not a little. New England with all its Foibles, must be the Glory, & defence of America, & the cry here is, Connecticut forever, so high has the Universally applauded Conduct, of Our Governor, and the brave intrepidity of Old Genl Putnam & his Troops raised Our Colony in the Estimation of the whole Continent.<sup>1</sup>

[P.S.] I am sorry I did not know of Col. Reads [Joseph Reed] going on, or I should have mentioned him to you most particularly, as he is a Gentleman of a most amiable Character, in private & public Life & from whom I have received every mark of Civility, but I supposed him only going on to New York.

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> Deane's closing sentence and signature have apparently been clipped from the bottom of the page. The postscript appears on the verso.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dr Sir

Philadelphia July 10th. 1775

I have just Time to inclose You a Declaration and an Address. How you will like them I know not.

A Petition was Sent yesterday, by Mr Richard Penn in one ship and a Duplicate goes in another Ship, this day. In exchange for these Petitions, Declarations and Addresses, I Suppose We shall receive Bills of Attainder and other such like Expressions of Esteem and Kindness.

This Forenoon has been Spent in an Examination of a Mr Kirkland a worthy Missionary among the Oneida Indians.<sup>1</sup> He was very usefull last Winter among all the Six Nations, by interpreting and explaining the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, and by representing the Union and Power of the Colonies, as well as the Nature of the Dispute.

The Congress inclines to wait for Dispatches from General Washington before they make any alteration in the Rank of the Generals, least they should make Some other Mistake. But every Body is well inclined to place General Thomas in the Seat of Pomroy.<sup>2</sup>

You must not communicate, without great Discretion what I write about our Proceedings, for all that I hint to you is not yet public.

I am &c

RC (MH*i*). In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:172-73, 186-87.

<sup>2</sup> Congress did appoint John Thomas to replace Seth Pomeroy as senior brigadier general on July 19. *JCC*, 2:191.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sr

Philadelphia July 10th. 1775

We had the Honor of writing to you a few Days Since wherein we expressed our minds in respect to the Impropriety of the Colony Connecticutt raising more Men for the Continental Army at or near Boston. It was with great difficulty we got the 6000 into Continental pay. New York Province is ordered to raise 3000 which are now filling, & which may possibly put some of ours we have already raised out of pay soon. There is now 6 or 800 riflers from this Province &c on their way to Cambridge & the Minute Men which may be raised

on any sudden Emergency in the Country Near Boston seems in the View of the Congress to supersede any necessity for Connecticut to raise any more Troops but if you should have a request from Genl Washington after he arrives at the Camp you may be safe in raising further reinforcements otherwise not Unless on the requisition of this Congress. We have had no special Direction from the Congress to write you on this Subject we therefore only advise what we apprehend prudent for the Colony. According to the Arrangement of the Congress, viz allowing 68 privates to a Company we might with propriety make more Companies out of those already raised which will require an Addition of Officers. These (under General Officers) are to be Nominated by the respective Colonies which will make room for advancements of some already in the army with some additions of which no doubt the General will advise you. The Post this moment going of[f], Cannot add, and have the honor to be Your Honors most Obedient humble Servants

Eliphalet Dyer

Roger Sherman

Silas Dean

Tr (Ct) .

## Thomas Cushing to Joseph Hawley

Dear sir

Philadelphia July 10. 1775

I embrace this opportunity to Inclose You the Declaration of the United Colonies as also their Address to the People of Great Britain. They have by a Vessell that Sails This Day for London forwarded a Petition to the King as also the Above address, as well as a Letter to the Lord Mayor & Livery of the City of London. A Vessell arrived this Day from Barcelona, The Captain of Which Informs that before his Departure from that Place he saw Twelve thousand Men Embarque in a great number [of] Transports filled with warlike Stores & ammuni[ti]on & every thing suitable for a Seige, under Cover of two line of Battle Ships. There are various Conjectures about the Place to which they were bound. The English Merchants apprehended their Design was to beseige Gibralter. The Master further Informs that a Packquet was just arrived which brought an account that Twelve Ships of the line were ordered immediately to sail from England to Gibralter to cover that fortress. I am surprized I have not been favoured with line from you. Pray let [. . .]<sup>1</sup> I am with great respect yr hum Sevnt.

Thomas Cushing

RC (NN). Recipient inferred from RC's location in the Joseph Hawley Papers.

<sup>1</sup> MS damaged; approximately three words missing.



## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Sr

Philadelphia July 10th 1775

I have only time in Congress this moment to Inclose you this Mornings paper Containing a declaration of the United Colonies setting forth the Causes of their taking up Arms &c also their Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain which together with Another Petition to the King are this day forwarded to London by Mr Richard Penn late Govr of this Province who is gone for England with his family to reside there sometime. He is Esteemd Very Friendly to the American Cause & is joind with our Agents there to Present the Petition to the King. We hope before it arrives by the Blessing of Heaven attending our Army a good Account may be given of the Hostile Troops sent over to this country for Murther & rapine. The Riflers from this Province are on their March. Hope they may prove serviceable & give a good Account of the British officers before summer is out. Before this I dare say you have Welcomed the New Genlls to the Camp. Hope they may fully Answer the expectations of the Army as well as the Colonies from them. I wish you may succeed in the Appointment for which Application was made for you. I hope you will not fail procuring any additional weight if necessary. Expect soon to hear from you. May Heaven give Success to our Army. My regard to Genlls, Colls, &c &c of our Acquaintance & believe me to be sincerely Yours

Elipht Dyer

P.S. You will see by the New Arrangement that the Companies are to Consist of but 68 privates which will Make room for a Number more officers in the Connecticutt Troops. I wish (if so) you would remember to his honor the Govr as probably the appointment will lye with him Lieuts Grosvenor & Gray for Captains. They ought at first to have had that birth. Grosvenor has been Tryed in Action, Gray we all think will prove well. Yrs.

E D

RC (Ct).

## John Hancock to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia July 10th. 1775

Since my last to you, nothing has Taken place in Congress particularly Respecting your Department.

I by order of Congress forward you the Declaration, & Address to the People of England.

I must beg the favour you will Reserve some birth for me, in such Department as you may Judge most proper, for I am Determin'd to

Act under you, if it be to take the firelock & Join the Ranks as a Volunteer.

I have the Honor to be with profound Respect, Sir Your most Obedt. servt.

John Hancock

[P.S.] I hope to be with you soon, as there seems to prevail an Opinion that we may have an adjournmt. in a little Time. We Expect soon to hear from you, all Military matters are suspended till your State arrives.

RC (DLC) .

## John Adams to James Warren

Hond & Dr Sir

Philadelphia July 11th. 1775

I have the Pleasure of inclosing you, a Declaration. Some call it a Manifesto. And We might easily have occasioned a Debate of half a Day, whether, it Should be call'd a Declaration or a Manifesto.

Our Address to the People of Great Britain will find many Admirers among the Ladies, and fine Gentlemen: but it is not to my Taste. Prettynesses Juvenilities, much less Puerilities, become not a great Assembly like this the Representative of a great People.<sup>1</sup>

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Adams to Warren, July 23, 1775.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Lancaster County Committee

Gent

Philada. July 11th. 1775

Yours relative to the Riffle Compy. to which Capt. Smith is appointed we have reced. In the same you mention that there are a Number of Men Raised by Mr. James Ross out of which a good Company may be formed. We Immediately laid this Matter before Congress and they were pleased to Approve of them & directed that they should be immediately taken into the Service.<sup>1</sup> You will please to Certify to us the Officers as heretofore in the other Compy. And endavour to have them fitted off with the utmost dispatch to follow Capt. Smith who we suppose will have March'd ere this reaches. We would have you send the best of the Men the establishment you know.

The Congress highly approve the generous bounty given by the

good People of Lancaster County. We are with Esteem Gent Your  
very Hble Servts.

Geo. Ross

James Wilson

B Franklin

RC (DLC). Written by Ross and signed by Ross, Wilson, and Franklin.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:173.

## Virginia Delegates to the President of the Virginia Convention

Sir

Philadelphia July 11. 1775.

The continued sitting of Congress prevents us from attending our colony Convention: but, directed by a sense of duty, we transmit to the Convention such determinations of the Congress as they have directed to be made public. The papers speak for themselves, and require no comment from us. A petition to the king is already sent away, earnestly entreating the royal interposition to prevent the further progress of civil contention by redressing American grievances; but we are prevented from transmitting a copy of it, because a public communication, before it has been presented, may be improper. The Convention, we hope, will pardon us for venturing our sentiments on the following subjects, which we submit to their superior wisdom. The continuance and the extent of this conflict we consider as among the secrets of providence; but we also reflect on the propriety of being prepared for the worst events, and, so far as human foresight can provide, to be guarded against probable evils at least. Military skill we are certainly not so well provided with as military violence opposed to us may render necessary. Will not this deficiency be supplied by sending at the publick expence a few gentlemen of genius and spirit to the military school before Boston to learn that necessary art, which in these days of rapine can only be relied upon for public safety.

The present crisis is so full of danger and incertainty that opinions here are various. Some think a continued sitting of Congress necessary, whilst others are of opinion that an adjournment to the Fall will answer as well. We conclude that our powers go not to the latter, but that a Fall Congress will be indispensable, with adjourning powers given to your delegates that they may be prepared to meet contingencies. The Convention will therefore see the propriety of proceeding to a new choice of delegates and being explicit about the time to which they chuse to limit the continuance of their delegation. It is expected

that at the next Congress the delegates from the respective colonies come provided with an exact account of the number of people of all ages and sexes, including slaves. The Convention will provide for this.

It is with singular pleasure that we can congratulate you on the success with which providence has been pleased to favor our righteous cause by giving success to the operations in defence of American liberty. We are Sir Your most humble servants,

P. Henry, Jr. Edmd. Pendleton

Richard Henry Lee Benja. Harrison

Th: Jefferson

RC (PHi). Written by Jefferson and signed by Harrison, Henry, Jefferson, Lee, and Pendleton. Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:223-24.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philada July 12 1775

Give me Leave to recommend to your friendly Notice and to desire you would introduce into the Circle of our Friends Mr Hugh Hughes of New York,<sup>1</sup> a worthy sensible man, whose Virtue has rendered him obnoxious to all the Torries of that City. I know I cannot say more to *you* in favor of any Man. He is perhaps as poor as I am, but he "goes about doing good." I am sincerely your affectionate Fr[ien]d

S Adams

[P.S.] Pray write me particularly of *Men* as well as Events.

RC (Paul Francis Webster, Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974). Recipient identified in *Warren-Adams Letters*, 1:82.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Hughes (d. 1804), New York commissary of military stores, 1776, and subsequently assistant quartermaster general and colonel in the Continental Army. F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1892), p. 306.

## Edmund Pendleton to George Washington

Dear General

Phila. July 12th. 1775.

My freind Mr. George Baylor will be the bearer of this, who has caught such a Military Ardor as to travel to the Camp for instruction in that Art.<sup>1</sup> I beg leave to recommend him to your Countenance & Favor, not only on Account of his Worthy Father, but from my Opinion of his own Merit. He is a Lieutent. in our independent Com-



pany & has gained great Applause there by his diligent Attention to the duties of his Office & the bravery he has indicated. Be so obliging as to make my Complts. to Genl. Lee, Genl. Gates, Majr. Mifflin & Mr. Griffen & intreat their countenance and assistance to him also.

We are hourly in Expectation of hearing from you. We yesterday voted an Additional Co. of Riflemen to go from this Province to gratify one that was raised & impatient to come to you. We have also consented to employ a German Hussar who is to raise his 50 men & come to the Camp.

We have heard you remain quiet, except some Cannon shot exchanged between Roxbury & Boston. You have my most cordial wishes for success in every undertaking, who have the Honr. to be with great esteem Dr. Sr. Yr. mo. Obt. Hble Servt.

Edmd Pendleton

RC (DLC) .

<sup>1</sup>George Baylor (1752–84), of Newmarket, Va., was appointed an aide-de-camp to Washington on August 15, 1775. *DAB*; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 3:425. Baylor carried a second letter of recommendation to Washington. Also written by Pendleton and dated July 12, it was signed by three additional Virginia delegates, Benjamin Harrison, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee. CtY.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 13, 1775]

Thursday 13th. Completed the Talk to the Indians, Voted to Dr. Wheelock 500 Dollrs. for the maintenance of the Indian youth. Pursued the plan for Appointment of Superintend[en]ts.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup>Congress appointed commissioners of Indian affairs for the northern and middle departments this day and selected those for the southern department the following week. *JCC*, 2:175, 183, 192, 194. The entry in the journals pertaining to commissioners for the northern department contains an ambiguous, incomplete reference to the enlargement of the department and the appointment of Volkert P. Douw of New York. Documents surviving among the papers of two of the commissioners, Joseph Hawley and Oliver Wolcott, and certified as minutes of Congress, make it clear that Douw was indeed appointed as a fifth commissioner on July 13. See Burnett, *Letters*, 1:163n; and John Hancock to Philip Schuyler, July 18, 1775.

## George Read to Gertrude Read

My dear Gitty.

Philada. 13th July 1775

I did expect you wou'd have been agreeably as surprized by a Visit from Mrs. Biddle as she with her Daughter. Mr. Biddle and your Brother Jno. Ross set off in a Pilot Boat on Tuesday morning, got to

Chester that Evening and were to have proceeded on, but upon examining the Pilots boy discovered that he had his Master's orders to Return the next day at all events. This and a very warm Night determined their Return here yesterday and I find that Mr. Biddle has resolved to proceed home upon the first alteration of the weather from the extreme heat that prevails now and this I think is right. In the present disposition of the Members of the Congress and the State of the business before them it is highly probable that we shall adjourn for some time. This is but just talked of, the major part of the 6 middle colonies are for it. However Some new business may frustrate this Expectation. The Parliament was prorougued the 26th of May for 2 Months. The King's Speech upon that Occasion is come over, there is nothing particular in it. The news of the Lexington battle had not got home then but it is reported came 2 days after to wit the 28th—this is a verbal account. Your Nephew James Ross is to command a company of Riffle Men. One company only had been ordered to be raised in the county of Lancaster. However Jemmy undertook to raise a 2d. and they have been accepted of by the Congress.<sup>1</sup> I have heard nothing from Col. Thompson yet we expect him daily. The Congress have received no Letter from General Washington since his arrival at the Camp. The Accot. of their Reception &c. there mentioned in Bradford's Paper of yesterday is said to be wrote by Griffin Genl. Lee's Aid de Camp. The list of the Slain &c. on both sides as mentioned in the same paper came from Joseph Reed the Lawyer of this place. He went from hence with the General and now acts as his Secretary. Your friends are all well. I [. . .] wish to share the cool Breezes of New Castle with you. I grow impatient but this only increases my uneasiness. Kiss our little ones and believe me yours most Affectionately

Geo. Read

RC (DeHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Pennsylvania Delegates to the Lancaster County Committee, July 11, 1775.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 14, 1775]

Friday Fore Noon, 14th. At Congress—Jas. Deane arrived, his papers laid before the Congress.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup> James Deane (1748–1823), who had recently returned to Connecticut from a mission among the Indians in Canada, probably brought intelligence regarding conditions in Canada. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*; and Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., to Peter Van Brugh Livingston, July 7, 1775, *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1781.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 15, 1775]

Saturday 15th. at Congress. Afternoon Wrote to J. Trumbull, J. Webb, S. Webb &c &c. At Coffee house 2/6, on Comme. in the Evening with Dr. Franklin &c.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 93.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the committee "to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these Colonies." *JCC*, 2:177.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

[July 15? 1775]

I have only Time to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of the 11th, and to assure you I am so farr from thinking hard, of your not writing oftener, that I have to return You my warmest Thanks, for so many, of your agreeable Letters, and in particular for that in which You inform Me that you are better in health, than the last Summer.

The Weather has for the last Week been extreme, tho a little moderated by Showers yet the Air is excessive bad, which added to Our Close Confinement to Business is almost too much, for from the 10th of May We have not had Sunday's excepted one Days respite, from Nine in the Morning to four pm, & then at Times by Committees on to Ten or Eleven at Night—judge what an easy Time We have.

You know, (tho I pay no Compliment to your Taste by reminding You) that I am the most indifferent in Female, or Ladys' Company, of any Man in the World, yet I try now and then to Chat away an hour in a Mixed Company, meerly to chase off the Spleen, for as to my description of the Ladies here at which You hint, refer you to my description of the review, my Ride to German Town &c—or if that will not answer take the following Anecdote. A Brother Delegate, remarkably fond of fine Ladies, at a late Fair, when the whole Country was collected asked Me if I saw one pretty Girl. I replied in the Negative, he was then very free (as he is well acquainted in N. England, tho' not an Inhabitant of it in praises of Your Ladyships there) and taking a Guinea out of his pocket says Deane here is a Vast Crowd of Girls. I will follow You and the first that You shall say has a pretty face, I will give the Guinea too. We stroll'd thro the whole Fair, and though I sincerely wished to make him loose his Guinea yet could not in Conscience say that I found one handsome Face. From this judge of the general Complexion of Females here.

I am informed that the late Arrangement of Officers, is highly displeasing to *Worster*, and *Spencer* and that high Words have pass'd on

the Occasion—that Worster talks high of his *Thirty Years Services*, and that Spencer left his Forces, to shift for themselves, though expecting hourly to be attacked, to return home, and pray an Alteration. I see the Bottom of the whole, and am well aware that the Storm is raised, or at least blown up, by others, and am at no Loss to foresee the direction of it, but am determined to do my duty, and will on no Occasion sacrifice, the good of my Country, to the whim of any old Man, or old Woman rather, or their sticklers. When *Worster* was appointed I wash'd my hands of the Consequences by declaring him, in my Opinion, totally unequall to the Service. This I did openly in the Face of the Assembly, and if I tho't him unfit for a Major General of Connecticut Forces only, could any one think, I would oppose the Voice of the Continent, & act contrary to my own Sentiments, by labouring to prefer him to *Putnam*, on whom, by every Acct. the whole Army has depended, ever since the Lexington Battle? I wish all such Men would leave Our Army at once. As to *Spencer*, I once had a good Opinion of him, but his leaving the Forces in the Manner I hear he has, shocks it very greatly, and if true I wish him to resign at once and let Another take his place. Pray listen to these reports, and inform Me, how farr I am charged with being Active in this Arrangement. I have various reasons to expect their Freinds will Father it all on the old *ScapeGoat*, as Sherman is known to be in favor of *Worster*, & *Dyer* and *Spencer* are Brother Councillors.<sup>1</sup> If the Warr lasts I hope Matters will come into a more regular, & decisive Course than They<sup>2</sup>

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup>For other references concerning the appointment of general officers, see Eli-phael Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 20, 1775.

<sup>2</sup>Remainder of MS missing.

## Edmund Pendleton to William Woodford

Dear Sir

Phila. July 15th. 1775

Mr. Spotswood leaves this tomorrow morning & intends to continue his journey to Richmond, which affords me an Opportunity of paying my Respects, tho' there is nothing worth relating since my last to Colo. Taylor that I now recollect. Should there be any thing, Mr. Spotswood will deliver it you. We are quite at a loss for the reason of not hearing from our General who has been at the Camp a fortnight, & various conjectures are formed on the Occasion; I know he is clear of meriting blame & therefore think an Action happened about the time his express should have come away & he waits to send us the event & particulars of it, but this is mere Opinion & a whisper on the contrary runs about Town that Gage has sent proposals to our Genl.



for a Suspension of Hostilities, for how long or on what terms has not reached me, nor do I give credit to the Story. If I get that or any other thing Interesting, you shall have it by Post Tuesday next. I shall hope to be at home by the time you return from Richmd. & wish it may be convenient to you & Colo. Taylor to give me the Pleasure of Yr. Company that we may exchange Bugets. It is said a Man of War is in this River & some mention It to be the Fowey; perhaps our friend Dunmore is coming to pay us a Visit, he will not meet a very polite Reception.

Your things with some of my own are to embark tomorrow & be sent to New Castle. The Vessell does not go to Port Royal as I expected, but to Norfolk & then to New Castle; I found if I was to have them freighted from Norfolk to Rappa. besides the uncertaintie of getting it done, would have been attended with more than double freight & much exceeded the expence of sendg. for them by Land to New Castle, wch. I will have done as soon as I hear of their Arrival. I have been sadly plagued to get them along. A land Carriage would have cost at least £20. When I might have sent them, they were not ready, & since they have been so, no opportunity 'til now; None here seem to think there is any danger of their being seised in the Passage. If the Colours escape 'til they reach yr. worthy Company, I know they must buy them dear, who attempt to meddle with them afterwards. My Compts. to Colo. Taylor (to whom Johnny writes) and all my friends at the Convention. I am Dr. Sr. Yr. affe. Friend

Edmd Pendleton

RC (NN).

## Silas Deane to Samuel B. Webb

*Philadelphia July 16th 1775.* Recommends the bearer, Lt. Charles Craig of Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, complains that he has not received answers to several letters, and concludes that he has nothing new to report.

RC (CtY). Webb, *Correspondence* (Ford), 1:83.

## James Wilson to John Montgomery

Dear Sir

16th July 1775

I have not, for a long Time, been more shocked than by the Intelligence I received from your Letter and Col. [William] Thompson's inclosed. I have been proud, and have often expressed my Pride in

the Spirit and Vigour of Cumberland County to the great American Cause: Guess then what my Uneasiness and Disappointment were, when I was informed that Matters were carried on in a Manner disagreeable to our sanguine Hopes and Wishes. One happy Circumstance attended your Letter: The Bearer's Horse got lame, and I did not receive it till the Day before Yesterday. This fortunate Delay prevented the Chagrin which I should otherwise have felt for two or three Days. About an Hour after I had read your Letter, and while I was ruminating upon it in a manner that you will easily conceive, I was pleasingly surprised by Mr Jesse Lukins with an Account that the Cumberland Companies were compleated, and either ready to march, or on their March towards Reading. I expect Col. Thompson here to Day. Since Capt. Little has declined going, I am determined to use every possible Endeavour to procure Mr [Robert] Magaw to be appointed Lieut. Colonel.<sup>1</sup> His Zeal and Activity merit to be distinguished. I hope I shall succeed.

We have not lately received any material News from the Northward. There is in one of the Papers a particular Account of the killed and wounded among the Regulars at Bunker's Hill. Their Number amounts in the whole to 1492. I presume Mr Blaine will furnish you with all the late Papers. As I write at Mr Turner's, it is not in my Power to do it as usual. I inclose the only one I have. The edifying Speeches of the Commons to the King, and of the King to *his* Parliament will give you great Satisfaction. Our Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms you have in the News-paper; as also our Address to the People of Britain. I send you a Copy of our Rules and Articles for the Government of the Army.

Indian Affairs have been under the Consideration of the Congress. As I am at Liberty to communicate any Part of this Business which I think ought to be publicly known, I take this Opportunity of informing you that we are anxious to take every Step which will have a Tendency to preserve Peace with the Indians. For this Purpose we have divided them into three different Departments; and appointed Commissioners to hold Treaties and make Presents in each Department. Dr Franklin Mr Henry of Virginia and I are Commissioners for the middle Department. We have not yet determined upon the Time or Place of holding a Treaty. But Speeches are prepared, and the Belts are getting ready. I should be glad you would take the first Opportunity you can find of conveying this Intelligence to Westmoreland County. It will give Satisfaction to the Inhabitants there to learn that the proper Measures are pursuing for preserving their Tranquillity. Perhaps you will write to Capt St Clair. Make my Compliments to him, and tell him that, tho' I have not now Time I will seize the first Leisure Moment to send a long Letter to him.

I observe what you say concerning an Indian Treaty; and shall be

glad to have any farther Thoughts you may judge proper to hint concerning that Matter. I cannot tell what to say about Croghan. I think it dangerous to employ him; and dangerous to let him alone.

Give little Polly a Kiss for me. Now I have said some thing; but Nothing with more Truth than that I am Dear Sir Yours sincerely  
James Wilson

RC (ICHi) .

<sup>1</sup> By a resolution of June 24, 1775, the Pennsylvania Assembly had authorized its delegates in Congress to recommend officers for the battalion of Pennsylvania riflemen. *Pa. Archives*, 8th ser. 8:7241. Wilson had previously received the following recommendation from Edward Biddle: "As I can not attend the Delegates to settle the Officers of the Rifle Regiment, I take this Method of mentioning the Gentlemen I would propose as Field Officers, Vizt. Mr. Thompson, Colonel, Mr. Magaw, Lieut. Col., & Mr. Nagel, Major." Biddle to Wilson, July 14, 1775, NN.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

*Philadelphia July 17. 1775.* Discusses his experiences with Dr. Thomas Bond (1743–94), Philadelphia physician, with whom he took an early morning trip into the country this day. "A most amuzing and refreshing Excursion We had, and such Excursions are very necessary to preserve our Health, amidst the suffocating Heats of the City, and the wasting, exhausting Debates of the Congress." Urges Abigail to teach the children "Geography and the Art of copying as well as drawing Plans of Cities, Provinces, Kingdoms, and Countries—especially of America. I have found great Inconvenience for Want of this Art, since I have had to contemplate America so much, and since I had to study the Processes and Operations of War."

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:251–52.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 17, 1775]

Monday 17th. Genl. Washington's Express arrived.<sup>1</sup> At Congress on Two Committees.<sup>2</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup> Although Deane records the arrival of an express from Washington this date, Eliphalet Dyer wrote the day following that no word had been received from Washington since his arrival at Cambridge, and President Hancock wrote Washington the 19th that "your despatches reached me last evening." Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, July 18, 1775; and *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1689. The journals indicate that Washington's first communication from camp was read to Congress on July 19. *JCC*, 2:190.

<sup>2</sup> A committee to recommend compensation for Samuel Kirkland's services among the Indians was appointed this day and reported the next. *JCC*, 2:186–87. Deane was also a member of a committee to recommend ways and means to protect the trade of the colonies, which reported on July 21 and may also have met this day. *JCC*, 2:177, 200.

## Lyman Hall to Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant

*Philadelphia. July 17. 1775.* Wishes Sergeant<sup>1</sup> had come to Philadelphia so that he, Hall, could “have Adjusted & Settled the Inclosed Acct.” Proposes to pay Sergeant “from £50 to 80 or 90, & more if I can Directly.”

RC (PHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant (1746–93) , Princeton lawyer, member of the New Jersey Provincial Congress, and a delegate to Congress, 1776–77. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*; and *DAB*.

## John Hancock to Peter Van Brugh Livingston

Sir, Philadelphia, July 17, 1775.

Major General Schuyler having represented to the Congress the necessity of appointing a deputy adjutant-general or a brigade-major for the troops under his command, I am ordered to send you the following resolve passed this day.<sup>1</sup>

I am, Sir, Your obedt. humble servt.

John Hancock, President.

[P.S.] I inclose you an Authenticated Commission to be fill'd up with the Name of the Gentleman appointed by your Congress. You will please to make a Return to me of the person so appointed.

The Inclos'd Letter for General Schuyler, I beg you will immediately forward to him by Express.

[P.S.] Please to forward by the Express to General Schuyler a Number of the Articles of War. I forwarded them to New York, directed to Genl Schuyler but apprehend they did not meet him there, as he has wrote me for them from Albany.

The commission referred to is sent by Mr. Lewis.

RC (N) . *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:4. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> This day Congress authorized the New York Provincial Convention “to recommend to Genl. Schuyler, a proper person for a deputy adjutant general or a Brigade Major, for the army in the New York department.” *JCC*, 2:186. The New



York delegates also wrote to the president of the New York Provincial Convention on this date recommending the appointment of Morgan Lewis, who had been promised that office by Schuyler "with the approbation of your Convention." *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:17. In a letter to the convention dated July 19, 1775, Hancock enclosed a blank commission for the person appointed. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

## John Hancock to Philip Schuyler

Sir

Philadelphia July 17th. 1775

On application made to the Congress by John Brook agent and Attorney to Philip Skene Esqr., I am directed to write to you their Desire, that the said Brooks be protected in the peaceable Management, and Direction of the plantation and Interest of the said Philip Skene Esqr. at Skenesborough. I am with Esteem Sir Your most obedt. hum. Servt.

John Hancock President

Tr (NN).

## Samuel Chase to Philip Schuyler

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 18th. 1775. Tuesday

On yesterday your Letter relative to the Appointment of inferior officers in your Department was taken into Consideration by the Congress, and Mr. Walter Livingston was unanimously chose Commissary of Stores, Capt. Donald Campbell Quarter Master, and my Friend Mr. Bedford Muster Master.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Bedford joins Me in acknowledging your Politeness and favorable Intentions towards him. He proposes to leave his Family on Fryday Morning, and would be much obliged to you to receive your Orders and Directions for his Conduct by a Line, if opportunity serves, to meet him at Albany.

I shall leave this City on Sunday next, and if the Importance of your Station and your necessary attention to a Multiplicity of Business will permit, I would beg the Favor of a Letter. I am doubly interested in your Success: The welfare of my County, and the honor and Safety of my Friend.

If I can in the most remote Degree render You any Service, or contribute a Mite to your Happiness or Ease, be pleased freely to command Me, and be assured that I am with Regard Your Affectionate and Obedient Servant

Saml. Chase

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:186. Schuyler's letter of July 11 is in *PCC*, item 153, 1:18. Chase had previously recommended his friend Gunning Bedford for the office of deputy

muster master for the New York department. Samuel Chase to Philip Schuyler, July 10, 1775, NN.

## John Dickinson's Proposed Resolutions

[July 18? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Resolv'd,

That it be recommended, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to such of the Inhabitants of these Colonies, as have not already entered into Associations for learning the military Exercise, that all who are capable of bearing arms, do immediately associate themselves for the Purpose aforesaid—that every Man provide himself with such Arms & Articles as are directed by their respective Conventions or Committees, & by the respective Assemblies, Conventions or Committees & where no such Directions have been given, that every man provide a good Firelock, Bayonet, Cutting sword or Tomhawk, Cartridge Box with 24 Rounds of Cartridge, besides [ ]<sup>2</sup> pounds of Powder in a Horn & 2 pounds of Lead in a Bag, & Flints, and a Knapsack—that they form themselves into Companies consisting of a Captain, two Lieutenants, an Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Drummer, & sixty eight privates—that these Companies be form'd into Battalions, and that all persons who have associated or shall hereafter associate, use all possible Industry in learning the Exercise afore said, and the Maneuvres & Evolutions necessary for rendering their operations effectual when embodied and in actual service.

MS (PPL). These resolutions were written by John Dickinson on the verso of Thomas Johnson to John Dickinson, June 1, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> Congress adopted resolutions similar to these on July 18. *JCC*, 2:187–89.

<sup>2</sup> MS blank.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Dear Sr

Philadelphia July 18th 1775

It gives me much Uneasiness that all my good Intentions for you are frustrated by the Genls appointment of Coll Reed of this City to be his secretary tho he is a Gentn of real worth & truly deserving. He set out from this City to Accompany the Genlls. believe he had no thots when he set out of proceeding to the Army. Indeed no one nor even his family had any knowledge of his Intentions if so. He is the Gent who married Mr [Dennis] De berts daughter in London, a reputable Lawyer in this City, one of the Colls of their New raised Militia in this City. He would make an agreeable Acquaintance for you.

Mr Mifflin would Introduce you, if I remember you had some previous Acquaintance with him. I hope Coll Reed will not think of tarrying long. If he should not am in hopes you may Succeed him. This Letter is by Mr [Aaron] Burr only son of the late President Burr, his Sister Married Mr Reeves of Litchfield. He is Accompanied by one Mr [Matthias] Ogden of the Jerseys. They are both young Gentn of fortune & regulation. They have so great arder for Military that they are determined to join our Army as Volunteers And goe into the Ranks if they can get Nothing better.<sup>1</sup> Your Civility to them with any service you can render them will be very Agreeable. We are Surprised att our Colony raising two Regiments more without ever applying to or having any requisition made by this Congress. It was with the greatest dificulty that we could get the other of our forces into Continental pay and that we are not assured of for the whole when New York raise their Quota appointed them. I fear the New Regiments will be at the sole Charge of the Colony as we know not where they can be Employed.<sup>2</sup> We much wonder we have received no express from the Genll since his Arrival of the state of the Army &c but expect every hour. We hear the Appointment of Genll Officer[s] by the Congress gives Uneasiness to some Gentn. Putnams fame ran so high as Induced the Congress to give him the Preference. Hope the Interest of the Country & the great cause in question will take place in the minds of Gentn. (who may think themselves Slighted in these appointments) and in their View bare away ivery other Consideration.<sup>3</sup> We hope to adjourn in about a fortnight, remember me as Usual to Friends. I wrote Genll Spencer but never recievd an Answer also to Coll Parsons & Am sincerely yours

Elipht Dyer

RC (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> John Hancock also wrote a letter in behalf of Burr and Ogden to General Washington on July 19. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1689.

<sup>2</sup> See Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, July 21, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> For other references to Putnam's appointment as major general over officers who outranked him in Connecticut, see also Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 20, 1775, note; and Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, June 26, 1775.

## John Hancock to Philip Schuyler

Sir

Philadelphia July 18th. 1775

Your Letter of the 11th Instant has been duly received and laid before the Congress and immediately taken into Consideration.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress desirous of giving you every aid in their power to enable you effectually to execute the Trust reposed in you have ordered me to write to General Wooster and direct him to send in the

most expeditious Manner one thousand of the Connecticut Forces under his Command to Albany there to remain encamped until they shall receive Orders from you, as to their future proceedings.

These Troops when they arrive at Albany will be subject to your Command to march, where you may direct.

The Congress have appointed Mr. Walter Livingston to be Commissary of Stores and provisions for your Department, also Donald Campbell to be Deputy Quarter Master General or a Brigade Major.

The Congress have taken into their Consideration the State of Indian Affairs, and in order to secure the Friendship of the Indians on this extensive Continent they have divided them into three Departments the Northern, middle and Southern. The Northward to include Indians of the six Nations and all to the Northward & Eastward of them.

They have also appointed Commissioners to superintend Indian Affairs in these several Departments.

The Commissioners for the Northern Department are General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Mr. Turbot Francis, Mr. Oliver Woolcot, and Mr. Volkert P. Douw.

They have also prepared a Talk for the Indians, a Copy of which, I herewith transmit you. Proper Belts are now preparing and when ready will be sent forward together with the powers of the Commissioners.

By an Express some Time ago I transmitted a Number of Copies of the Articles of War pass'd by the Congress directed for you at New York.

I have only to inform you that I have made out Commissions and delivered them to Mr. Campbell and Mr. Bedford and have forwarded one for Mr. Livingston. I heartily wish you Health and Success and am Sir Yr. humble Servant

John Hancock President

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> For this letter, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1645-46; and PCC, item 153, 1:18-22.

Thomas McKean, John Dickinson and James Wilson to  
Philip Schuyler

Sir, Philadelphia July 18th. 1775.

We delayed answering your favor of the 30th ulto. until the officers you esteemed necessary in your department were appointed, who were nominated yesterday excepting the Brigade Major, the Choice of whom is submitted to the Provincial Convention of New York. Your friend Mr. Walter Livingston was unanimously chosen



Deputy Commissary-General, and Mr. Colin Campbell Deputy Quarter-Master General; Gunning Bedford Esquire of this city is Deputy-Muster-Master General.

As soon as your obliging information respecting John Macpherson Esquire was received, he proceeded to join you, and we flatter ourselves you will find him deserving the recommendation we gave him.<sup>1</sup>

It is expected our affairs will admit the Congress to adjourn next Saturday week until sometime in September.

We pray for your success in your important command, wish you all manner of happiness, and are, Sir, with great regard Your obliged & obedient humble servants

Tho McKean

John Dickinson

James Wilson

RC (NHi). Written by McKean and signed by McKean, Dickinson, and Wilson.

<sup>1</sup> Macpherson, a Pennsylvania lawyer, became aide-de-camp to Gen. Richard Montgomery. See also Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, September 12, 1774.

## Maryland Delegates to the Committee of Baltimore Town

Gentlemen:

Philadelphia, July 18, 1775.

We this morning laid your proceedings on Mr. *Christie's* letter, before the Congress.<sup>1</sup> That body has thought proper to refer it to our Provincial Convention. We are sorry that any inhabitant of our Province should have entertained sentiments so inimical to our common liberties as those contained in Mr. *Christie's* letter, and, with you, are of opinion, that for such conduct it is proper and necessary there should be an adequate punishment.

We are, gentlemen, with respect and regard, your most obedient servants

Thomas Johnson, Jun.

William Paca

Samuel Chase

MS not found; reprinted from *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 4:1724.

<sup>1</sup> The story of James Christie, Baltimore merchant who was banished from Maryland for activities inimical to America, which included selling goods at excessive prices and criticizing Baltimore leaders for radical tactics and infringement of personal liberties, has been summarized by David C. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753-1776* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973), p. 150. It can be followed in the minutes of the Baltimore County Committee, *Am.*

*Archives*, 4th ser. 4:1717-25, and in the journal of the Maryland Provincial Convention, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 11:9-13, 44-52. Interestingly enough, there is no mention of this case in the journals of Congress, although it was widely publicized in American newspapers.

## New York Delegates to the New York Committee of Safety

Gentlemen

Phila. July 18, 1775.

We are honoured with your despatches of the 12th and 15th Instant,<sup>1</sup> and detained the express till after the Rising of the Congress this day in expectation of giving you the Establishment of the Army which is expected but not fully confirmed and perfected: but to our great Concern such was the State of the Business before the House that we were disappointed. We shall however seize the first Opportunity to draw this important Point to a Conclusion. In the mean time, as your Troops are sure of being placed on an equal footing with their Neighbours it is hoped the Difficulty will not be unsurmountable. This is all the Satisfaction which we can at present give you on that Head.

From a want of proper Directions from those who had the Charge of transporting the Powder for the Use of Major General Schuyler's Department, from this city to Elizabeth Town, it has unfortunately been delayed on the road. We could do no more than complain. The Fault will be repaired, and you may expect it soon.

We are not insensible of the Distress to which you must be reduced for the want of money arms and Powder. With the first you will soon be supplied. The difficulties attending an Emission so uncommon, of which the necessary Guards against Counterfeits is not the least, has render'd it's Progress very tedious. We can give you no Assurances of a Supply of Arms and Ammunition from this Quarter. Every scheme which could be devised to procure them from abroad has been pursued, and on their Success, and the Efforts of the different Colonies, we must depend; for in the Southern Provinces there is very little and none to be spared. Some Blankets are to be had in this City which will be purchased as soon as the money is issued.

We are gent. your most Obedient Servants.

Lewis Morris

James Duane

Phil. Livingston

Henry Wisner

*(P.S. The rest of our Brethren are returned home.)*

RC (N). Endorsed: "July 21st 1775—Letter from the New York Delegates—That Money will be sent soon." Written by Duane and signed by Duane, Livingston,

Morris, and Wisner. *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:17. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> See *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1784, 1788–89.

## John Hancock to the New York Committee of Safety

Gentlemen

Congress Chamber July 19. 1775

By advice from the army before Boston, a supply of Gun powder would be very acceptable and greatly contribute to promote the common cause. I am therefore desired by the Congress who have had an intimation that a quantity of that article was lately imported into your city, to apply to you and request you to send forward as speedily and safely as possible what you can spare to the Camp before Boston.<sup>1</sup>

I am Gentlemen, Your obedt. humble servt.

John Hancock President

RC (N) . *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:4. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:191.

## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 20, 1775]

Thursday 20th. Lettrs recd. from Genl Schuyler &c. At Congress & at Fast. Mr. Duché and Mr. Allison.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi) . *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964) : 93.

<sup>1</sup> A general fast was observed in accordance with the resolve of June 7, and Congress attended religious services at the churches of Jacob Duché and Francis Alison. *JCC*, 2:81, 185, 192. Robert Treat Paine noted in his diary the same day: "Continental Fast observed by Recommendation of Congress. Fair, Cool. Heard Mr. Duché P.M. Dr. Alison who preach'd by desire of Congress." MHi.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia July 20th 1775

Your's of the 13th I received last Evening & am glad to find the Good, & virtuous of Connecticut are willing to stand by the Resolutions of the Congress who in the Appointment of Genl. Putnam Acted on principles as much superior To Those which actuate the dissatisfied as Heav'n is superior to Earth. Putnam's Merit Rung thro this Continent, his Fame still increases and every day justifies the Unani-

mous applause of this Continent. Let it be remembered he had every Vote of the Congress, and his health has been the second or third at almost all Our Tables in This City, but it seems he does not Wear a large Wigg nor screw his Countenance into a form that belies the sentiments of his generous Soul. He is no adept either at political or religious canting & cozening, he is no shake hand body, he therefore is totally unfit for every thing, but only fighting. That Department I never heard that these intriguing Gentry wanted to interfere with him in. I have scarce any patience, O Heav'n! blast, I implore Thee every such low, narrow, selfish, envious manœuvre in the bud, nor let one such succeed far enough to stain the fair page of American patriotic politics!

General Washington writes, that *Spencer* left his post without so much as waiting on him, or sending him a Single Word of his Intentions. You can be at no Loss to infer what Opinion is formed of him from this Conduct indoors & out, suffice it to say the Voice here is that he acted a part, inconsistent, with the Character, either of a Soldier, a Patriot, or even of a Common Gentleman to desert his post in an hour of Danger, to sacrifice his Country, which he certainly did as farr as was in his power, and to turn his back sullenly on his General, a General too of such exalted worth, and Character, will I can assure you, unless he take the most Speedy & effectual Measures to atone, draw down upon him the Resentment of the whole Continent. I am daily, & hourly making as fair Weather as possible of this transaction, and a painful task it is. It is one I am unused to, and therefore labor hard to gloss over what I condemn from the bottom of my Soul. But my principles are, (the Eye of my God knows them, and the most envious Eye of Man, nor the bitterest Tongue of Slander, can not find any thing in my political Conduct to contradict them) they are to sacrifice all lesser considerations to the service of the whole and in this Tempestuous season, to Throw chearfully overboard, private Fortune, private emoluments & all partial, or interested Views, even my Life, if the Ship with the Jewel Liberty on board may be saved. This being my Line of Conduct, I have a Calmness of Mind I thank God resulting from such resolutions which more than ballances, every external Trouble, of which I have not a few, and of which the late Conduct of a part of Our Officers in Support of *Spencer* is not the least. Inclosed I send a Letter for *Parsons* which please to read, then Copy, seal, and forward. I will say no more on the very disagreeable Subject than, that the Copy and this Letter may hereafter shew my Sentiments at the Time.

I am glad Our Assembly did not interpose in favor of *Spencer*. They have hereby acted up to the high Character they sustain with the Congress and the only consistent part He, *Spencer*, can now act is to throw up his Commission, & give place to Men who do not think



it degrading to serve their Country tho they have not the highest Feather in their Cap. Let them look at Major Mifflin who is a Member of the Continental Congress, a respectable one too, yet he condescends to act as *Aid de Camp*, & of Course ranks no higher than Saml. Webb, whose appointment I rejoice at, & own I procured it for him, but not because he was my Freind but because he merits it, and will if it please God to preserve him, make an Officer of the first rank and Character, when some blusterers of the present hour are forgotten, or I am much mistaken. At the Time I recommended Capt. Chester I did not think he would accept, but I knew he deserved it. On that motive I acted. His Conduct has justified my voice in his favor, and will I doubt not justify what I have said, & wrote to the Generals in his favor, and expect soon to hear of his promotion which I shall with pleasure. I recommended without Sollicitation my Freind Jos. Trumbull, & have been happy enough to find him successful in an honorable, & important though a very laborious station. My Interest in Our assembly has been something, in the Congress, it is as large as my Vanity could wish, but God forbid I ever use it, but to promote the meritorious, & my rule of Judging of those, must be by actual specimens of their Conduct, not by Squireship or Cousinship.

The Revd Mr. Duché, in the forenoon & Dr. Allison this Afternoon entertained the Congress at Church & Meeting. Such a Fast was never before observed in this City. Sunday was never so strictly kept. I lent my Chaise to Mr. Sherman Yesterday & it is broke to peices, but shall repair it I beleive by a New one, for the old one is totally broke, and destroyed. I have recd. so many Letters which have been obliged to Answer that with public Business, it has engrossed my whole Time early, & Late, and have not been able to Answer them all. Excuse Me to Your hon[ore]d Father,<sup>1</sup> & other Freinds, who may think I have Neglected them. I send on, what is called the *Shirt Uniform* or rifle Dress, as a Sample or pattern, & wish it may be adopted. Jno Deane is much in my mind, but have no Time to write him. I wish him to follow for the present his Mathematical Studies if he has no Chance for getting abroad. My Complimts to Dr. Fairnsworth, Cpts. Riley, Goodrich &c &c including all inquiring Freinds. We shall I beleive have a recess in about a Fortnight of perhaps Six or Seven Weeks when I mean to return. I must write you on other Subjects in my Next & am with particular regard to all of the Families with which we are Connected My Dear Your Affectionate Husband

S Deane

RC (CtHi).

<sup>1</sup> On the following day Deane wrote a brief letter to his father-in-law, Gurdon Saltonstall, referring him to this letter to Elizabeth and requesting information on naval preparations in Connecticut. *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* 2 (1870): 289.

## Silas Deane to Joseph Trumbull

Sir

Philadelphia 21st July 1775

I have to thank you for Two of your favors, and to Congratulate you on the Unanimous Voice of the Congress in your Appointment to the Post of Commissary General<sup>1</sup> of all the Forces of the United Colonies a post more lucrative than that of Secretary, but as you know, by experience, proportionately more fatiguing. It was natural to expect the General would prefer Col. Read [*Joseph Reed*] to any one, who, besides his Acquaintance, with the Genl. is one of the most amiable Characters, in this City. But the General did you full Justice, in his Letter to the Congress—and greatly to my Satisfaction. I am greived at the part Genl. Spencer has acted, as it has greatly hurt him here. You know how hard it is to efface, such kind of impressions, but We make the best We can of it. I have wrote freely to my Freind Col. Parsons on the Subject, which I hope he will take as I meant it, in good part.<sup>2</sup> I find he is charged, by many in Connecticut, with having had Too great a Share in the uneasiness which I am ready to attribute, to the insinuations of his Enemies, who are you know, jealous of his enterprizing Genius. The Rifle Men are filing off fast. Permit Me to recommend to your Civilities Capt. Ross of this Province, a Young Gentleman who is Son to Col. George Ross one of the Congress for this Colony. My Compliments to Col. Read and Major Mifflin. I am Dear Sir with Esteem Yours

S Deane

RC (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> President Hancock's letter of July 24 informing Joseph Trumbull that Congress had appointed him commissary general of the Continental Army on July 19, is in Trumbull's papers, Ct. See *JCC*, 2:190.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel H. Parsons was one of 49 Connecticut officers who signed a remonstrance to the Connecticut assembly supporting Spencer. See *Am. Archives* 4th ser. 2:1585–86; and Samuel Webb to Deane, July 11, 1775. Webb, *Correspondence* (Ford), 1:77–81.

## James Duane to Richard Montgomery

Dear Sir

Philad. 21st July 1775

I am directed by the Congress to acquaint you<sup>1</sup> of an arrangement in the Massachusetts Department and the Reason which led to it least by misunderstanding it you might think yourself neglected.

When Brigds. General were to be appointed it was agreed that the first in Nomination should be one of the Massachusetts Generals. The Gent. from that province recommended General Pomroy who was accordingly fixed upon but before his Commission arrivd at the Camp he had retir'd from the Army. Under these Circumstances the

Congress thought it Just to fill up the Commission designd for Mr. Pomroy with the Name of General Thomas as first Brigadier;<sup>2</sup> you Consequently hold the Rank to which you was elected.

I sincerely hope this may not give you any Displeasure as I am confident no Disrespect was intended.

Be pleased to accept my sincere wishes for your Honour and Happiness, and particularly in the discharge of the important Trust which you have undertaken.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir Your most obedient humble  
Servant  
Jas. Duane

RC (MH).

<sup>1</sup> Richard Montgomery (1738-75), a retired British Army captain who immigrated to New York in 1772, was one of the original eight brigadier generals in the Continental Army appointed by Congress June 22. Montgomery, although initially only second in command to Gen. Philip Schuyler in the expedition against Canada, assumed command of the invasion in consequence of an illness which incapacitated Schuyler and was killed leading an assault on Quebec December 31, 1775. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 2:191.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Dear Sr

Philadelphia July 21st 1775

I wrote to you the 18th Instant by Mr Burr which was just before we receivd the Express from Genll Washington and have now the pleasure to Inform you that you was soon after Unanimously Appointed Commissary Genll to the whole Army. The Wages are 80 doll[ar]s per month. I Imagine another advantage will be derived from that Appointment which is that it is most probable that office must be Continued thru the winter as it will be necessary to employe the whole time in preparing for the Next Campaigne unless Affairs should be Accomodated in the fall. In my last I wrote you I fear we should not find a place in the Army for our two New Regiments raising in the Colony but as Connecticutt Troops are in high Esteem here and the Genlls hinting the want of more Troops and Advised to the raising of them in Connecticutt &c we obtaind Orders for them to be taken into the Continentall Army.<sup>1</sup> A quarter Master Genll Commissary of the Muster and Commissary of the Artillery we have referred to the Genll being unacquainted with the proper persons our selves. Also have put 3 brigade Majors in his Appointment. My Kinsman Eb. Gray was thot would make a Very good officer among us before his appointment & I thot Comparing him with others he had not what might be expected for him. I thot the same of Grosvenor. How Gray proves since he has been in the Army have not heard. If deserving should be glad he might be remembered as also Gros-

venor for any Vacancys which might advance them. I should think they might do very well for Brigade Majors adjutants &c. I am Surprised att the Conduct of Brigd Genll. Spencer so abruptly leaving the Army. Genll Washington mentions it. I have Indeavoured to make all the excuse for him possible that as this Congress had Superseded him in Rank by Genll Putnam tho he had the strongest love for his Country yet they must make some allowance for the first feelings up on such an Occasion. I hope he may soon return & behave in Character. I wrote to him some time agoe. Hope he has receivd it as therein I Indeavoured to explain the matter to him. Our Friend Coll Parsons must lay aside all other scheming but against the enemy. You write you soon expect another Battle. May God give us Success. The fast Yesterday was observed in this place with great decency & Solemnity much beyond what the Sabbath has been generally observed here. My sincere regards & respects to all proper and am sincerely yours

Elipht Dyer

[P.S.] I hope to get the Wages of Commry. Genll some raised.

Georgia has United in full with the other Colonies and have appointed their Delegates from every Parish to Attend the Congress.<sup>2</sup> South Carolina have Intercepted & taken about fourteen thousand wt powder which was sent to Georgia for Ministerial purposes.

E Dyer

[P.S.] Receivd yours by Majr Morgan Saturday evening after I had wrote the Inclosed. If Spencer should give up who is there for Connecticutt to succeed? What is Coll Parsons a doing. I hear Nothing from him.

RC (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:192.

<sup>2</sup> On July 20 Congress learned that Georgia had adopted the association and appointed delegates to represent the colony. *JCC*, 2:192-93. Proceedings of the Georgia Provincial Congress for July 6 and 7, when these decisions were reached, are printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1545-47.

## Benjamin Franklin's Proposed Articles of Confederation

[July 21, 1775]

For the text of this document, the original of which is in the hand of Benjamin Franklin and is located in PCC, item 47, see *JCC*, 2:195-99. The MS is endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Sketch of Articles of Confederation. July '75. This sketch in handwritg of Doct Franklin. Read before Congress July 21, 1775." Thomson also



wrote an endorsement on another copy of the proposed articles, which is located in PCC, item 9, and reads as follows: "July 21, 1775. Agreeably to Order the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into Consideration the State of America, when doct. B. Franklin submitted to their Consideration the following Sketch of Articles of Confederation."

A discussion of the various surviving copies of Franklin's proposed articles, among which is a copy annotated by Thomas Jefferson, can be found in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:177-82. In addition to the copies discussed by Boyd, there is a copy in the hand of Josiah Bartlett in the Peter Force Papers, DLC, and an incomplete copy in the Samuel Ward Papers, RHi, of which articles one through three are in the hand of Charles Thomson and four through eleven are in the hand of Samuel Ward. Variations between these copies and the other surviving ones are slight. However, the copy in James Duane's Papers, NHi, contains the following marginal comments, in an unidentified hand, pertaining to articles 7 and 9 of Franklin's document. "The delegates from each colony [*cf. Article 7*] should be changed as the Council is & I believe that if each colony had but one vote in the present manner of voting it would be a more equal government; but much may be said on this Subject; it requires consideration. This council [*cf. Article 9*] should consist of one from each colony."

It is interesting that the journals of Congress contain no mention of the submission of Franklin's proposed resolutions this date, perhaps simply because Franklin submitted them in the committee of the whole, and they were not laid before the Congress. For a discussion of a similar instance in which the journals are silent on a significant matter brought before the delegates, see Joseph Gallowsay's Proposed Resolution, September 28, 1774, note. See also Benjamin Harrison to Unknown, November 24, 1775; Silas Deane's Proposals to Congress, November ? 1775; and Richard Smith's Diary, January 16, 1776.

## John Hancock to Philip Schuyler

*Congress Chamber July 21st. 1775.* Forwards July 20 resolution of Congress about the employment of the Continental Army in New York.<sup>1</sup>

Tr (NN).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:194.

## Benjamin Harrison to George Washington

Dear General

Philadelphia July 21st. 1775

I Rec'd your very Acceptable favour of the 10th Inst. by Express. Your fatigue & various kinds of trouble, I dare Say are great, but they are not more than I Expected, knowing the people you have to deal with by the Sample we have here. The Congress have Taken the Two Regiments now Raising in Connecticutt into Service which with Riflemen & Recruits to your Regimts. will I hope make up the Number voted by your Council of War. I wish with all my Heart your

Troops were better & your Stores more Complete. Every thing that we can do here to put you in the best posture possible I think you may depend will be done. I trust you will have a Supply soon of Ammunition, without any Accident you may Depend on it. The want of Engineers I fear is not to be Supplied in America. Some folks here seem'd much displeas'd at your Report on this head, they Affirm there are two very good ones with you, a Coll Gridley I think is one. I took the Liberty to say they must be mistaken, they were certainly either not in the Camp, or could not have the Skill they were pleas'd to Say they had. This in my soft way put a Stop to any thing more on this Subject, indeed, my Friend, I do not know what to think of some of these Men, they seem exceeding hearty in the Cause, but still wish to keep every thing among themselves. Our President is quite of a different Cast, Noble, Disinterested & Generous to a very great Degree. The Congress have given you the Appointment of Three Brigade Majors. Mr Trumbull has the office you propos'd for him. The appointment of Commissary of Artillery, of Musters, & Quarter Master General are also left to your Disposal. Nothing is yet done as to the Hospitall, but I will bring it on very soon. Your Brothers in the Delegation have Recommended it to our Convention to Send some Virginians to the Camp at the Expence of our Colony to learn the Military Art, & I hope you will see them soon.<sup>1</sup> We have given the Commission of First Brigadier to Mr Thomas as Putnam's Commission was deliver'd it would perhaps have offended the old Gentn. to have superceeded him; the other I hope will still Act, the Congress have from your Accott. a high Opinion of him, & I dare Say will grant any thing in their power that he may here after Require. Your Hint of the Removal of the Congress to some place nearer to you will come on to morrow, I think it will not Answer your Expectations if we should Remove, You shall have the Result in the Close of this.<sup>2</sup> The Military Chest I hope will be Supplied soon, they begin to Strike the Bills this day, so that I hope some may be forwarded to you next week. What has Occasion'd a Delay of this Article I know not. Without, an Imitation of the Congress in its Slowness has become fashionable. I have had no farther Accott. from our Country about the Governor, except that he is still at York Town with three Men of War. He, Montague & [Foye] went the other Day by Water to his Farm, and were within three or four Minutes of being all Taken by Capt Meredith from Hanover, who are with about 150 Men from other Counties guarding Williamsbg. from any Attempt he may make with his boiled Crabs. Meredith says, his Intentions were to Carry his Lordship to Williamsburg to put him into the Palace & promise him protection, to convince him & the World that no Injury was intended him. However as he missed his Stroke, I dare Say he will be Charg'd with intending to murder him. We think the Season too far Advanc'd

to Send you any more Men from the Southward, but it seems to be the general Opinion to Send some Thousands early in the Spring, Should this be the case, if I have the honour of being here, you may Depend on my Care of Mr Johnston. We have an imperfect Accott. of an Attack on New York by some of the over lake Indians. I hope it is not true (indeed between you & I) I give very little Credit to any thing from that Quarter, and I wish I could Say I had no Reason to be Suspicious of those People. We yesterday Received dispatches from Georgia. They have come into the Union, & appointed Delegates to the Congress. They have even done more. They with South Carolinians Armed a Vessell, & have Taken a Ship with 140 Bar[el]s of King's Powder which they have Divided betwixt them.<sup>3</sup> As I was in the pleasing Task of writing to you, a little Noise occasion'd me to turn my head round, & who should appear but pretty little Katy the Washer Woman's Daughter over the way, clean, trim & Rosey as the Morning. I snatch'd the Golden glorious Opportunity, and but for that Cursed Antidote to Love, Sukey, I had fitted her for my General against his Return, We were obliged to part, but not till we had contrived to Meet again. If she keeps the Appointment I shall Relish a Weeks longer Stay. I give you now & then some of these Adventures to amuse and unbend your Mind from the Cares of War.<sup>4</sup>

Tr (PHi) . In the hand of John Hancock. This letter was intercepted and printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette*; and the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, August 17, 1775, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1775, from which a large number of contemporary copies were made in both America and England. For a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the interception and publication of the letter, as well as the insertion of the forged passage noted below, see Allen French, "The First George Washington Scandal," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 65 (November 1935) : 460-74.

<sup>1</sup> See Virginia Delegates to the President of the Virginia Convention, July 11, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> See Harrison to Washington, July 23, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> The remainder of this paragraph was concocted for publication after the letter had been intercepted. See French, "The First George Washington Scandal," pp. 468-74.

<sup>4</sup> For the continuation of this letter, see Harrison to Washington, July 23, and July 24, 1775.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia July 22nd 1775

We have now the Honor as well as Pleasure to Acquaint you that this Congress have received in to the Continental Army the New raised Levies in Connecticut. We had great fears when we heard the Assembly had Voted to raise fourteen hundred More men for the

Army that they would not have been Receivd by this Congress, & that the whole Expencc would have fallen on our exhausted Colony. But on receiving an express from General Washington and his Return of the Army with his Intimations that a reinforcement was necessary togeather with the high Esteem entertained of the Connecticut forces here, we have procured them to be admitted into the Continental Army & you Will be desired by the President of the Congress to have them forwarded to join the Army with all expedition. The Congress have Unanimously appointed Capt. Joseph Trumbull Commissary General of our Army. We had recommended him to Genl Washington for his Secretary but Colo Reed a Gentleman of high reputation in this City a Lawyer of the first eminence set out with the Genl from this Place and was induced by the General to proceed with him to the Army & tarry with him through the summer, upon which he appointed him his secretary, and on his Arrival he found the Connecticut Troops so much better supplied than the other & by the good Opinion he entertained of your son he recommended him to the Congress for that appointment which was very readily agreed to.

The publick Fast was observed here by all Societys of Christians with great Decency & Solemnity even much beyond what the Sabboths are generally observed here. We hope it may have a happy effect thro the Continent & that Almighty God may hear the united Supplications of his People. We have the pleasure to inform you that the Colony [of] Georgia have at length fully adopted the Measures of the late Congress & have Chosen Delegates from all their Parishes to Attend this, Mr Hall was here only from the parish of St Johns. They have lately taken at South Carolina about fourteen Thousand Wt Powder which was going into Georgia for the use of the Ministry. We are yet Uncertain when we shall adjourn or where the General Urges our Moving nearer Boston which I dare say will have great Weight, but the Gentlemen from some of the Sothern Colonies seem Very averse to [it].<sup>1</sup> We hope to be on our way to New England in about a fortnight.

We are with great respect Your Honors most Obedient Humble  
Servants

Elipha Dyer

Silas Dean

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Harrison states that the question of adjourning nearer to Boston was debated in Congress this day. See Harrison to Washington, July 23, 1775. For other references to the subject of adjournment see Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane, May 21, 1775, note.



## Silas Deane's Diary

[July 22, 1775]

Saturday 22d. At GermanTown to get a Carriage, cost 2/6.

Returned to Congress. Made out Two Reports on Commerce & expence of Warr.<sup>1</sup>

MS (CtHi). *CHS Bulletin* 29 (July 1964): 94.

<sup>1</sup> Congress considered the report of the committee "to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these colonies" July 21 and 22 and then postponed it indefinitely. *JCC*, 2:200, 202. On July 19 Deane was appointed to the committee "to bring in an Estimate of the expenses, incurred by the votes and resolves of this Congress." *JCC*, 2:192. Although there is no further explicit mention of this committee, their findings were undoubtedly utilized by the committee of the whole.

## John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Congress Chamber July 22, 1775<sup>1</sup>

By the return of the Army transmitted by the General to the Congress it appears there is a great deficiency in many of the Regiments upon which the Congress came to the enclosed Resolution, which I am ordered to transmit to you.<sup>2</sup>

I am Sr Your Obednt humble Servant

John Hancock Presidt.

[P.S.] I inclose you a Publick paper, in which you may see the Resolution of Congress respecting the Militia throughout the Continent.<sup>3</sup>

Tr (Ct).

<sup>1</sup> This day Hancock sent an identical letter to the New Hampshire Provincial Convention. *N. H. Provincial Papers*, 7:566.

<sup>2</sup> On July 19 Congress decided to ask the Connecticut assembly to provide the Continental Army at Boston with 1,400 additional men. *JCC*, 2:192.

<sup>3</sup> On these resolves, adopted by Congress July 18, see *JCC*, 2:187-90.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear

July 23 1775<sup>1</sup>

You have more than once in your Letters mentioned Dr. Franklin, and in one intimated a Desire that I should write you something concerning him.

Dr. Franklin has been very constant in his Attendance on Congress from the Beginning. His Conduct has been composed and grave and in the Opinion of many Gentlemen very reserved. He has not as-

sumed any Thing, nor affected to take the lead; but has seemed to choose that the Congress should pursue their own Principles and sentiments and adopt their own Plans: Yet he has not been backward: has been very usefull, on many occasions, and discovered a Disposition entirely American. He does not hesitate at our boldest Measures, but rather seems to think us, too irresolute, and backward. He thinks us at present in an odd State, neither in Peace nor War, neither dependent nor independent. But he thinks that We shall soon assume a Character more decisive.

He thinks, that We have the Power of preserving ourselves, and that even if We should be driven to the disagreeable Necessity of assuming a total Independency, and set up a separate state, We could maintain it. The People of England, have thought that the Opposition in America, was wholly owing to Dr. Franklin: and I suppose their scribblers will attribute the Temper, and Proceedings of this Congress to him: but there cannot be a greater Mistake. He has had but little share farther than to co operate and assist. He is however a great and good Man. I wish his Colleagues from this City were All like him, particularly one,<sup>2</sup> whose Abilities and Virtues, formerly trumpeted so much in America, have been found wanting.

There is a young Gentleman from Pensylvania whose Name is Wilson, whose Fortitude, Rectitude, and Abilities too, greatly outshine his Masters. Mr. Biddle, the Speaker, has been taken off, by Sickness. Mr. Mifflin is gone to the Camp, Mr. Morton is ill too, so that this Province has suffered by the Timidity of two overgrown Fortunes. The Dread of Confiscation, or Caprice, I know not what has influenced them too much: Yet they were for taking Arms and pretended to be very valiant. This Letter must be secret my dear—at least communicated with great Discretion. Yours,

John Adams

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:252–53.

<sup>1</sup> Adams wrote another brief letter to Abigail this day in which he noted: “The Fast was observed here with a Decorum and solemnity, never before seen ever on a Sabbath. The Clergy of all Denominations . . . are a Flame of Fire. It is astonishing to me, that the People are so cool here. Such sermons in our Country would have a much greater Effect.” Adams to Abigail Adams, July 23, 1775, Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:254.

<sup>2</sup> That is, John Dickinson. Adams’ disparaging remarks about Dickinson were extended in a letter the next day to James Warren, which was subsequently captured and published by the British. John Adams to James Warren, July 24, 1775.

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dr sir

July 23. 1775

We live in Times, when it is necessary to look about Us, and to know the Character of every Man, who is concerned in any material Branch of public affairs, especially in the Army.

There will be a large Number of Voluntiers in the Army perhaps—certainly there will be many young Gentlemen from the Southern Colonies, at the Camp. They will perhaps be introduced, into places, as Aid du Camps—Brigade Majors, Secretaries, and Deputies in one Department, or another.

I earnestly intreat you to make the most minute Enquiry, after every one of these, and let me know his Character, for I am determined, I will know that Army, and the Character of all its officers.

I swear, I will be a faithfull Spy upon it for its good.

I beg you would let me know, what is become of Coll Gridley and Mr Burbanks, and whether they have lost their Character as Engineers and Gunners—and let me know, what Engineers there are in the Army, or whether there are none.

I want to know if there are any Engineers in the Province and who they are. I have heard the Generals were much disappointed, in not finding Engineers, and Artillery as they expected. [Pray] let me know the Truth of this, if you can learn it, and how they came to expect a better Artillery than they found. All this keep to your self.

I am &c.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

## John Adams to James Warren

July 23, 1775

We have voted Twenty two thousand Men for your Army.<sup>1</sup> If this is not enough to incounter every officer and Soldier in the british Army, if they were to send them all from Great Britain and Ireland I am mistaken.

What will N. England do with such Floods of Paper Money? We shall get the Continent nobly in our Debt. We are Striking off our Paper Bills in Nine different sorts. Some of twenty Dollars, Some of Eight, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1. We shall be obliged to strike off four Millions of Dollars I fear.<sup>2</sup>

Secret as usual. Our Fast has been kept more Strictly and devoutly than any Sunday was ever observed in this City. The Congress heard Duche in the Morning and Dr Allison in the Evening. Good Sermons.

By the way do let our Friend Adams's son be provided for as a surgeon.

RC (MHi) . A continuation of Adams to Warren, July 11, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> On July 21, Congress increased from 15,000 to 22,000 the number of troops Washington was authorized to maintain in Massachusetts. *JCC*, 2:202.

<sup>2</sup> Congress, having approved emission of \$2 million in paper currency on June 22, resolved on July 25 to emit another \$1 million in bills. *JCC*, 2:103, 207.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dr Sir

Philadelphia July 23d. 1775

I have many Things to write you, which thro Haste and Confusion, I fear I Shall forget.

Upon the Receipt of General Washingtons Letter, the Motion which I made Some Days before, for appointing General Thomas first Brigadier, was renewed and carried,<sup>1</sup> So that the Return of the Express will carry his Commission. I hope that this will give all the Satisfaction which is now to be given. You ask me upon what Principle We proceeded in our first Arrangement. I answer you the Principle of an implicit Compliance with the order in which the General Officers were chosen in our Provincial Congress last Fall. Not one of us would have voted for the Generals in the order in which they were placed, if We had not thought that you had Settled the Rank of every one of them last Fall in Provincial Congress, and that We were not at Liberty to make any alteration. I would not have been so shackled however, if my Colleagues had been of my Mind.

But, in the Case of the Connecticut officers, We took a Liberty to alter the Ranks established by the Colony, and by that Means made much Uneasiness: so that We were sure to do Mischief whether We confirmed or deviated from Colony Arrangements.

I rejoice that Thomas had more Wisdom than Spencer or Wooster, and that he did not leave the Camp nor talk imprudently; if he had We should have lost him from the Continental service: for I assure you, Spencer by going off, and Wooster by unguarded Speeches have given high offence here. It will cost us Pains to prevent their being discarded from the service of the Continent with Indignation. Gentlemen here had no private Friendships Connections, or Interests, which prompted them to vote for the Arrangement they made, but were influenced only by a Regard to the Service; and they are determined that their Commissions shall not be dispized.

I have read of Times, either in History or Romance, when Great Generals would chearfully serve their Country, as Captains or Lieutenants of Single Companies, if the Voice of their Country happened not to destine them to an higher Rank: but such exalted Ideas of



public Virtue seem to be lost out of the World. Enough of this.

I have laboured with my Colleagues to agree upon proper Persons to recommend for a Quarter Master General, a Commissary of Musters and a Commissary of Artillery, but in vain. The Consequence has been that the appointment of these important, and lucrative Officers is left to the General, against every proper Rule and Principle, as these offices are Checks upon his. This is a great Misfortune to our Colony, however, I hope that you and others will think of proper Persons and recommend them to the General.<sup>2</sup>

There is, my Friend, in our Colony a great Number of Persons, well qualified for Places in the Army, who have lost their all, by the outrages of Tyranny, whom I wish to hear provided for. Many of them will occur to you. I beg leave to mention a few. Henry Knox, William Bant, young Hitchbourne,<sup>3</sup> the Lawyer, William Tudor, and Perez Morton. These are young Gentlemen of Education and Accomplishments, in civil Life, as well as good Soldiers; and if at this Time initiated into the service of their Country might become in Time and with Experience, able officers. If they could be made Captains or Brigade Majors, or put into some little Places at present I am very sure, their Country would loose nothing by it, in Reputation or otherwise. A certain Delicacy which is necessary to a good Character, may have prevented their making any applications, but I know they are desirous of serving.

I must enjoin Secrecy upon you, in as strong Terms as Mr Hutchinson used to his confidential Correspondents; and then confess to you, that I never was Since my Birth, so compleatly miserable as I have been since the Tenth of April. Bad Health, blind Eyes, want of Intelligence from our Colony, and above all the unfortunate and fatal Division, in our own Seat in Congress, which has lost us Reputation, as well as many great Advantages which We might otherwise have obtained for our Colony, have made me often envy the active Hero in the Field, who, if he does his own Duty, is sure of applause, tho he falls in the Execution of it.

It is a vast and complicated System of Business which We have gone through, and We were all of us, unexperienced in it. Many Things may be wrong, but no small Proportion of these are to be attributed to the Want of Concert, and Union among the Mass. Delegates.

We have passed a Resolution, that each Colony make such Provision as it thinks proper and can afford, for defending their Trade in Harbours, Rivers, and on the sea Coast, against Cutters and Tenders.<sup>4</sup> We have had in Contemplation a Resolution to invite all Nations to bring their Commodities to Market here, and like Fools have lost it for the present.<sup>5</sup> This is a great Idea. What shall We do? Shall We invite all Nations to come with their Luxuries, as well as

Conveniences and Necessaries? or shall We think of confining our Trade with them to our own Bottoms, which alone can lay a Foundation for great Wealth and naval Power. Pray think of it.

I rejoice that the Generals and Coll Reed and Major Mifflin are so well received. My most respectfull Compliments to them all.

I thank you and Mrs. Warren a thousand Times for her kind and elegant Letter. Intreat a Continuance of her Favours in this Way, to your old Friend.

RC (MHi). In Adams' hand though not signed. Addressed: "To the Hon James Warren Esqr Watertown, favoured by Mr. Hitchbourne." Although Benjamin Hichborn was subsequently captured enroute to Massachusetts, Warren wrote to Adams on July 31st that he had received this letter. Since other letters in Hichborn's care were confiscated and published by the British, the manner in which this letter was delivered remains something of a mystery. See *Warren-Adams Letters*, 1:95; and Adams to Abigail Adams, July 24, 1775, note.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:191.

<sup>2</sup> After Warren had met with Washington on August 1, he reported to Adams: "I find the Colony, as you predicted, will suffer by referring the appointments you mention to him. They will, I think, go to the southward." *Warren-Adams Letters*, 1:97.

<sup>3</sup> This recommendation of Benjamin Hichborn, coupled with the fact that Adams wrote at least four letters on July 23, casts doubt upon his later explanation of how he happened on the 24th to write the two famous letters to Warren and Abigail which were intercepted and published, to his considerable embarrassment. Adams explained in his autobiography that: "A young Gentleman from Boston, Mr. Hitchbourne, whom I had known as a Clerk in Mr. Fitch's office, but with whom I had no Particular connection or Acquaintance, had been for some days soliciting me, to give him Letters to my Friends in the Massachusetts. I was so engaged in the Business of Congress in the day time and in consultations with the Members on Evenings and Mornings that I could not find time to write a Line. He came to me at last and said he was immediately to sett off, on his Journey home, and begged I would give him some Letters. I told him I had not been able to write any. He prayed I would write if it were only a Line to my Family, for he said, as he had served his Clerkship with Mr. Fitch he was suspected and represented as a Tory, and this Reputation would be his ruin, if it could not [be] corrected, for nobody would employ him at the Bar. If I would only give him, the slightest Letters to any of my Friends, it would give him the Appearance of having my Confidence, and would assist him in acquiring what he truly deserved the Character of a Whigg. To get rid of his importunity, I took my Penn, and wrote a very few Lines to my Wife and about an equal Number to General James Warren." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:318-19.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 2:189.

<sup>5</sup> On July 21 and 22 Congress considered the report of the committee "to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these colonies," but on the 22d "the same was postponed to be taken up at some future day." *JCC*, 2:200-202.

## Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane

My Dear

Philadelphia July 23d 1775

I reply'd particularly to Your's respecting Spencer and inclosed a

Lettr. To *Parsons*, both of which I trust you received, nothing New has since occurred worth transmitting. The Congress (I think) will adjourn, in Two Weeks to the 10th of September but whither to meet here or in Connecticut uncertain. If here the Time will admit only of seeing my Freinds & returning in Season, in which case the Southern Gentlemen will not return at all, but some of them take a Tour, to the Camp, or elsewhere in New England. I hope to be at home in Three Weeks if I get my Carriage repaired in Season. It must be made in a Manner New. *Mr. Sherman* is I think, peculiarly Unfortunate, at Philadelphia, tho by no means faulty.

I may not add, & indeed should not have wrote This, but That I will let no Opportunity slip me, if it give Me only the pleasure of saying *Howd'ye do*. Remember Me to all, particularly to Sally. How is the weather? Are not the Evenings warm.

I am &c

S Deane

[P.S.] This is stole from Sunday after hearing Two elegant Warr Sermons.

RC (CtHi).

## Eliphalet Dyer to William Judd

Dear Sr

Philadelphia July 23d 1775

I this day heard by Capt Strong that you<sup>1</sup> was on your waye to Susquehannah and about to settle there and that your design was on the West branch. I am Very glad that a Gentn. of the Capacity & Abilities I esteem you (Without flattery) to be possessed of is about to move into that Country as Gentn of knowledge & prudence may be of great service there especially at this Critical time when a jarr between two Colonies may be of allmost fatal Consequence to the whole.<sup>2</sup> I am therefore obliged for your prudent Conduct to let you know that the Proprietor their Friends Agents, & land Jobbers who have purchased large Tracts in our Country are extreemly Jealous least we from Connecticutt take advantage of the times and press upon & Violently remove their people from their settlements. They have propagated that Opinion among the Penns people on the West branch & below Wyoming & that part of the forces raised in Connecticut are for that purpose, that our assembly in this time of distress are making strides into that Country extending their Claim &c, & Indeed they goe farther & trye to possess the minds of Southern Gentn of the Congress that we are a hardy daring enterprising people & if we prove Successful against the Ministerial Army here we shall after that make our way by force into any the Southern Colonies we

please. Mr Dickinson the Pennsylvania farmer as he is Called in his Writings is lately most bitter against us & Indeavours to make every ill Impression upon the Congress against us but I may say he is not very highly Esteemd in Congress. He has taken a part very different from what I believe was expected from the Country in general or from his Constituents. But Sr I mean to let you know & be apprised that a little Matter, a little driving or Imprudence now in that Country may blow all up into a flame or the least threat or offer of force or Violence. Therefore Sr hope you will take every precaution & guard our people against every appearance of that kind. Let all the settlers under the propriet[or]s & their land holders know they will not be put off by force but may be quieted in their actual possessions & Improvements as their own on the most reasonable terms, free from quit rents or Services to any. Flatter them to let our people set down among them on the Vacant lands, I mean the Common people and let them know as far as you can make them understand, how much better it will be for them to come in under our Colony & that they will be secured by Our Government. If you are about to settle a Township let those who are settled under Penn within the Limits know that they shall have a part with you where they are settled down & Actually Improved to Some more or less if even a hundred acres to some & that they shall be one with you. The Proprietors of every Township have a right to do this, to flatter in the bulk of the People will be the wisest method at present and We can deal with the great land holders by & by when we have the main of the people [*on*] our side. For some of the great purchasers there Under Penn would be glad also to purchase in the Connecticut Claim. I believe it would be best to take in some of the greatest Influence in that way but it will not do abruptly to goe with a Number to the West branch for they have lately been made very Jealous. You must goe first & only with one or two. Let the people know that your designs are not of force, gain their Consent & get gradual possession. Do not be fond to exercise Jurisdiction (as I understand you are appointed Juste Pacis there) where they do not own the Connecticut Claim. I mean it will not do at this time to force your Authority among our own people & who are settled under Connecticut. I hope the best order may be observed, that you may conduce much to by some proper harangue in some of your publick Meetings &c & the Necessity of keeping up Authority. I want to have you fully gaine the affections of & Confidence in the people in that part, every thing in my power to Serve you there or with us will not be wanting. You may be free to Communicate to me whatever you think proper in Confidence or otherwise. Finally do all the good you can, Cultivate a good understanding with brethren in Authority. If the authority do not Unite but take a Contrary part to each other, you are all ruind. Your Sup[erio]r knowledge will



give you all the weight and Influence you can wish for, if you exercise with Prudence. The Congress have taken every Step to quiet the Indians.<sup>3</sup> Belts are sent forward every thing providing for a Treaty, Indian goods for presents &c but if hostilities should begin the Country will defend the frontiers. It is provided for but hope there is no danger. This Sr for your assured Friend & Hle Servt.

Elipht Dyer

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> William Judd (1743–1804), Farmington, Conn., lawyer, moved to the Wyoming valley in 1774. Connecticut authorities appointed him justice of the peace and commissioned him major in the militia in May 1775. He later served in the Continental Army, 1777–80, and the Connecticut assembly, 1786–94. Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, 6 vols. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1885–1919), 3:25–27.

<sup>2</sup> Despite repeated appeals by the Connecticut delegates for prudence and peaceful conduct, the Judd expedition to establish a Connecticut settlement on the west branch of the Susquehannah River aggravated the old jurisdictional dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut in the Wyoming valley and forced serious consideration of that dispute during the next session of Congress. See Silas Deane to Zebulon Butler, July 24; Connecticut Delegates to Zebulon Butler and Others, August 2; Dyer to Butler, October 1; and Deane to Thomas Mumford, October 16<sup>?</sup> 1775. For background on the discord and the Connecticut delegates' involvement, see Christopher Collier, *Roger Sherman's Connecticut* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971), pp. 77–84, 139–40; and Julian P. Boyd and Robert J. Taylor, eds., *The Susquehannah Company Papers*, 11 vols. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962–71), 5:xxi–lii.

<sup>3</sup> See the proceedings of July 12 and 13. *JCC*, 2:174–83.

## Benjamin Harrison to George Washington

[July 23, 1775]

23d. The Debate about the Remove was taken up yesterday and Determin'd in the Negative.<sup>1</sup> I propos'd a Committee but could not Carry it. I think the last Method would have answer'd your purpose best, but the Gentlemen could not think of parting with the least particle of their power. Pendleton left us yesterday, all Maryland are gone off this Day, and we intend to follow them [next] Sunday if nothing material happens betwixt this & then. Our Going I Expect will break up the Congress, indeed I think it high time there was an End of it. We have been too long together. Edmund Randolph is here, & has the greatest Desire to be with you, he has beg'd of me to Say something in his favour, & that if you can you will keep one of the places now in your Gift for him. He is not able to Support himself, or he would not Ask this of you. You know him as well as I do. He is one of the cleaverest young men in America, & if Mr. Reed should leave you, his place of Secretary cannot be better Supplied.

He will set off for New York in a few days, and I Beg it as a favour of you to write a line to be left at the Post office till Call'd for. This deserving young Man was in high Repute in Virginia, & fears his Fathers Conduct may lessen him in the Opinion of his Countrymen. He has taken this Method without the Advice of his Friends to Raise him into favour, as he is Determin'd on the thing. I am sure our good old Speaker will be much oblig'd by any favour you shew him. Applications of this sort, I fear, will be too frequent. I shall avoid them as much as possible, but I could not Refuse it on this Occasion, well knowing that a most valuable young Man, & one that I love, without some Step of this sort, may from the misconduct of his Parent be lost to his Country which now stands much in need of men of his Abilities. We have Report that Bob [McKenzie] was kill'd at Bunker's Hill, is it true? I had a great Friendship for him formerly, but can't help saying I shall be Glad to hear the News confirm'd.<sup>2</sup>

Tr (PHi) . A continuation of Harrison to Washington, July 21, 1775.

<sup>1</sup>There is no mention in the journals of this debate. The delegates apparently spent a portion of the day debating in a committee of the whole. See *JCC*, 2:202.

<sup>2</sup>For the continuation of this letter, see Harrison to Washington, July 24, 1775.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My Dear,

*Philadelphia July 24th, 1775.*<sup>1</sup>

It is now almost three Months since I left you, in every Part of which my Anxiety about you and the Children, as well as our Country, has been extreme.

The Business I have had upon my Mind has been as great and important as can be intrusted to [One] Man, and the Difficulty and Intricacy of it is prodigious. When 50 or 60 Men have a Constitution to form for a great Empire, at the same Time that they have a Country of fifteen hundred Miles extent to fortify, Millions to arm and train, a Naval Power to begin, an extensive Commerce to regulate, numerous Tribes of Indians to negotiate with, a standing Army of Twenty seven Thousand Men to raise, pay, victual and officer, I really shall pity those 50 or 60 Men.

I must see you e'er long. Rice, has wrote me a very good Letter, and so has Thaxter, for which I thank them both. Love to the Children.  
J.A.

I wish I had given you a compleat History from the Beginning to the End of the Journey, of the Behaviour of my Compatriots. No Mortal Tale could equal it. I will tell you in Future, but you shall keep it secret. The Fidgets, the Whims, the Caprice, the Vanity, the Superstition, the Irritability of some of us, is enough to——

MS not found; reprinted from Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:255–58. This is one of two letters Adams wrote this day that were intercepted by the British.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the capture, publication, and contemporary impact of both this letter and the one Adams wrote to James Warren this day, see Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 1:256–58n; and Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 2:174–75n.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, July 24th, 1775.

In Confidence, I am determined to write freely to you this Time. A certain great Fortune and piddling Genius whose Fame has been trumpeted so loudly, has given a silly Cast to our whole Doings.<sup>1</sup> We are between Hawk and Buzzard. We ought to have had in our Hands a Month ago, the whole Legislative, Executive and Judicial of the whole Continent, and have compleatly modelled a Constitution, to have raised a Naval Power and opened all our Ports wide, to have arrested every Friend to Government on the Continent and held them as Hostages for the poor Victims in Boston—And then opened the Door as wide as possible for Peace and Reconcilliation: After this they might have petitioned and negotiated and addressed, etc. if they would. Is all this extravagant? Is it wild? Is it not the soundest Policy?

One Piece of News—Seven Thousand Weight of Powder arrived here last Night. We shall send along some as soon as we can—but you must be patient and frugal.

We are lost in the extensiveness of our Field of Business. We have a Continental Treasury to establish, a Paymaster to choose, and a Committee of Correspondence, or Safety, or Accounts, or something, I know not what that has confounded us all Day.

Shall I *hail* you Speaker of the House, or Counsellor or what—What Kind of an Election had you? What Sort of Magistrates do you intend to make?

Will your new Legislative and Executive feel bold, or irresolute? Will your Judicial hang and whip, and fine and imprison, without Scruples?<sup>2</sup> I want to see our distressed Country once more—yet I dread the Sight of Devastation.

You observe in your Letter the Oddity of a great Man.<sup>3</sup> He is a queer Creature. But you must love his Dogs if you love him, and forgive a Thousand Whims for the Sake of the Soldier and the Scholar.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter*, August 17, 1775.

<sup>1</sup> Adams wrote these acerbic remarks about John Dickinson in the aftermath of their confrontation during the debates on the second petition to the king. For

Adams' later recollection of the circumstances surrounding this action, see Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:317–21.

<sup>2</sup> Adams subsequently explained that this was “construed to mean to excite Cruelty against the Tories, and get some of them punished with Severity. Nothing was farther from my Thoughts. I had no reference to Tories in this.” Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:320.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to Gen. Charles Lee, who wrote a tactful response to Adams. Lee to Adams, October 5, 1775, Adams, *Works* (Adams), 2:414–15n.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philada July 24 1775

I am exceedingly obligd to you for your Letter of the 9th of July. It affords me very great Satisfaction to be informd by you, that “no Suspensions, no Uneasiness at all prevails with Regard to our old Generals.” I assure you I have been otherwise informd since I receivd your Letter. Indeed I do not always rely much upon the Information we have; being often obligd even to the Citizens for the Intelligence they are pleasd to give us of the State of our Army, the Character of our officers and the Situation of our oppressd Friends in Boston. However ill a Choice was made of Delegates for the Continental Congress by our Colony, it would certainly have been good Policy, to have as far as possible supported their Reputation, and given them some Degree of Weight by putting it in their Power at least to ascertain Matters of Fact within their own Colony. But I am disposd to make Allowance for the Multiplicity of Affairs you must attend to, and will cease to complain lest I should charge our Friends foolishly. I have many things to say to you. I expect we shall soon make a short Adjournment. If so, I shall then have the Opportunity of seeing you. In the mean time I have one favor to ask of you. I have an only Son, for whom my Anxiety is great. He was educated at Harvard College and afterwards was Pupil to our worthy deceased Friend Dr Warren. Warren spoke well of this young Fellow as being capable in his Business. If he is not already provided for as a Surgeon in the Army, I shall be much obligd to you if you will use your Influence for his Promotion as far as he shall appear to have Merit.

I am Your Friend

S Adams

RC (MHi).

## Thomas Cushing to Joseph Hawley

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 24. 1775

I have wrote you several times but have not been favoured with



any reply. I embrace this opportunity to Inform You that the Congress sensible of the Importance of the Freindship of the Indian Nations thro this Continent, have appointed Commissioners for three different departments vizt the Southern the Middle & the Northern, in order to treat with the Indians & secure their Freindship & Neutrality relative to the present Contest between Great Britain & these American Colonies. They appointed for the Northern Department, General Schuyler, *The Honble Joseph Hawley Esqr*, Mr Alderman Dow of Albany, Mr Wolcot of Connecticut, & Col Francis of this City.<sup>1</sup> Your Business will lay principally with the Six Nations. I suppose Mr Hancock has or will Inform you of this appointment, & at what time it will be necessary for you to attend at Albany to execute this Commission. I thought you well qualified for this important trust & accordingly with the rest of my Brethren I recommended you to Congress. I hope it will be agreeable to you to attend to this appointment. All my fear is least the critical & perplexed situation of our Province should require your Constant Attendance at the General Court. Inclosed you have a Paper containing some Resolutions of the Congress for regulating the Militia thro the Continent, which may be of Eminent use in placing America in a posture of Defence. In great haste I conclude with great respect yr Sincere Friend & Sert

Thos. Cushing

RC (NN). Addressed: "To The Honble Joseph Hawley Esqr., at Watertown, New England."

<sup>1</sup>The commissioners for the northern department were appointed on July 13. *JCC*, 2:183.

## Silas Deane to Zebulon Butler

Sir

Philadelphia July 24th. 1775

Yours of the 6th I received Yesterday, and wish it were possible to obtain the Article of Powder, but it is more scarce, & more sought after than Gold. A Quantity is expected in at Connecticut, where will be the greatest probability of a Supply. You mention Your Fears of the Indians. We have had such reports here but from many Circumstances, hope they will prove groundless. As to petitioning the Congress for a Number of Men to be Stationed near You,<sup>1</sup> can by no means advise it as the Congress are so deeply engaged already in the Warr at Boston and Genl. Schuyler has to the Northward an Army sufficient to check the Indians, and protect the Frontiers. Should Johnson attempt to penetrate Southward into the Settlements, Schuyler will be in his Rear, so that I think You are safe on that Quarter though I cannot urge You Too strongly to put Your people in the

best posture of defence possible, and to apply to Connecticut for Powder. You can have no prospect of any from this place.

I hope Peace will be preserved between You, & those claiming under Penn, should Violences of any kind be committed the Consequences will be terrible beyond description, as Our Enemies will be sure to take advantage of the Times, and prejudice the Colonies against Our Claim, and it is probable as things are ripening that the Colonies will be Our Judges at last.

I am wishing You, & the Settlers all possible happiness & success.  
Your most Humble. Servt. Silas Deane

P.S. You may rely upon it, that any rash Measures, at this Time, will ruin Our Cause forever—by no means attempt to disseize peaceable possessors. You will draw the resentment of the Congress if You do. Cannot You obtain a friendly Association for the present between both parties for mutual defence, a petition to the Congress (in Case of Danger), from the whole, of the Inhabitants, will undoubtedly be attended to but if a party should petition, it will occasion the greatest Suspicion possible. I am very Anxious lest some violent Steps should be taken, but hope You will be able to prevent them.

RC (PWbH).

<sup>1</sup>Zebulon Butler (1731–95), a director of the Susquehannah Company and representative for Westmoreland in the Connecticut assembly, was a leader of the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming valley. *DAB*. Deane's attempts to avert a crisis are more fully explained in his letter to Thomas Mumford, October 16? 1775. For other references to the dispute, see Eliphalet Dyer to William Judd, July 23, 1775, note.

## John Hancock to Artemas Ward and John Thomas

Dear Sirs

Philadelphia July 24th. 1775

The Bearer Capt Thomas Price who Commands a Company of Rifle Men from Maryland, is a Gentleman of [. . .] great Reputation, & strongly Recommended to me as a gentleman of great Meritt, & who I should wish might meet the Countenance of you & all our good Friends with you. I therefore Beg to Introduce him to your particular Notice, & pray your Civilities to him, & earnestly Desire you will Introduce him to the Notice & Acquaintance of the Circle of my Friends. I Beg your particular Attention to my Recommenda[tio]n of this Gentleman, which I shall Esteem a favour.

I hope in a fortnight to pay my Respects in Person.

I am Gentn. Your very hum Servt.

John Hancock

RC (NN).

## John Hancock to George Washington

Sir,

Philada 24th July 1775

Your letter of the 10th inst. with the enclosed papers being duly received was laid before Congress and immediately taken into consideration.

In answer to the several Matters therein contained I am to inform you that the Congress appointed a committee to enquire what quantity of light Sail Cloth, Sheeting and Oznabrigs could be obtained in this town for the purpose of making Tents, and in this business the Committee are now closely employed.<sup>1</sup>

It is agreed that tow cloth will be most proper for hunting shirts, & of this the Congress are informed a sufficient quantity may be obtained in Rhode island and Connecticut. It is expected you will give orders for purchasing there the quantity necessary.

Agreeable to your recommendation they have appointed Joseph Trumbull Esqr. Commissary-general of stores and provisions for the army of the United Colonies.

The appointment of a Quarter Master General, Commissary of Musters, and a Commissary of Artillery is left to you, the Congress not being sufficiently acquainted with persons properly qualified for these offices.

They have ordered a company of Matrosses to be raised in this city and sent forward.

General Thomas, they have appointed First Brigadier General in the room of Mr Pomroy who did not act under the commission sent him and have ordered General Thomas's commission to bear date the same day Genl Pomroy's did.

They have empowered you, if you think fit, to appoint three Brigade Majors of such persons as you chuse to honor with that command and to commission them accordingly.

They have appointed a committee to consider and report on the establishing an Hospital and appointing a director.

As soon as they have brought in their report and the Congress have come to any resolution on that subject you will be made acquainted with it.

Letters are sent with a recommendation to the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Connecticut to compleat the deficiencies in the regiments belonging to their respective colonies, which you shall retain in the Continental Army. Inclos'd are the Letters to N Hampshire & Rhode Island, wch. please to order forwarded by express immediately.

And it is earnestly recommended to Rhode Island to send forward to you three hundred and sixty men lately voted by their General Assembly, and to Connecticut to send forward fourteen hundred men

lately voted by the General Assembly of that colony.

Upon intelligence that Mr. Johnson is endeavouring to instigate the Indians to acts of hostility the Congress have empowered General Schuyler to dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York department in such manner as he may think best for the protection and defence of these colonies, the tribes of Indians in friendship and amity with us and most effectually to promote the general interest, still pursuing, if in his power, the former orders of this Congress and subject to the future orders of the Commander in chief.<sup>2</sup>

As the Congress are not fully acquainted with the number of the enemy you have to oppose and the extent of your operations, they reposing confidence in your prudence have resolved, that "such a body of troops be kept in the Massachusetts-Bay as you shall think necessary provided they do not exceed twenty two thousand."<sup>3</sup>

In a letter from Lord Dartmouth to Govr Martin dated Whitehall May 3d. 1775 after recommending him to embody such of the men in four counties (which Govr Martin had represented as favourable to the views of administration) as are able to bear arms is the following Paragraph. "I confess to you, Sir, that this appears to me to be a matter of such importance that I cannot too earnestly recommend it to your attention, and that no time may be lost, in case of absolute Necessity I have received his Majesty's commands to write to Genl. Gage to apprize him of this favourable circumstance and to instruct him that he do, upon application to you, send some able and discreet officer to you in order to concert means of carrying so essential a service into effect and if necessary to lead the people forth against any rebellious attempts to disturb the public peace."<sup>4</sup>

Whither the five Vessells, you mention to have sailed from Boston on the 11th instant, are gone on this service time must manifest.

The Bills ordered to be struck by Congress are in great forwardness; as soon as a sufficient quantity worth sending is compleated, it will be sent to you.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Congress have received a letter from the Provincial Convention of Georgia dated 8th instant,<sup>5</sup> informing that all the parrishes in that colony except two, which it is supposed do not contain a score of freeholders inhabitants, met by their delegates in convention on the 4th inst.; that those parrishes that upon former occasions seemed reluctant have manifested a laudable zeal on this occasion; that several Gentlemen in Savanna, that have hitherto been neuter or declared against America, now speak of the proceedings of parliament as illegal and oppressive; that the convention had applied to the Governor to appoint a day of fasting and prayer with which request the Governor informed them he would comply; that they have chosen five delegates to represent their colony in this Congress viz, John Houston, Archd. Bullock Esqr., The Revd.



Doctor Zubly, Lyman Hall and Noble Wimberly Jones Esqrs; and lastly that they have resolved strictly to adhere to the Continental Association and are heartily disposed zealously to enter into every Measure that the Congress may deem necessary for the safety of America.

Mr Thomas & Mr. Trumbull's Commissions are Inclos'd in un-seal'd Letters to them.

When any thing Occurs Respectg your Department you shall be made Acquaintd.

I have the honor to be with great Esteem, Sir Your most Obedt.  
hum Servt

John Hancock President

[P.S.] Have enclos'd for Mr. Trist, if any oppor[tunit]y please to send to Boston. I have Sent five Bundles of Commissions, 284 the rest shall follow.

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> The matters discussed in this and the next nine paragraphs were acted upon by Congress on July 19. *JCC*, 2:190-92.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 2:194.

<sup>3</sup> On this resolution, adopted by Congress July 21, see *JCC*, 2:202.

<sup>4</sup> For the text of Dartmouth's letter to Governor Martin, see *N. C. Colonial Records*, 9:1240-42.

<sup>5</sup> For the text of this letter, see *JCC*, 2:193n.

## Benjamin Harrison to George Washington

[July 24, 1775]

24th. Nothing New in Congress or from Virginia to day. I should therefore have Closed without saying more had not an Application been made to me to introduce to you Capt. Thomas Price of a Company of Rifle Men from Maryland. He comes with a high Character from thence, & is look'd upon as most firmly Attached to the Cause of America. He has a large Family which he has left merely to forward the Service. The Deputies from that Country are gone home. I have seen a Letter in his favour to Mr Tilghman highly commending him, & as he could not thro' that Channell get a Recommendation I have been prevail'd upon to introduce him, which Liberty I hope you will Excuse.

I am My Dear Sir Your most Affecte. Servt.

B. Harrison

P.S. We Expect to leave this place next Sunday. I shall yet beg the favour of a Line now & then, & shall leave orders with Bradford to forward them, in Return you shall be most minutely informed of every thing going forward in Virginia.

Tr (PHi). A continuation of Harrison to Washington, July 21, and July 23, 1775.

## Richard Henry Lee to Alexander McDougall

Sir,

Philadelphia 24 July 1775.

Attention to the public business, and an immediate answer to your letter not being necessary, will, I hope, be my excuse for not sooner acknowledging the receipt of your favor of June the 5th.<sup>1</sup> The case you mention has not yet come under consideration of the Congress. It is a hard one no doubt, but how to give relief, without again introducing that Commodity to public use, is a question of much difficulty. New York is not a singular instance of such suffering, they are plentifully scattered thro all the existing Colonies. Should Congress determine to admit the sale & the use of what tea is on hand, may not bad men take the advantage of the impossibility of distinguishing this from newly imported Tea & exerting their wits conceal the importation, & thus render abortive our Association against this article, the hateful cause of the present disagreeable situation of N. America. I fear this case is among the number of those unavoidable evils introduced into Society, by the want of public virtue. I am acquainted with very many instances of large quantities of stopt Tea in Virginia, but I am happy to find that the Sufferers bear their misfortune with much patience in consideration of the public good resulting therefrom. It is more than a year now since the use of Tea has been totally banished from Virginia. Do you not think Sir, that Gen. Gage will turn his eyes to N. York for Winter Quarters for part of his Army, and may it not be wise to be prepared for resisting a plan calculated to afford shelter in cold weather to Men who will certainly enter upon our destruction when the Season changes?

I am, with much regard, Sir your most obedient humble Servant.

Rich. H. Lee

FC (ViU).

<sup>1</sup>Alexander McDougall (1732–86), New York merchant and prominent radical leader, subsequently a general in the Continental Army, 1776–80, and delegate to Congress, 1781, had written Lee on behalf of local traders who had been unable to dispose of Dutch tea before the Association became effective. He suggested that should Congress allow these merchants to dispose of the tea they had on hand, they would probably use the capital to import arms and ammunition. McDougall to Lee, June 5, 1775. *Southern Literary Messenger* 30 (April 1860): 261–62.

Virginia and Pennsylvania Delegates to the  
Inhabitants West of the Laurel Hill

Friends &amp; Countrymen

Philadelphia 25 July 1775

It gives us much concern to find that disturbances have arisen and

still continue among you concerning the boundaries of our colonies.<sup>1</sup> In the character in which we now address you, it is unnecessary to enquire into the origin of those unhappy disputes, and it would be improper for us to express our approbation or censure on either side: But as representatives of two of the colonies united, among many others, for the defence of the liberties of America, we think it our duty to remove, as far as lies in our power, every obstacle that may prevent her sons from co-operating as vigorously as they would wish to do towards the attainment of this great and important end. Influenced solely by this motive, our joint and our earnest request to you is, that all animosities, which have heretofore subsisted among you as inhabitants of distinct colonies may now give place to generous and concurring efforts for the preservation of every thing that can make our common country dear to us.

We are fully persuaded that you, as well as we, wish to see your differences terminate in this happy issue. For this desirable purpose, we recommend it to you, that all bodies of armed men kept up under either province be dismissed; that all those, who, on either side, are in confinement or under bail for taking a part in the contest be discharged; and that until the dispute be decided every person be permitted to retain his possessions unmolested. By observing these directions the public tranquility will be secured without injury to the titles on either side. The period we flatter ourselves, will soon arrive when this unfortunate dispute, which has produced much mischief, and, as far as we can learn, no good, will be peaceably and constitutionally determined.

We are Your Friends & Countrymen

P. Henry Jr.	John Dickinson
Richard Henry Lee	Geo. Ross
Benja. Harrison	B. Franklin
Th. Jefferson	James Wilson
	Cha. Humphreys

RC (DLC). Written in a clerical hand and signed by Henry, Lee, Harrison, Jefferson, Dickinson, Ross, Franklin, Wilson, and Humphreys.

<sup>1</sup> This joint appeal to the Pennsylvania and Virginia inhabitants in the region of the Forks of the Ohio was undoubtedly the product of an order of Congress of June 1, 1775. *JCC*, 2:76. Unsettled conditions growing out of jurisdictional rivalry in the area, which in 1773 stimulated Pennsylvania to establish Westmoreland County and Virginia to create the District of West Augusta, had led the Augusta county inhabitants to petition Congress. It is not known what use was made of the present document. The intercolonial dispute and the apprehension of Virginians over a rupture with the Indians arising from Governor Dunmore's activities in the area, were matters of special concern to the Virginia delegates and have been discussed at length in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:235-36, 244-45, 387-89.

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dear Sir,

July 26. 1775

I want to know your Destination—dont fail to write me.

I must beg you to make Enquiry for me after many Things. I want to know the whole History of the military Lives of General Ward, Thomas, the two Frys, Whitcomb, Coll Gridley, Mr Burbank &c. Pray enquire in the most particular manner, when, where and in what Rank and Stations these officers have had opportunities to see service and gain Experience.

Pray find out the Name, Character and Behaviour of every Stranger that shall be put into any Place in the Army and let me know it.

Further, I want to know exactly the Duties and necessary attributes of the Quarter Master General, the Muster Master General, the Commissary of Artillery &c.

I have Reasons for desiring this Information, which you will approve.<sup>1</sup> Yours

RC (MHi). In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Judging from his letters to James Warren, Adams feared the accretion of power by the commander in chief and was apprehensive that if the connection between Washington and key officers in the army was too intimate they would cease to be a check on one another. See Adams to Warren, July 23 and 26, 1775.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir,

July 26. 1775

I can never Sufficiently regret, that this Congress have acted so much out of Character, as to leave the appointment of the Quarter Master General, Commissary of Musters, and Commissary of Artillery to the General. As these officers are Checks upon the General, and he a Check upon them: there ought not to be too much Connection between them. They ought not to be under any dependance upon him, or so great obligations of Gratitude as these of a Creature to the Creator.

We have another office of vast Importance to fill, I mean that of Paymaster General—and if it is not filled with a Gentleman, whose Family, Fortune, Education, Abilities and Integrity, are equal to its Dignity, and whose long Services in the great Cause of America, have abundantly merited it, it shall not be my Fault. However I cant foretell, with Certainty whether, I shall be so fortunate as to succeed.<sup>1</sup>

I see by Edes's last Paper that Pidgeon has been Commissary for the Mass. Forces, and Joseph Pearce Palmer Quarter Master Gener-



al. No Body was kind enough to notify me of these appointments or any other.

We shall establish a Post office<sup>2</sup>—and do what We can to make Salt Petre and to obtain Powder. By the Way about Six Tons have arrived here, within 3 days, and every Barrell of it is ordered to you.

I want a great deal of Information. I want to know more precisely than I do the Duties and necessary Qualifications of the officers—the Quarter Master, Commissary of Stores and Provisions, the Commissary of Musters, and the Commissary of Artillery, as well as the Paymaster General, the Adjutant General, the Aid de Camps, the Brigade Majors, the Secretaries &c.

I want to know more exactly the Characters and biography of the officers in the Army. I want to be precisely informed, when and where, and in what Stations General Ward has served, General Thomas, the two Fry's, Whitcomb &c and what Colonels We have in the Army and their Characters.

I am distressed to know what Engineers you have, and what is become of Gridly and Burbank, what service they have Seen, and what are their Qualifications.

Yours &c.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> James Warren was appointed paymaster general on July 27. *JCC*, 2:211.

<sup>2</sup> Congress approved the report of the committee on the post office this day. *JCC*, 2:208.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir

July 26. 1775

I shall make you sick at the Sight of a Letter from me.

I find by Edes's Paper that Joseph Pearse Palmer is Quarter Master General. I confess I was Surprised.

This office is of high Rank and vast Importance. The Deputy Quarter Master General whom we have appointed for the New York Department, is a Mr Donald Campbell, an old regular officer, whom we have given the Rank of Collonell. The Quarter Master General cannot hold a lower Rank perhaps than a Brigadier.

Mr. Palmer is a young Gentleman of real Merit and good Accomplishments; but I should not have thought of a less Man than Major General Fry for the Place. It requires an able experienced officer. He goes with the Army, and views the Ground, and marks out the Encampment &c besides other very momentous Duties.

I have written to Mr Palmer, and informed him that the appointment of this officer is left with the General.

My dear Friend, it is at this critical Time of great Importance to our Province, that We take Care to promote none to Places but such as will give them Dignity and Reputation. If We are not very solicitous about this, We shall injure our Cause with the other Colonies.

Yours:

[P.S.] I hope before another Year We shall become more familiarly acquainted with this great Piece of Machinery, an Army.

We have voted three Millions of Dollars—six Tons of Powder are arrived, and We have ordered every Pound of it, to you.

12 O Clock July 26. 1775. This Moment 130 full B[arre]ls making Six Tons & an half of Powder, is brought into the State House Yard in Six Waggon—to be sent off to you.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

## Virginia Delegates to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 26 July 1775

With the most cordial warmth we recommend our Countryman Mr. Edmund Randolph to your patronage and favor.<sup>1</sup>

This young Gentlemans abilities, natural and acquired, his extensive connections, and above all, his desire to serve his Country in this arduous struggle, are circumstances that cannot fail to gain him your countenance and protection.

You will readily discern Sir, how important a consideration it is, that our Country should be furnished with the security and strength derived from our young Gentry being possessed of military knowledge, so necessary in these times of turbulence and danger.

Encouraged by your friendship, and instructed by your example, we hope Mr. Randolph will become useful to his Country and profitable to himself.

We most heartily wish you health and success, with a happy return to your family and Country, being with great sincerity dear Sir Your affectionate friends and obedient servants,

Richard Henry Lee

P. Henry

Th. Jefferson

RC (DLC) . Written by Lee and signed by Lee, Henry, and Jefferson.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Randolph (1753–1813) was appointed an aide-de-camp to Washington in August 1775. *DAB*.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 27. 1775

The Congress have this Day, made an establishment of an Hospital and appointed Dr Church Director & surgeon and have done themselves the Honor of unanimously appointing the Honourable James Warren Esqr of Plymouth in the Massachusetts Bay, Paymaster General of the Army. The salary of this officer is one hundred Dollars Per Month. It is an office of high Honour and great Trust.<sup>1</sup>

There is another Quantity of Powder arrived in New Jersey about 5000 Weight from So. Carolina—and it is said that another Boat has arrived in this River with about Six or seven Tons. It will be ordered to the Generals Washington and Schuyler.<sup>2</sup>

We have voted fifty Thousand Dollars, for Powder to be got immediately—if possible.<sup>3</sup>

I begun this Letter merely to mention to you a Number of young Gentlemen bound to the Camp—Mr George Lux, son of a particular Friend of my Friend Chase—Mr Hopkins and Mr Smith all of Baltimore in Maryland. Mr Cary is with them son of Mr Cary of Charlestown—neither Father nor son want Letters.

Your fast day Letter to me, is worth its Weight in Gold. I had by that Packett Letters from you, Dr Cooper, Coll Quincy, and Mrs Adams, which were each of them worth all that I have recd from others since I have been here.

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:209–11.

<sup>2</sup> Congress ordered that it be sent to Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., on July 28. *JCC*, 2:212.

<sup>3</sup> On July 27 Congress appointed two groups of merchants, one each in New York and Philadelphia, as agents to import powder. Each group was authorized to spend \$25,000. *JCC*, 2:210–11.

## Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney

Sir,

Philadelphia July 27th 1775

Agreable to promise, I have delivered to Mr. Andrew Tybout the furniture for Your Coat & Hat. Your Hanger you may Expect the next time by Robert, the post who Rides for Scully; I Could have Sent you one by Robert this day, But there were none made that Struck my fancy, or that I thought would please a Man of your Taste either for neatness or Intrinsick Value, tho' we all agree you are no Macarony.

It will be some time before the Standard Colours are done, they are now in hand and you May assure Mr. Loockerman they will be

Ellegant and Cleaver.

By a Veshel arrived about an hour ago from Bristol, we have a London paper informing us of the Arrival of the Veshel that went Express from the people of Boston to London giving them an Accot. of the Battle at Lexington. Upon the Spreading of this news there, the Ministry (it Seems) published in the papers that they had Recd no accounts from America, by this many people were lead to discredit the accounts brought by the Massachusets Express. However Arthur Lee (now an Alderman) publishes immediately in the papers that all those who doubted the truith of the news might Repair to the Man-tion House, where the depositions taken relative to the Lexington Af-fair were deposited for their perusal and Satisfaction. When the Ship left Bristol the news was generally Credited. However she left there too Soon to know much of the Effect it had on that Side the Water. We Shall know more of this Matter before long, Till when I am Con-vinced the Congress will not Rise. Whether they may then or not I Cannot now pretend to Say. However I do know that they Are heart-ily Tired—and so am I. Your Humble Servt. Caesar Rodney

RC (DeHi) . Recipient identified in Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden) , p. 63.

## John Adams to William Tudor

Dear Sir

July 28 [17]75

Mr Lux, Mr Hopkins, Mr Smith, with Mr Cary, all from Balti-more, are bound as Voluntiers to the Camp.<sup>1</sup> Beg the Favour of you, to treat them complaisantly and shew them all you can consistently with the Labours of your honourable tho troublesome office.

Shall endeavour to get you a Commission this day, and Such an appointment that you will not be a Looser at the Years End.<sup>2</sup> I hope to get you a Clerk, that you may have some Leisure to write me An-nals and Chronicles—for Chronicles I will have, of your Army, at all Hazards.

Make my Compliments acceptable to the Generals to Coll Reed & Major Mifflin &c.

Is it practicable to lock up Boston Harbor and how can it be done. What Islands can be fortified? Can Row Gallies be built, of floating Batteries? This city is building a Number. Mr Franklin is Post mas-ter. Some Powder is arrived, more expected. J. Adams

RC (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> These four Maryland volunteers were also to carry a letter to Abigail Adams, which John Adams wrote this day on the subject of a "disrespectfull" tenant he was prepared to evict. Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:267.



<sup>2</sup>On July 29 Congress appointed William Tudor judge advocate of the army. *JCC*, 2:221.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sr

Philadelphia July 28th. 1775

We received your favor of the 23d Instant Inclosing a Copy of Mr Bigelows with the answer to the Speech of the Onyda Indians which was laid before the Congress. We have to inform you that every step has been taken by this Congress to forward & promote the expedition to the Northward hope it may soon Succeed to the Utmost of our Wishes. We have also made every preparation for a Treaty with the Indians especially the 6 Nations, Mr Kirkland is gone forward. Genl Schuyler Major Hawley Colo Wolcott of Litchfield Mr Voliker P. Dow of Albany Colo Francis of this place are Appointed Commissioners to Treat with the Indians in the Northern Department Including the 6 Nations and their Allies. A Number of Gentlemen are also Appointed for the Middle and another set for the Southern Department. Belts of Intelligence are sent forward, Union & other Belts proper are prepareing. All this was done Very much by the Direction of Mr Kirtland who was a Week or 10 Days attending the Congress was well Esteemed by them, & they have for the present established his Mission gave him about £100, for the present a proper quantity of Indians goods & stores are provided, hope we shall secure ourselves from that Quarter.<sup>1</sup>

Since our last in which we mentioned to you the appointment of Capt Trumbull Commissary General for the Continental Army, We have Appointed Doctr Warren Pay Master Genl Doctr Church Director & Physitian or Surgeon General of the Army.<sup>2</sup> They have Appointed your son Jonathan Trumbull Pay Master Genl of the forces in New York Department at not less than £15 per Month am in hopes some more.<sup>3</sup> I was quite Uncertain whether it would be agreeable to him or not but hope it may as every thing you have done As well as the Letters and Intelligence the Congress have received from you have placed you so high in the esteem of this Congress that we are perswaded Nothing would be more Agreeable to them than to be able to render you or any of your family any reasonable Services in their Power. Unless somthing very Important Occurs we shall adjourn for a short recess sometime Next Week perhaps till about the middle of September. We have ordered all our proceedings to be published in the Mean time as soon as may be. We are almost exhausted the weather Very Close & hot in this City, the month of August may be expected to be more severe as well as much more Unhealthy. May Heaven Succeed our Imperfect Endeavours. We have

the pleasure to Inform you that about Thirteen Tons of Powder has arrived in this City within a few Days which was sent for by this Congress since their arrival at this place about 6 Tons more is expected every day, the 13 Tons is forwarded to and partly on the way to our Army at Cambridge. We have also received Two Tons & a half from South Carolina which is forwarded directly to General Schuyler which will with what has been sent him before give him we believe about four or five Tons, further Supplies are expected in the several Provinces. Hope we may not fail in that supplies of salt Petre from among our selves in Another Year hope we may make our part in Connecticut. We have the honor to be with the greatest Esteem. Your Honors most Obedient Humble Servants

Eliphalet Dyer

Roger Sherman

Tr (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> For the proceedings of Congress relating to Indian affairs, see *JCC*, 2:174-83, 186-87.

<sup>2</sup> For the July 27 appointments of James Warren and Benjamin Church, see *JCC*, 2:211.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Trumbull, Jr. (1740-1809), was this day appointed paymaster of the New York department, a position which he held until July 1778. He later served as comptroller of the treasury and was Washington's secretary, 1781-83. *JCC*, 2:212; and *DAB*.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Sr

Philadelphia July 28th 1775

Yours of the 20th and 21st came safe to hand. I Have the pleasure to Inform you that we have about thirteen Tons of powder Arrived at this place sent for by this Congress since their Arrival here, more is soon expected. The 13 Tons is sent forward to your Army & about 3 Tons more just receivd from South Carolina we have sent forward to Genll Schuyler which with what has been sent for that department will give him about 5 Ton & hope soon to hear good Use is made of the whole or at least so much of it is as we can spare. Since my last we have Appointed Doctr Church Director of the Hospital & Chief Physitian. Doctr Warren<sup>1</sup> is appointed pay Master General for the Army near Boston at 100 doll[ar]s per month. Your brother Jonathan is appointed the same for the Northern or York department at 50 doll[ar]s per month.<sup>2</sup> Wether it will be agreeable to him I know not, but hope he will Undertake for this Season. I hear Genll. Spencer is returnd. If he had been so good as to have resigned I had designd to have taken his birth my self, as I believe I might [*have*] had the offer. Have been Oblidgd to say much for him to keep the Con-

gress from giving him a dismission as they much resented his with several other officers leaving the Army after the Generalls Arrival and at so Critical a season. We are all exhausted sitting so long at this place and being so long confined together that we feel pretty much as a Number of passengers confined together on board ship in a long Voyage. We shall take a short recess by Next Week. What we have done good or bad will soon be published. My respects to the Genlls & Regards to all Enquiring Friends remembring Coll Reed Mr Mifflin &c And am Sr Sincerely Yours Eliph Dyer

[P.S.] Since I wrote the above I have had the pleasure of seeing Coll. Thomson who is Coll. of the Regiment of Riflers and by whom I send this letter. He is a Gentn. who bares a Very good Martial Car-acter has been Tried in Service and is much depended upon by this Province. Your Civilitys to him will be very Acceptable should be glad you would Introduce him to Genll Putnam & others proper & sincerely wish that Gentn. of his Station as well as others from these Provinces may return with so good an Opinion of the New England-ers as may fix their reputation & Cement a more firm Union with these Colonies. The same for Leiut. Coll. Hand who Accompanies him. Yours E D

RC (Ct) .

<sup>1</sup> That is, James Warren.

<sup>2</sup> Silas Deane also wrote to Joseph about this same time, informing him of his brother's appointment and introducing him to a Mr. Bird, the bearer. Deane to Joseph Trumbull, July 28? 1775, Ct.

## Roger Sherman to William Williams

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 28th. 1775

I this Day received Your favour of the 22d Instant. We Should have wrote to You oftener but had not much Intelligence of importance to communicate but what was by order of Congress Transmitted to the his Honr. the Govr. which we Supposed you would be acquainted with, besides we have had but little leisure being obliged to attend Congress from 8 or 9 in the morning to 4 or 5 in afternoon. We have lately received Six Tuns of Powder which is Sent to the army near Boston, also 5000 lb Sent to General Schuyler this Day. A Ship arrived here from Bristol Yesterday which Sailed the 4th of June & brings intelligence that the account of the Battle of Lexington Sent by the province with the affidavits had arrived in London, that it occasioned the Stocks to fall one & half per cent, that Lord North was greatly Astonished &c but there had not been time to know what effect it would have on the people.

The Congress have recommended the making Salt Petre & gun Powder and offer half a Dollar per pound for all the Salt Petre that Shall be made in any of the United Colonies within fifteen months from this Day. I am Sorry for the Uneasiness occasioned by the appointment of General officers;<sup>1</sup> General Wooster is dissatisfied as well as General Spencer. I feared that would be the Case. We had just heard of the Engagement at Noddles Island before we proceeded to the appointment of General officers, which engagement being conducted by General Putnam occasioned him to be highly esteemed for his Bravery by the Congress. The officers were chosen by Ballot—but previous to giving in the votes I informed the Congress of the Choice and Arrangement made by our Gen. Assembly and that I supposed if the Same order Should be preserved by the Congress it would best Satisfy the officers & the Colony. Colo. Dyer was not then in the Room but came in immediately afterward and made the same representation without knowing what I had said, but the votes turned as you have heard. There was likewise an uneasiness in the Massachusetts Bay on a like occasion which General Washington being made acquainted with before he delivered the Commissions represented it to the Congress and it was rectified, but he had delivered General Putnam his Commission before he heard of the uneasiness, so that I dont know how the difficulty can be remedied at present. I hope Generals Wooster & Spencer will consider the Grand Cause we are Engaged in of So much Importance as not to let it suffer any disadvantage on account of this disagreeable circumstance which was not occasioned by any disregard in the Congress toward those Gentlemen but for want of a more mature consideration of the ill consequences that might attend Such a transposition.

The Congress has Set much longer than I at first expected it would, but I believe not longer than was needful. I hope it will adjourn the beginning of next week & have a recess of a few weeks. It is very tedious Sitting here this hot Season: I have herewith Enclosed a Declaration and an address to the people of England. The whole proceedings will be published within a few Days—which will make a considerable volume. The reason why I dont Sign more of the Letters is not because our Lodgings are very far distant but because expresses are often Sent off in haste, and Colo Dyer and Mr Dean being together have the Custody of the Papers. I sometimes Sign with them, sometimes they Sign my name, others they Sign only with their own names it not being very material and in Congress hours it is needful Some Should attend while others are writing. I have not been absent at any time while the Congress has been sitting. Mr. Jonathan Trumbull Junr. was this Day appointed Paymaster for the New York Department. The pay is 50 Dollars per month. I am Sir Your Sincere Friend & humble Servant

Roger Sherman



RC (MdBj-G).

<sup>1</sup>For other references related to Connecticut's concern with the appointment of the general officers, see Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, June 20, 1775.

## John Adams to Josiah Quincy

Philadelphia, 29 July, 1775.

I had yesterday the honor of your letter of July 11th, and I feel myself much obliged by your kind attention to me and my family, but much more by your care for the public safety, and the judicious and important observations you have made. Your letters, Sir, so far from being "a burthen," I consider as an honor to me, besides the pleasure and instruction they afford me. Believe me, Sir, nothing is of more importance to me, in my present most arduous and laborious employment, than a constant correspondence with gentlemen of experience, whose characters are known. The minutest fact, the most trivial event, that is connected with the great American cause, becomes important in the present critical situation of affairs, when a revolution seems to be in the designs of providence, as important as any that ever happened in the affairs of mankind.

We jointly lament the loss of a Quincy and a Warren, two characters as great, in proportion to their age, as any that I have ever known in America. Our country mourns the loss of both, and sincerely sympathizes with the feelings of the mother of the one, and the father of the other. They were both my intimate friends, with whom I lived and conversed with pleasure and advantage. I was animated by them in the painful, dangerous course of opposition to the oppressions brought upon our country, and the loss of them has wounded me too deeply to be easily healed. *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*. The ways of heaven are dark and intricate, but you may remember the words which, many years ago, you and I fondly admired, and which, upon many occasions, I have found advantage in recollecting.

"Why should I grieve, when grieving I must bear,  
And take with guilt, what guiltless I might share?"

I have a great opinion of your knowledge and judgment, from long experience, concerning the channels and islands in Boston harbor; but I confess your opinion, that the harbor might be blocked up, and seamen and soldiers made prisoners at discretion, was too bold and enterprising for me, who am not very apt to startle at a daring proposal; but I believe I may safely promise you powder enough, in a little time, for any purpose whatever. We are assured, in the strongest manner, of salt-petre and powder in sufficient plenty, another year, of our own make.<sup>1</sup> That both are made in this city, you may report

with confidence, for I have seen both; and I have seen a set of very large powder works, and another of saltpetre.

I hope, Sir, we shall never see a total stagnation of commerce for any length of time. Necessity will force open our ports; trade, if I mistake not, will be more free than usual. Your friend, Dr. Franklin, to whom I read your letter, and who desires his kind compliments to you, has been employed in directing the construction of row-galleys for this city. The committee of safety for this province have ordered twenty of them to be built; some of them are finished. I have seen one of them; it has twelve oars on each side. They rowed up the river the first time, four miles in an hour, against a tide which ran down four miles an hour. The Congress have recommended to the colonies to make provision for the defence of their navigation in their harbors, rivers, and on their sea-coasts. Of a floating battery I have no idea—am glad you are contriving one.

You tell me, Sir, that General Lee complained that “he did not find things as the Massachusetts delegates had represented them.” What General Lee could mean by this, Sir, I know not. What particular he found different from the representation, I do not know; nor do I know which delegate from the Massachusetts he received a mistaken representation from. I think he should have been particular, that he might not have run the risk of doing an injury. If General Lee should do injustice to two of the Massachusetts delegates, he would commit ingratitude at the same time; for to two of them he certainly owes his promotion in the American army, how great a hazard soever they ran in agreeing to it. I know him very thoroughly, I think, and that he will do great service in our army at the beginning of things, by forming it to order, skill, and discipline. But we shall soon have officers enough.

MS not found; reprinted from Adams, *Works* (Adams), 9:360–62.

<sup>1</sup> On July 28 Congress recommended to the colonies several measures designed to encourage the production and collection of saltpetre, sulphur, and gunpowder. *JCC*, 2:218–19.

## Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philada July 29 1775

I have receivd your favor of the 20th Instant by Express. I observe that our new House of Representatives is *organizd* and am exceedingly pleasd with the Choice they have made of their Speaker. I find that two of the former Boston Members are left out—C—is kickd upStairs!<sup>1</sup> &c &c. I have not Leisure at present to write to you particularly. I expect soon to see you. I must inform you that you

were yesterday unanimously chosen Paymaster General with the pay of 100 Dollars per month, if I do not misremember.

The Bearer hereof is a Maryland young Gentleman by the Name of Lux. His Father is a Gentleman of Character as a Mercht in Baltimore who is a friend to American Liberty and I am informd has shown Benevolence to the poor of my native Town. I am therefore bound in Gratitude to desire your Notice of him so far as to recommend him to some of our military officers. He proposes to joyn the Army. Excuse this unconnected Epistle and be assurd that I am Your unfeigned freind

Saml Adams

[P.S.] Dr Church is Director General & chief Physician of the Hospital with the Power of appointing Surgeons &c. I wish my Son could get Employmt in the Army. He has lost his Freind under whose Care he was educated!

Mr Lux has several Companions with him young gentlemen who are in quest of Laurels.

RC (MHi).

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Cushing, a moderate in Massachusetts politics, was elected to the Council by the House of Representatives in 1775. Subsequently, his frequently conservative stance in Congress led to his omission from the Massachusetts delegation to Congress for 1776. Shipton, *Harvard Graduates*, 11:389-91.

## New York Delegates to the New York Committee of Safety

Gentlemen

Philadelphia 29 July 1775

We have recd. your Letters of the 18th & 22d Inst;<sup>1</sup> and tho sensible of the Inconveniences arising from a Scarcity of Arms, are much at a Loss respecting the best Measures for a Supply.

As we have good Reason to believe that an Application to the Congress to recommend a Loan of the Jersey Arms would not succeed, we have agreed not to make it. No Colony has as yet given the Congress any trouble on that Head, and we are unwilling that New York should be the first. We advise however that accurate Accounts of Disbursements for arms be kept, so that should any Charges of that Kind be made against the Continent our Colony may be prepared to support their Claim. Besides it is easy to foresee that New Jersey under the present Circumstances of public Affairs, would very reluctantly part with their Arms, & be displeased with any Recommendation for that Purpose.

Permit us to recommend to your most serious attention the Necessity of laying your Hands on all the Powder that is, or may be im-

ported into the Colony. We think none should be permitted to go out of the Province, but by the Express Direction of the Congress or your Committee, and that Magazines of that article should be formed in different Parts of the Province & not that the whole be risqued in one Place. We hope our Province will depend for Defence on their own Exertions, and with out Delay put the Militia on the Footing recommended by the Congress.

The Delegates of New Jersey are charged with the Transportation of two Tons & a half of Powder to Dobbs Ferry, where the Congress desire you to have a Boat ready to recieve & forward it to Genl. Schuyler.<sup>2</sup>

As to a Treaty or Conference with the five Nations the Congress has already provided for it, and consequently it would be improper to lay the Papers you sent us on that Subject before the Congress.<sup>3</sup>

We are Gentlemen with the greatest Respect your most obedt. & hble Servt.

Phil. Livingston      Geo. Clinton

Lewis Morris      John Jay

Jas. Duane

[P.S.] We recommend to you to collect all your Accounts against the Continent with all convenient Speed. It is probable that a Com[mittee] will be appointed to examine them. Mr. Hazard is appointed Depy Postmaster for N York.

The continental Money is signing & will be ready next Week.

RC (N). Written by Jay and signed by Jay, Clinton, Duane, Livingston, and Morris. FC (NH*i*). Written by Jay. RC damaged; missing words supplied from FC.

<sup>1</sup> For these letters, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1793–94, 1797–98.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 2:212.

<sup>3</sup> On the subject of a conference with the Iroquois Confederation, see *JCC*, 2:174–83. The “Papers” forwarded by the Committee of Safety, although apparently no longer extant, were drafted by a committee of the New York Provincial Convention and evidently included the text of a speech to be delivered to the representatives of the “Five Nations.” *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1310, 1341, 1793–94.

## Edward Rutledge to Philip Schuyler

[*Philadelphia. July 29. 1775*]. “I should have done myself the Pleasure of answering your very obliging Favour, immediately . . . But the Manner in which Business still continues to be carried on in Congress delayed the appointment of a Com[mi]ss[ar]y General until a few days since; at which time . . . Mr. W. Livingston was . . . upon your recommendation unanimously nominated to that office.<sup>1</sup>

“It is with Satisfaction I inform you that 5000 wt: of Powder arrived here from Carolina . . . and was immediately ordered to



you. . . . By the last accounts from that Province we hear that Georgia has acceded to the Association & Delegates are appointed to join us in Congress. This must give Joy to all well wishers to the Cause; for when Administration shall find their favourite Colonies New York & Georgia can no longer afford them the pleasing Hopes of Dissention, they will then be forced to adopt Wisdom & Peace, as their only Refuge; Hostilities & Intrigues being equally unsuccessful. Yesterday we determined to adjourn . . . until the fifth of September;<sup>2</sup> This was contrary to the unanimous Sense of our Colony; but without Vanity I may say that Numbers in this Instance prevailed over Wisdom.

"Give me Leave to introduce . . . Mr. Tilghman,<sup>3</sup> the very worthy Bearer of this Letter. . . . If you hold a Conference in August in all probability I shall pay my Respects to you in Person, as I shall be a Wanderer upon the Eastern part of the Continent until the Congress shall again meet. . . . May you be victorious in all your Conflicts."

MS not found; abstracted from extract in *The Month at Goodspeed's* 36 (February 1965) : 142-43.

<sup>1</sup> Congress appointed Walter Livingston commissary for stores and provisions in the New York department July 17. *JCC*, 2:186.

<sup>2</sup> Rutledge must mean that Congress informally decided on July 28 to adjourn as soon as possible until September 5, because a resolution to this effect was not actually approved until July 29. *JCC*, 2:224.

<sup>3</sup> Tench Tilghman (1744-86), a Philadelphia merchant, was secretary and treasurer to the Indian Commissioners for the Northern Department, 1775-76, and aide-de-camp to General Washington, 1776-83. *DAB*.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

*Philadelphia 29th July 1775.* Is pleased with his son's letters of July 8 and 16. "The Sense you have of the divine Protection & Goodness will I hope ever induce you to live in such a Manner as not to forfeit it. I have often thought that the Hand of God might be clearly seen in the planting of these Colonies, in preserving them in a most remarkable Manner & that the same divine Goodness still attends them, the Union of the Colonies, the Bravery & Order of the Troops, the extremely small Losses sustained considering the vast Dangers to which we have been exposed, the good Dispositions of the Canadians and Indians, the most plentiful Crops of Grain ever known, the safe Arrival of large Quantities of Powder and the Discovery of all the necessary materials amongst Us for supplying ourselves for the future with innumerable other Blessings fully prove. May every Heart be filled with affection & Gratitude, may We all de-

termine to live as becomes wise & good Men, May our Reliance upon the divine Protection be immoveable and then we may chearfully follow wherever his Providence calls us." Remarks that visitors to the Army's camp at Cambridge invariably come away with a high opinion of the Rhode Island forces there. Continues: "General Washington Speaks very handsomely of the Army in general and I doubt not will soon have every thing in the best Order. Colo. Warren the president of the provincial Congress is appointed Paymaster General of the Army. Every thing which the General has asked of the Congress hath been chearfully done. You will soon receive a fine Supply of Powder & Cloth for Tents and nothing in the Power of the Congress will be wanting to make the Army happy.

"Colo. Nightingale & Mr. Russell arrived in Town yesterday from Baltimore in Maryland. The Military Spirit & Ardor of that Province they say are vastly highe and they are still higher in Virginia."

RC (RHi) . Abstracted from Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg) , pp. 67-69.

## John Adams to Abigail Adams

My dear

Philadelphia July 30th. 1775

This Letter is intended to go by my Friend Mr. William Barrell, whom I believe you have seen in Boston. If he calls at our House you will please to receive him complaisantly and thank him for your Present of Pins. I have been treated by him with great Civility, both at this and the former Congress.

This Day, I have heard my Parish Priest, Mr. Duffill from 2. Chron. 15. 1. 2. This Gentleman never fails to adapt his Discourse to the Times. He pressed upon his Audience the Necessity of Piety and Virtue, in the present Times of Adversity, and held up to their View the Army before Boston as an Example. He understood, he said, that the Voice of the Swearer was scarcely heard, that the Sabbath was well observed and all Immoralities discountenanced. No doubt there were vicious Individuals, but the general Character was good. I hope this good Mans Information is true, and that this will become more and more the true Character of that Camp. You may well suppose that this Language was exceedingly pleasing to me.

We have nothing new, but the Arrival of some Powder. Three little Vessels have certainly arrived, making about Ten Tons in the whole, and four or five Tons have arrived from S. Carolina. A Supply, I think now We shall certainly obtain. Congress have taken Measures for this End, which I hope to have the Pleasure of explaining to you in Person, within a few Days, as Congress has determined to adjourn to sometime in September.<sup>1</sup> I could not vote for this my-

self because I thought it might be necessary to keep together, but I could not blame those who did, for really We have been all so assiduous in Business, in this exhausting debilitating Climate, that our Lives are more exposed than they would be in Camp.<sup>2</sup>

Love to the Children.

RC (MHi) . Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield) , 1:268-69.

<sup>1</sup> Adams apparently left Philadelphia August 2 or 3 and arrived in Watertown, Mass., on the 10th. Ibid., pp. 268-69n. His accounts covering his service for this session of the second Congress are in Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 2:162-67.

<sup>2</sup> The vote on this issue is not recorded in the journals. *JCC*, 2:224. In his autobiography Adams stated only that: "In the fall of the Year Congress were much fatigued with the Incessant Labours, Debates, Intrigues, and heats of the Summer and agreed on a short Adjournment." Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield) , 3:325.

## John Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 30th. 1775

For the Honour of the Massachusetts I have laboured in Conjunction with my Brethren to get you chosen Paymaster General, and Succeeded so well that the Choice was unanimous: But whether We did you a kindness or a Disservice I know not. And whether you can attend it, or will incline to attend it I know not. You will consider of it however.

Pray, who do you intend to make Secretary of the Province? Has not our Friend deserved it? Is he not fit for it? Has any other Candidate So much Merit, or So good Qualifications? I hope his temporary Absence will not injure him.<sup>1</sup>

This Letter goes by my good Friend Mr William Barrell a worthy Bostonian transmuted into a worthy Philadelphian:<sup>2</sup> But whether you will grasp this Letter or the Hand that writes it first, Is uncertain. Both about the same Time I hope.<sup>3</sup>

RC (MHi) . In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Adams assumed his duties as secretary to the Massachusetts Council on August 16. Minutes of the Massachusetts Council, M-Ar.

<sup>2</sup> William Barrell (d. 1776) , former Portsmouth, N. H., merchant who was briefly married to a sister of John Langdon, settled in Philadelphia in the early 1770's. Winthrop Sargent, "Letters of John Andrews, Esq. of Boston," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser. 8 (1864-65): 316-19. Lawrence S. Mayo, *John Langdon of New Hampshire* (Concord, N.H.: The Rumford Press, 1937) , pp. 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> Only a small fragment of the second page of this letter survives.

## Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Philadelphia July 30 1775

As I have no doubt but the Congress will adjourn in a few days perhaps tomorrow, I do not expect to have another opportunity of writing to you before I set off for New England.<sup>1</sup> The arduous Business that has been before the Congress and the close Application of the Members, added to the Necessity and Importance of their visiting their several Colonies & attending their respective Conventions, have inducd them to make a Recess during the sultry Month of August. My Stay with you must be short, for I suppose the Congress will meet again early in September. I have long ago learnd to deny my self many of the sweetest Gratifications in Life for the Sake of my Country. This I may venture to say to you, though it might be thought Vanity in me to say it to others.

I hear that my Constituents have given me the Choice of a Seat in either House of our next Assembly—that is, that Boston have chosen me again one of their Members, and the House have chosen me one of the Council. You know better than I do, whether there be a foundation for the Report.<sup>2</sup> My Constituents do as they please, and so they ought. I never intrigud for their Suffrages, and I never will. I am intimately conscious that I have servd them as well as I could, and I believe they think so themselves. I heartily wish I could serve them better, but the Testimony of my own Conscience and their Approbation makes me feel my self superior to the Threats of a Tyrant, either at St. James's or in the Garrison of Boston.

I have received a Letter from my Friend Mr Dexter dated the 18 Instant. Present my due regards to him. He informed me that you had been at his house a few Evenings before and was well, and that you deliverd a Letter to a young Gentleman present, to carry to Cambridge for Conveyance to me. I am greatly mortified in not having receivd it by the Express that brought me his Letter.

Mr Adams of Roxbury also wrote me that he had often met with you and was surprisd at your Steadiness, & Calmness under Tryals. I am always pleasd to hear you well spoken of, because I know it is doing you Justice.

I pray God that at my Return I may find you and the rest of my dear Friends in good health. The Treatment which those who are still in Boston meet with fills me with Grief and Indignation. What Punishment is due to General Gage for his Perfidy!

Pay my proper Respects to your Mother & Family, Mr & Mrs Henshaw, my Son & Daughter Sister Polly &c. Tell Job and Surry that I do not forget them. I conclude, my dear, with the warmest Affection your

S. Adams



P.S. Mr William Barrell will deliver you this Letter. He was kind enough to tell me he would go out of his way rather than not oblige me in carrying it. He boards with us at Mrs Yards, and is a reputable Merchant in this City. Richard Checkley is his Apprentice. You know his Sister Mrs Eliot. I know you will treat him with due respect.

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Adams probably left Philadelphia on August 2 and arrived in Watertown on August 11. *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, August 14, 1775. His accounts show the payment of £66.12.0 for 111 days of service at this session of Congress. DLC.

<sup>2</sup> Adams had been elected as a representative from Boston, and on July 21 the House of Representatives selected him as a member of the Council. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:271, 275.

## Samuel Adams to William Palfrey

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, July [30] 1775.<sup>1</sup>

My friend Colo. Hancock gave me the pleasure of perusing your letter to him. I am exceedingly pleased with the notice which General Lee has taken of you in appointing you one of his Aids de Camp.<sup>2</sup> I shall only observe that your own Merit has rendered needless my utmost endeavours to serve you, which however shall never be wanting upon any future occasion.

The bearer of this letter is Mr. William Barrell a reputable merchant of this city. He is a native of Boston, perhaps not unknown to you. He is warmly engaged in the cause of his Country, and is an Officer in one of the City Regiments lately raised. After saying thus much I dare say you will pay him proper respect, in doing which you will oblige your Friend

Saml. Adams

Tr (MH).

<sup>1</sup> Since Adams indicated that William Barrell was the bearer of both this letter and the preceding one to his wife, the date July 30 had been assigned to this letter to Palfrey.

<sup>2</sup> William Palfrey (1741–80), Boston merchant and business manager for John Hancock, was appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Charles Lee in July 1775 and subsequently served as paymaster general of the army, 1776–80. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.

## Joseph Hewes and Robert Smith to a London Mercantile Firm

Gentlemen,

Edington [Edenton], July 31. [1775]

We<sup>1</sup> wrote to you on the 17th instant, since which we have not been honoured with any of your favours. With this you will receive a bill of lading for the cargo of the brigantine Charming Betsey, John Boyle, Master, (by whom this goes) which you will please to dispose of to the best advantage for our interest, and place the nett proceeds to our credit with you. You will observe, the brig has only six lay days; and beg the favour you will have her discharged, so as we may not be subjected to damage.

We expect to send you another vessel, with such another cargo, before the exportation is stopped, which will be the 10th of next September; but we shall write you more at large, by a ship to sail from hence to London in about two weeks. All our remittances must hereafter be by bills; we have laid ourselves out to remit you in that way, as all other is now in a fair way of being entirely shut up. We are in a terrible situation indeed; all trade here is now at an end, and when it will again be revived, God only knows. Every American to a man is determined to die, or be free. We are convinced, nothing can restore peace to this unhappy country, and render the liberty of your's secure, but a total change of the present Ministry, who are considered in this country as enemies to the freedom of the human race, like so many Devils in the infernal regions, sending out their servants, furies, to torment where-ever they choose their infernal vengeance should fall.

Permit us, dear Sirs, as you have once exerted yourselves, to try another effort to save from destruction the once, and but lately, the most flourishing empire in the world.

We do not want to be independent, we want no revolution, unless a change of Ministry, and measures would be deemed such; we are loyal subjects to our present most gracious Sovereign, in support of whose crown and dignity we would sacrifice our lives, and willingly launch out every shilling of our property, he only defending our liberties. This country, without some step is taken, and that soon, will be inevitably lost to the mother country. We say again, for the love of Heaven, the love of liberty, the interest of posterity, we conjure you to exert yourselves. Petition again; the eyes of our most gracious Sovereign may yet be opened, and he may see what things are for his real interest, before they are eternally hid from his eyes. We can vouch for the loyalty of every one in this part of the province. We beg your pardon for troubling you on the subject of politics so much as we have done; but we hope you will excuse us, when we tell you our all depends on the determination of Parliament.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obliged humble servants.  
———— and ————

MS not found; reprinted from the *London Chronicle*, October 10–12, 1775. Printed under the heading: "The following Letter was received by a principal House in

this City, from a Gentleman of consequence in North Carolina, and one of the Delegates of the Congress." Force, who took his text of this letter from the *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, October 19, 1775, wrongly supposed that it had been written to an Edinburgh merchant house. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1757.

<sup>1</sup> Although the *London Chronicle* omitted the signatures of both writers of this letter, the two men in question were almost certainly Joseph Hewes and Robert Smith, the latter a partner in Hewes' mercantile firm in Edenton but not a delegate. William John Schmidt, "The North Carolina Delegates in the Continental Congress, 1774-1781" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1968), pp. 7-8, 39-40. Exactly when Hewes left Congress and returned to North Carolina is unknown. Although he received a committee assignment July 31, apparently he had already gone back to Edenton, as the task of this committee was to investigate the production of lead and salt in the various colonies during the adjournment of Congress. *JCC*, 2:234-35.

## Samuel Ward's List of Measures Adopted by Congress

[July 31? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

### Great Objects before the Congress

1st. The Establishment of sufficient Armies to defend the Country from the Attacks of the ministerial Troops; For this Purpose A Commander in Chief & other Genl. officers were appointed; An Army of 22000 Men stationed in the Massachusetts Bay, 5000 Men stationed in the Province of N. York, Declaration &c Articles of War, A Fast ordered, Measures taken for supplying them with Provisions & war-like Stores: A good Quantity of Powder was purchased & ordered to the Camp.

A Resolution that any Vessels bringing Powder into the colonies should receive the Amount thereof in Provisions or any thing else they wanted notwithstanding the former Non Importation & Non exportn. Agree[men]t. All the salt Petre & Brimstone in the united Colonies ordered to be purchased & forwarded to the nearest Powder Mills.

Encouragement given for making salt Petre.

For defraying the Expenses of this War Bills emitted to the Amount of 3000000 Dollars Two joint Treasurers appointed: by whom all the Colonies or private Persons except the Armies, who have done any continental Service are to be paid. See separate Schedule for each Colo[ny's] Proportion.

For distressing our Enemies see the Resolutions relative to Bills of Exchange, Provisions to Nantucket &c.

2d. The obtaining a happy Reconciliation with & a Petition to the King, an Address to the People of England, and Address to the People of Ireland a Letter to the Lord Mayor of London a Letter to the Assembly of Jamacia.

3rd. The putting the united Colonies into a proper State of Defence: Militia Bill; several Colonies supplied with Powder & provincial Congress of North Carolina impowered to raise 1000 Men if necessary at the continental Expence.

4th. The Security of our Frontiers.

Letter to the People of Canada.

Indians divided into three Departments.

Commissioners appointed for each with Presents Talks & Belts of Wampum.

5th. For conveying Intelligence throughout the Con[tinent].

A Postmaster Genl. appointed with full Powers to appoint Deputies Riders &c with Orders to establish weekly Posts from Georgia to Nova Scotia And if the Profits do not defray the Expenses the several Colonies to make up their Proportion.

6th. Observations on the Resolutions of the Comm[ons] & the two Acts of Parliament to restrain &c.

Number of Inhabitants in the Several Colonies & Proportion of each Colony in redeeming the 3000000 Dollars emitted subject to a Revision.

	Inhabitants	Prop[ortio]n.	Dollars
New Hampshire	100000		124069½
Massachusetts	350000		434244
Rhode Island	58000		71959½
Connecticut	200000		248139
New York	200000		248139
New Jersey	130000		161290½
Pennsylvania	300000		372208½
lower Counties	30000		37219½
Maryland	250000		310174½
Virginia	400000		496278
No. Carolina	200000		248139
So. Carolina	200000		248139
Whole Num[be]r of Inh[abitant]s.	2,418,000	D[ollar]s.	3,000,000

MS (RHi).

<sup>1</sup>This MS is a list of some of the more significant actions taken by Congress from May 17 through July 31, 1775. Ward presumably compiled it on the latter date since it contains no reference to resolutions adopted by Congress on August 1, but it is not apparent if he did so for any other purpose than his personal use. A second list identical to this one except for the omission of the final paragraph and table of figures is also among the Ward MSS, RHi. For the various congressional actions enumerated by Ward, see JCC, 2:54-235 *passim*.



## John Dickinson to Arthur Lee

Dear Sir,

Fairhill July [? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Before this comes to Hand, You will have receiv'd, I presume, the Petition to the King. You will perhaps at first be surpriz'd, that We make no *Claim*, and mention no *Right*. But I hope [on] considering all Circumstances, You will be [of] opinion, that this Humility in an address [to] the Throne is at present proper.

Our Rights [have] been already stated—our Claims made—[War] is actually begun, and We are carrying it on Vigor[ously.] This Conduct & our other Publications will shew, [that our] spirits are not lowered. If Administration [be] desirous of stopping the Effusion of British [blood] the opportunity is now offered to them [by this] unexceptionable Petition, praying for [an] Accommodation. If they reject this appl[ication] with Contempt, the more humble it is, [the more] such Treatment will confirm the Minds of [our] Countrymen, to endure all the Misfortunes [that] may attend the Contest.

I do not know what [is] thought in London of the several Engagements near Boston. But this You may be assured [of] everyone of them has been favorable to Us—& particularly that of Bunker's Hill on [the] 17th of last month, when a mere Carnage was [made] of the Royalists—tho they gained our Intrench[ments].

I am Sir, your very affectionate hble [servant.]

⟨John Dickinson⟩

RC (MH). In the hand of John Dickinson; signature inked out.

<sup>1</sup>Although Peter Force assigned this mutilated letter the date July 7, it was undoubtedly written some time later. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 2:1604. Dickinson wrote a brief letter to Lee from Philadelphia on July 7 and must have written this one from his Fairhill estate a few days after the signing of the petition to the king on July 8.

## Benjamin Franklin's Proposed Resolution

[July ? 1775]<sup>1</sup>

And whereas altho' the Conquest of Canada, & Louisiana, was effected as aforesaid by the joint Force & Expence of America with Britain, the latter hath seized the whole acquired Territory as its own, excluding us from any Share in the Property, without the least regard to Equity or Justice.

Resolved,

That in case such Satisfaction as aforesaid is refused, all the Lands in America claimed by the Crown, and all the Quit rents now unpaid to the same, shall be considered as liable to an Appropriation for

that purpose. And all Persons from whom such Payments of Quit-rents are now due, or who have purchased Lands from the Crown, and have not yet paid the Purchase-money, are advised to withhold the same; and all Persons wanting Lands are advised to forbear Purchasing of the Crown, till such Satisfaction shall be made; that if Heaven shall finally bless our Endeavours in this just War with Success, as much as possible may be saved towards Such Indemnification.

MS (PPAmP) . In the hand of Benjamin Franklin.

<sup>1</sup> No evidence has been found to suggest just when Franklin drafted this resolution or whether it was actually proposed in Congress. No other surviving documents indicate that the delegates discussed withholding quit rents and boycotting the purchase of crown lands as economic weapons against Britain, nor is the colonies' failure to share directly in the spoils of the conquest of Canada and Louisiana expressed elsewhere as a grievance. It seems most likely that Franklin would have offered these arguments during the debates on the petition to the king or the declaration on taking up arms early in July, or while serving on the committee appointed on July 22 to prepare a response to Lord North's conciliatory motion of February 20, 1775. The physical appearance of the MS suggests that the preamble was written after the proposed resolution, as it is crowded into a small space at the top of the page in a cramped hand. And since Franklin wrote at the bottom of the page "between Pages 4 & 5," the resolution may originally have been prepared as an insertion to another document.

Thomas Jefferson's Notes  
on Financial and Military Estimates

[July ? 1775] <sup>1</sup>		
	souls	dollars
New Hampshire	100,000	82,713
2 Massachusetts	350,000	289,496
Rhode island	58,000	47,973
Connecticut	200,000	165,426
New York	200,000	165,426
New Jersey	130,000	107,527
3 Pennsylvania	300,000	248,139
Delaware counties	30,000	24,813
4 Maryland	250,000	206,783
1 Virginia	400,000	330,852
North Carolina	200,000	165,426
South Carolina	200,000	165,426
	<hr/> 2,418,000	<hr/> 2,000,000

An estimate of the charge and expence of an army composed of

27,000 private men with the general & staff officers necessary for such a body of infantry.

	dollars
1. General & commander in chief per month	500.
4. Major generals [. . .] @ 166. dollars per month	664.
allowance for th[e major gen]eral in separate department	166.
8. Brigadier gener[als . . . a]t 125. pr. m.	1000.
1. Adjutant gene[eral]	125.
1. Deputy Adjutan[t gener]al or Brigade major suppose	60.
1. Commissary General	80.
1. Deputy Commissary General	60.
1. Quarter master General	80.
1. Deputy Quarter master General	40.
1. Paymaster General	100.
1. Deputy paymaster	50.
1. Cheif Engineer	60.
2. Assistant do. @ 20. dollrs. each	40.
1. Chief Engineer in a separate department	60.
2. Assistants do. @ 20. dollrs. each	40.
3. Aid de Camps @ 33. doll. each	99.
1. Secretary to the General	66.
1. Secretary to the Major General in separate department	33.
[1]. Commissary of the musters	20.
[1]. Deputy muster master for New York department suppose	20.
[8]. Aid de camps to the Major Generals @ 33. doll. pr.	
month each	264.
[8]. Brigade majors @ 30 doll. pr. M. each	240.
1. Commissary of the Artillery	suppose 50.
	<hr/> 3,917
46. battalions of 554. privates @ £1551-18 pr. M.	237,956
24. companies of riflemen or light infantry @ £181-2	
pr. M.	14, [480]
10. companies of Artillery consisting of 57. men each,	
officers included at £142-7 each company pr. M.	[4,733]
36,000 rations of provisions @ 6d pr. day each, for one	
month	90, [000]
Transportation of them, stores &c. will at a gross calcula-	
tion amount to one half the expence of the provisions	
but this must be governed by circumstances, so cannot at	
present be more exactly calculated	45, [000]
	<hr/> 396, [086]
	<hr/> [Total for six months] 2,376,5 [16]
2000 barrels of Gunpowder	

140 tons of lead

Shot & shells with the necessary [. . .] and repairs to be made to the  
artillery for the two armies

Tents, drums & colours for the whole of the troops

Entrenching & Pioneers tools

Hospital, medicines, Physician, Chirurgeon [Apo] thecary &  
attendants

Unavoidable & Contingent expences which [cannot be] foreseen  
the above articles for 15,000 men am[ount to] the  
sum of £105011 by the former es[timate] £105011  
the like articles for 27,000 men will  
[. . .] be

70006  

---

175017

which in dollars amounts to

583,39[0]  

---

2,959,90[6]

MS (DLC) . Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd) , 1:182–84.

<sup>1</sup> It is not known for what purpose Jefferson made these notes, although the first section, tabulating the apportionment of bills of credit to be redeemed by the 12 colonies, pertains to a resolution of June 22, 1775, the day after he took his seat in Congress. *JCC*, 2:103. The figures in this section are the same as those recorded in Silas Deane's Diary, June 13, and Samuel Ward's List of Measures Adopted by Congress, July 31? 1775, although Ward's calculations were for the apportionment of an emission of \$3 million. Few documents have survived to indicate just how Congress computed the expenditures that would be required for colonial defense in 1775, and since such discussions were conducted primarily in a committee of the whole, the journals of Congress provide little information on the subject. See *JCC*, 2:65, 89–90, 91, 93–94, 103–4, 201–2, 207; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd) , 1:184n. Because the resolutions setting the size of the army in Massachusetts and in the New York department at 22,000 and 5,000, respectively, were not approved until July 21 and July 25, it is unlikely that Jefferson made these notes before late July, since they presume an army of 27,000 men. It also seems that there is only an incidental connection between the section on bills of credit, which pertains to decisions reached in June (and is written perpendicularly to the rest of the document), and the remainder of Jefferson's notes, which relates to matters under discussion into the last week of July.

## Richard Henry Lee to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 1st August 1775

After the fatigue of many days, and of this in particular, I should not sit down at eleven oClock at night to write to a Gentleman of whose goodness of heart I have less doubt than I have of yours. But well knowing that you will pardon what flows from good intentions, I venture to say that my hopes are you will find from what the Congress has already done, and from what I hope they will do



tomorrow,<sup>1</sup> that it has been a capital object with us to make your arduous business as easy to you as the nature of things will admit. The business immediately before us being finished, the approaching sickly season here, and the great importance of our presence in the Virga. Convention, have determined a recess of a Month, it standing now, that the Congress shall meet here again on the 5th of September. The capital object of powder we have attended to as far as we could by sending you the other day six Tons, and tomorrow we shall propose sending six or eight Tons more, which, with the supplies you may get from Connecticut, and such further ones from here, as future expected importations may furnish, will I hope enable you to do all that this powerful article can in good hands accomplish. We understand here that Batteries may be constructed at the entrance of the Bay of Boston so as to prevent the egress & regress of any Ships whatever. If this be fact, would it not Sir be a signal stroke to secure the Fleet & Army in and before Boston so as to compel a surrender at discretion. While I write this, I assure you my heart is elated with the contemplation of so great an event. A decisive thing that would at once end the War, and vindicate the injured liberties of America. But your judgment and that of your brave Associates, will best determine the practicability of this business. I think we have taken the most effectual measures to secure the friendship of the Indians all along our extensive frontiers, and by what we learn of the Spirit of our Convention now sitting at Richmond, a Spirit prevails there very sufficient to secure us on that quarter. The particulars of their conduct I refer you to Mr. Frazer for, who comes fresh from thence, & who goes to the Camp a Soldier of fortune.<sup>2</sup> You know him better than I do, and I am sure you will provide for him as he deserves.

We are here as much in the dark about news from England as you are, the London Ships having been detained long beyond the time they were expected. The indistinct accounts we have, tell us of great confusion all over England, and a prodigious fall of the Stocks. I heartily wish it may be true, but if it is not so now, I have no doubt of its shortly being the case.

I will not detain you longer from more important affairs, than to beg the favor of you, when your leisure permits, to oblige me with a line by Post, to let us know how you go on.

There is nothing I wish so much as your success, happiness, and safe return to your family and Country, because I am with perfect sincerity dear Sir Your Affectionate friend and countryman.

Richard Henry Lee

RC (DLC).

<sup>1</sup> Although Secretary Thomson's journal entry for August 1 states that Congress adjourned this day, it is clear from Lee's comment to Washington as well as the August 2 letters and diary entries of Benjamin Franklin, Francis Lewis, Philip

Livingston, George Clinton, and Robert Treat Paine, that Congress actually met and adjourned the following day. See *JCC*, 2:239.

<sup>2</sup> Probably John G. Frazer, whom Washington appointed assistant to the quartermaster general in September 1775. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 3:515. Patrick Henry also wrote a brief letter recommending Frazer to Washington's attention. Henry to Washington, July 31, 1775. DLC.

## Connecticut Delegates to Zebulon Butler and Others

Gentn

Philadelphia August 2nd 1775

It has been represented to the Continentall Congress that there is great danger of discord & Contention if not Hostility & blood shed between the People Setling Under Connecticutt Claim & those under Pennsylvania which would be attended with the most U[n]happy Consequences at this time of general Calamity & when we want our whole United Strength [against] our Common Enemy.<sup>1</sup> We are therefore desired to write by the Congress to you & press upon you the Necessity of peace and good Order not only Among your selves but by no means to give the least disturbance or Molestation to the persons property or possessions of those Setled Under the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and especially to the family property or possession of those who are gone as Riflers into the service of their Country & join the Army near Boston. The Delegates from the Province of Pennsylvania are desired to write to their people or the heads of them to urge upon them the same peacable disposition towards the Settlers Under Connecticutt and that they make no attempts upon the possessions of each Other but both sides to remain in peace and quiet & to be Cautious not to Interfere in Jurisdiction or in the Exercise of Government<sup>2</sup> but that they all live together in peace & Good Order & Unite in the greatest Harmony in the Common defence if there should be Occasion. You are desired to make no settlement by force nor use any threats for that purpose. We are desired by the Congress to write to you to the purpose Above, and as they may have further to do in this Affair We hope your Conduct will be such as to give no offence to that respectable body. We are your Friends & Hle Servts

Elipht Dyer

Roger Sherman

Silas Deane

RC (CtY). Written by Dyer and signed by Dyer, Sherman, and Deane. Addressed: "To Coll. Butler, Esqr. Dennison, Esqr. Judd & Mr. Sluman &c &c." Endorsed: "Recd. 4th Sepr. 1775."

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:235, 238. For other references to the jurisdictional dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, see Dyer to William Judd, July 23, 1775, note.

<sup>2</sup> As originally phrased by Dyer this passage read "be Cautious in Interfering in

Jurisdiction and in the Exercise of Government," expressing partisan sentiment more in line with the tone of his letter to William Judd, July 23, 1775. The corrected version probably reflected the moderation of Deane and Sherman, whose influence was more fully explained in Deane's letter to Thomas Mumford, October 16, 1775.

## Benjamin Franklin to Jane Mecom

*Philada. Aug. 2. 1775.* "The Congress has adjourned this Morning to the 5th of September. I have now upon my Hands the Settling a new General Post Office, and a Treaty to be held with the Indians on the Ohio, besides smaller Businesses, all to be transacted by the time the Congress meets again. Govr. Ward is just setting out, and I cannot Send this by him if I enlarge."

RC (PPAmP). Carl Van Doren, ed., *The Letters of Benjamin Franklin & Jane Mecom*, American Philosophical Society, *Memoirs*, vol. 27 (Princeton, 1950), p. 163.

## Francis Lewis to Philip Schuyler

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 2d August 1775

I have the honor to inform you<sup>1</sup> that this morning the Congress adjourned to the 5th Septemb then to meet again in this City, and immediately the Members (except those from So Carolina) sett of[f] for the Camp at Cambridge.

This evening the Express arived with your several Letters, which as I sett out tomorrow for New York; shall lay the same before the Provincial Convention of that Colonie, to whom you will please to address during the recess of Congress.

The 30th Inst. 5[thousand pounds] of Gunpowder was forwarded from Trentown to Dobb's Ferry for your use, to be forwarded from thence to Albany, and more of the kind is hourly expected in here. Five Tons has also been lately sent from hence for the Camp at Cambridge. Wishing you success, I have the Honor to be Sir Your most obedt Hum Servt.

Frans Lewis

RC (MH).

<sup>1</sup> Although the recipient is not identified, it is apparent from Philip Schuyler's August 15 letter to the New York Provincial Congress that he had received this letter from Lewis. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:141.

## New York Delegates to Peter Van Brugh Livingston

Sir

Philadelphia 2d August 1775

We received your Letter by Express this Morning, in Answer to which we beg leave to inform you that we have obtained an Order of Congress on the Continental Treasury, in your Favour for 175000 Dollars;<sup>1</sup> but as there is not yet a sufficient Number of the Bills signed to answer the most pressing Occasions we imagine your draft cannot be answered before the latter End of next Week. We have, however been able to borrow about £8000 for you which we will bring with us expecting to set out for N York this Afternoon the Congress having adjourned this Morning till the 5th of September next. We are Sir your Most Obedt. Servts

Phil. Livingston

Geo Clinton

RC (N). Written by Clinton and signed by Clinton and Livingston. *Journals of N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 2:23. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

<sup>1</sup>On August 1 Congress approved the payment of \$175,000 to the New York Provincial Convention, of which Livingston was the president, and the Albany Committee of Correspondence to meet the debts they had incurred in "the public service." *JCC*, 2:236.

## Robert Treat Paine's Diary

[August 2, 1775]

Very hott. Congress adjd. to Sepr. 5th. 1/2 past 12 Clock Set out, stopt at Red Lyon 12 1/2 mile, thence to Trenton, lodged.

MS (MHi).

## Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull

Sir

Philadelphia August 3d 1775

We have adjourned to the 5th of Sepr. Our proceedings will soon be published.

I have only now to recommend to your particular Civilitys Coll Gadsden a Member of the Congress from South Carolina with his son who is determined to make a Visit to our Army in this recess. There will probably be Other Gentn. of the Congress from the Southward who do not return home may take a Tour to Cambridge. Your Civility to them will be most acceptable as also to Introduce them to such Gentn. particularly of our Colony whose Acquaintance may be agreeable.



Am Sr with sincere Esteem Yr Hle Servt

Elipht Dyer

RC (Ct) .

## James Duane to Philip Schuyler

Dear Sir

New York 4 Augt 1775

I concluded it to be absolutely necessary before the Adjournment of the Congress to fall upon some Expedient for supplying the military chest in your Department; but was so much a Stranger to this kind of Business that I much lamented the Want of your Direction. I however moved at Random for I had no Rule, that 200000 Dollars should be deposited with the paymaster of your Army and that if this sum should be expended before the next meeting of the Congress you should be empowerd to draw for 100000 Dollars more. The Congress granted this Request with an immaterial variation and I enclose you a Copy of their Resolve.<sup>1</sup> The original for fear of Accidents I have lodged with the President of our provincial convention where you can command it. Mr. Jonathan Trumbull Junr. son of the Governor of Connecticut is paymaster for your Department. He sustains an Amiable Character and was recommended by the Delegates from New York who knew of no Gent. qualified in our own colony who would certainly accept the office. The Congress adjourned on Wednesday last<sup>2</sup> to the 5 of September then to meet at Philadelphia. I am just returned home and shall in a day or two set out to see my family at the shores from whence I prepare to proceed to Albany and shall there be glad to hear from you.

The Commissioners for Indian Affairs are preparing for a Treaty with the Indians which will soon be held at Albany. £ 2000 prov. is granted for that service. Yourself, Mr. Turbott Francis of Philadel. Mr. Volk P Douw of Albany, Major Hawley of Massachusetts Bay and [ ]<sup>3</sup> from Connecticut are named for this Service. If you have any advice or instructions to give on the occasion you will have sufficient Opportunity as two of the Gent. set out from this place to morrow.

The Congress have now issued an order to pay 175000 Dollars to our provincial Convention to replace the sums they have advanced for the publick service. Tho' much fatigued with my Journey I am obliged to give you this hasty Journal with Douw going early in the morning. I am Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

Jas. Duane

P.S. I wrote this day to the paymaster advising him to come immediately to New York & from thence to proceed to Philad. that he might

possess himself of the 100000 Dollars which will be ready for him the Saturday of next week. Your further Directions will I presume meet him here.

Mr. George Clymer, son in law [of] Mr [Reese] Meredith, & Mr. Nicholas Hiliygas [Michael Hillegas], both of Philad. are nominated Joint continental treasurers.<sup>4</sup>

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup> Instead of immediately appropriating \$200,000 for General Schuyler, as Duane suggested, Congress appropriated \$100,000 for Schuyler and empowered him to spend a similar sum if the original appropriation proved insufficient. *JCC*, 2:237.

<sup>2</sup> That is, August 2.

<sup>3</sup> Blank in MS. Oliver Wolcott was the Indian commissioner from Connecticut whose name apparently escaped Duane. *JCC*, 2:183.

<sup>4</sup> Congress appointed George Clymer and Michael Hillegas joint Continental treasurers on July 29, 1775. *JCC*, 2:221. Clymer (1739–1813), a Philadelphia merchant, acted as joint treasurer until July 20, 1776, whereupon he resigned to take a seat in Congress where he served, 1776–77, 1780–82. *DAB*. Hillegas (1729–1804), likewise a Philadelphia merchant, became sole Continental treasurer upon Clymer's resignation and continued to exercise the office until 1789. *DAB*.

## James Duane to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.

Sir                      Woodbridge on my Return to New York 4 Aug. 1775

I have the pleasure of acquainting you that the Continental Congress have been pleased to appoint you Paymaster for the Department of New York.<sup>1</sup> From the Character you sustain & which was strongly confirmed by our mutual worthy Friend Mr Wm Hooper of North Carolina, I took an active part in this Appointment, firmly perswaded that it woud promote the publick Service; and I flatter myself that your Zeal for the common Cause will induce you chearfully to accept this important office. This tho' personally a Stranger I have ventured to promise as the Service woud suffer unspeakably in case of your declining it.

I have in my possession a warrant for 100000 Dollars to supply your military Chest. I propose to send a Copy to General Schuyler by Express as his order will be necessary to authorize the Receipt of the money at the Treasury. The original I shall lodge with the President of our provincial Convention. Col. Hancock will deliver you the Commission & acquaint you of the security to be given on your part. I shoud think it prudent for you to come down to New York & by the first opportunity to acquaint General Schuyler of your Intentions. By Saturday week there will be money in the Continental Treasury to answer the Warrant, & I suppose it will be necessary for you to attend at the Treasury with the warrant & the General's order to take charge of it. Mr Hooper with whom I parted yesterday requested me to pre-

sent you with his respectful Compliments. I am with great Regard  
 Sir, your most obed. Servant  
 Jas. Duane

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 2:212; Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., July 28; and John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., August 8, 1775.

## James Duane to Oliver Wolcott

Sir

New York 7 Aug. 1775<sup>1</sup>

I take it for granted that the Delegates from your Colony have before now apprized you of your being appointed by the Continental Congress as one of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department.<sup>2</sup> I have only now to advise you that Col. Francis and Mr. Douw two of your Associates set out this day for Albany in order to prepare for a Congress with the Six Nations.<sup>3</sup> I make no doubt but you will meet them there as soon as it is convenient. These Gent. have the Goods & Speech for the Treaty in Charge.

I am with great Regard Sir your most hume Sevt

Jas. Duane

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Duane wrote a similar letter to Joseph Hawley this day, although he erroneously dated it "7 Sept. 1775." NN. Duane obviously did not know that Hawley had already declined on the grounds of ill health to serve as one of the commissioners. *JCC*, 2:247n.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver Wolcott (1726–97), Connecticut delegate to Congress, 1776–78, 1780–83, and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was chosen one of five Indian commissioners for the northern department July 13. *JCC*, 2:183; and *DAB*.

<sup>3</sup> On August 31, 1775, the Indian commissioners concluded a treaty with the Iroquois Confederation whereby the latter pledged to remain neutral in the struggle between America and Great Britain. PCC, item 134; *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:475–95; and James F. and Jean H. Vivian, "Congressional Indian Policy during the War for Independence: The Northern Department," *Md. Hist. Magazine* 63 (September 1968): 241–45.

## Benjamin Franklin to Philip Schuyler

Sir,

Philada. Augt. 8. 1775. 5 P.M.

Your Letter to the President of the Congress,<sup>1</sup> arrived here just now by an Express from Albany, and is brought to me, the Congress being adjourn'd & all the Members out of town but my self. I have taken the Liberty of looking into it, to see if it required any Service from hence in our Power to render. I wish we had more Powder to send you as you desire. But all hitherto arriv'd is gone to Boston, and an Order is left here for sending 5 Ton more thither as soon as it

comes in. I hope the second Parcel sent you from hence, which had been delay'd on the Road by some Mismanagement, has got safe to you before this time. I shall immediately forward your Letter to the President who is now I suppose in the Camp before Boston. Wishing you Success in your arduous Undertakings, and a safe Return with Health, Happiness & Honour, I am, very respectfully Sir, Your most obedient huml Servant<sup>2</sup>

B Franklin

RC (MHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See Schuyler to John Hancock, August 2, 1775, *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Two days later, Franklin wrote to Schuyler stating that immediately after dispatching this letter of the eighth "it occur'd to me to endeavour the obtaining from our Committee of Safety a Permission to send you what Powder remain'd in our Hands; which tho' it was thought scarcely safe for our selves to part with it, they, upon my Application & representing the Importance of the Service you are engag'd in, and the Necessity you were under for that Article, was chearfully agreed to. Accordingly I this Day dispatch a Waggon with 2400 lb wt. which actually empties our Magazine." Apparently Franklin, at this time president of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, hoped for a return favor, as he concluded: "We find on Enquiry that there is an extream Scarcity of Lead here, and our Committee recollecting that a superfluous Quantity was taken at Ticonderoga, request you would spare us what you can of it." Franklin to Schuyler, August 10, 1775, NN.

## John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.

Sir North Haven Augst. 8. 1775.

By order of the Congress I am to Acquaint you that they have unanimously appointed you Paymaster in the York Department, which I hope will be agreeable to you, & that by the Return of Fessenden I shall be inform'd of your Acceptance of the Trust. You will readily See that the Service requires an immediate attention to this Business; the Delegates of New York will furnish you the necessary papers, & the money order'd by Congress.<sup>1</sup> I am Directed to Take a Bond of you with Two Sureties in the Sum of Twenty five Thousand Dollars, the Bond to be given to the followg. persons, Vizt. John Hancock, Henry Middleton, John Dickinson, John Alsop, Thomas Lynch, Richard Henry Lee & James Willson Esqrs. & the Survivor of them in Trust for the United Colonies. If you will please to Send me the Bond Executed I will Send your Commission. I Beg my best Regards to the worthy Govr Trumbull, & believe me with Esteem, Sir

Your very huml servt. John Hancock Presidt.

[P.S.] Pray excuse Paper, being on the Road cannot be Accomodated.

RC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> See James Duane to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., August 4, 1775.



## Samuel Chase to Philip Schuyler

*Annapolis. Augst. 10th. 1775.* Responds to Schuyler's letter of July 26. Is confident Schuyler will receive adequate powder, provisions, and troops for the dangerous command he has undertaken. "I cannot but interest Myself in your Success. The Expediency, the prudence of the Expedition is trusted to your Judgment. A previous Condition, a sine qua non, of Marching into Quebec, is the Friendship of the Canadians: without their Consent and Approbation, it is not [to] be undertaken, so I understand the Resolution of the Congress. The Generality, the bulk of Mankind, judge only from the Success. I think You, therefore, in a very critical Situation, & that an Exertion of all your Faculties of Mind and Body are necessary. May I be permitted to wish that a military Ardor, a Soldiers Honor, or a Compliance with the Temper & Inclinations of others, may not prevail over your better Judgment. There may be some, from want of Discretion, & others from Envy, who may be urging You to undertake what your prudence may condemn. I hope I have not said too much, and that my Anxiety will be imputed to no other Cause, than my Zeal for America and my Regard for You. God grant you Success."

RC (NN).

## Charles Thomson to John McKesson

Sir,

Summerville 11 Aug. 1775.

Yesterday evening I received your letter dated the 7th Instant, & embrace this first opportunity of returning an answer.

You will please to inform your provincial Convention, that the pay of the army from a Colonel down as established by the Congress is as follows.<sup>1</sup>

		N Y Curr[enc]y
Colonel	50 Dollars per month	20-0-0
lieutenant Colonel	40 dollars per do	16-0-0
Major	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ do ----- do	13-6-8
Captain	20 do ----- do	8-0-0
lieutenant	13 $\frac{1}{3}$ do ----- do	5-6-8
Ensign	10 do ----- do	4-0-0
Sergeant	8 do ----- do	3-4-0
Drummer	7 $\frac{1}{3}$ do ----- do	2-18-8
Fifer	7 $\frac{1}{3}$ do ----- do	2-18-8
private	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ do ----- do	2-13-4
Chaplain	20 do ----- do	8-0-0

Adjutant of a Regimt.	18 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	do	-----	do	7-6-8
Quarter Master do	18 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	do	-----	do	7-6-8
Surgeon	25	do	-----	do	10-0-0
Surgeon's Mate	13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	do	-----	do	5-6-8

The Congress did not particularly ascertain the number of Days in a month, but I am confident they meant calendar month, as I observed in their calculation, they generally counted 30 to a month. I am Sr Yr humble Servt. Cha Thomson

RC (NHi) .  
<sup>1</sup> Thomson's figures for the pay rates of army surgeons and surgeon's mates differ from those in the journals, Congress having there decided to pay surgeons \$1 1/3 per diem and surgeon's mates \$2/3 per diem, both of which are greater than the rates given by Thomson. JCC, 2:209-10, 220.

Samuel Ward to Benjamin Franklin

*Providence 12th August. 1775.* Describes recent British naval operations off Connecticut and Rhode Island and notes that in the vicinity of Newport the British "stopped the FerryBoats, strictly examined every Person and took down the Names. They had heard of my Return and expected I should have gone to Newport and were in hopes of getting one Delegate into their Possession. . . ." Alludes to the capture by the British of Benjamin Hichborn,<sup>1</sup> an American post rider, and stresses the need for other post riders to exercise greater caution in the future. Continues: "The Love of Liberty triumphs in this Town over all other Considerations, every thing for the common Defence is pursued with immense Ardor every Danger is despised and every Difficulty is surmounted and at the same time they are thus attentive to the general Interest of America. They are taking most effectual Measures for their own immediate Safety; Batteries on each Side of the River are opened in such advantageous Situations as will easily destroy any Ships which may attempt to come near the Town."

RC (PPL) . Abstracted from Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg) , pp. 74-76.  
<sup>1</sup> See John Adams to James Warren, July 23, 1775.

John Hancock to Joseph Reed

Sir  
Watertown Augst. 15. 1775  
This moment Rec'd your favr.<sup>1</sup> I have not with me Copies of the Talks to the several Tribes of Indians, nor was there time to Insert them in the Journals. I inclose you Copies from the Journals of all

that Respects Indian Affairs as yet inserted, and I apprehend this will fully Answer your Request, and which you will please to lay before the General.

I am with Esteem Sir Your most obedt servt

John Hancock

RC (NH). .

<sup>1</sup>Not found. Joseph Reed (1741–85), Pennsylvania lawyer and delegate to Congress, 1778, was serving at this time as Washington's military secretary. *DAB*.

## Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr.

*Westerly 15th August. 1775.* "I am very sorry that there is any Uneasiness relative to the continental Establishment; as the several New England Colonies had made the same Establishment the Congress adopted it, but upon a proper Representation I make no Doubt would do every thing which should appear proper; there is one Circumstance attending the Service which I never thought of which must create you many heavy Expences, that is your being so near as to have much Company from all the Colonies: this War may perhaps last Years; Oeconomy is therefore necessary and I was unwilling to give any extravagant Pay, but the Circumstance above has much weight with Me and probably there may be others which have escaped my Attention; This I can with great Pleasure say that the Man that loves my Country and takes up Arms in her Defence shall while I have one single shilling be welcome to a Part of it: but as Commerce the great Source of Wealth is now almost at an End the utmost Oeconomy I must recommend to You and all the Troops. . . . I hope and believe there is not an officer worth having that will decline the continental Service; the Commissions are of the same Tenor as far as I recollect with those which the N. E[nglan]d Colonies gave. I would chuse you should receive yours in the most respectful Manner; every Lover of his Country who considers that it is absolutely essential to the Preservation of America that the Resolutions of the Congress should be considered as sacred and inviolable will by no means take any Measure which may draw into Question the Authority of that Congress; this would be not only injurious to the common Cause but ruinous to the Persons who May do it: The Officers above the Rank of Colo. are well provided for I think, and all below that by a proper Representation to the Congress through their General or any other Way which he may direct I doubt not will be properly regarded. . . . You wish for Peace, so do I, but never upon any other Terms but those which will secure the Liberties of my Country; my Lord Kames justly observes 'that domestic Convulsions are tem-

porary but the Loss of Liberty perpetual;' however shocking to a benevolent Mind the Horrors of a civil War May be They are infinitely preferable (I may add amiable when compared to D[espotism]) to Slavery; many Nations have rose from a State of the most severe civil Wars to the highest Pitch of Glory and Happiness but Slavery never produced one single Good since the Creation; that I wish you every Happiness I need not say; the highest in this World is that you may have an honourable Share in delivering your Country from Oppression."

RC (RHi) . Abstracted from Ward, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg) , pp. 76-79.

### Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Horatio Gates

*Annapolis, August 18, 1775.* Discusses prospects for reconciliation between America and Great Britain. "I shall be very unhappy that petitioning the King, to which Measure I was much a Friend, should give you or any one else attached to the cause of America and of Liberty the least uneasiness. You and I and America in general may almost universally wish in the first place to establish our Liberties; our second wish is a reunion with Britain; so may we preserve the Empire intire and the Constitutional Liberty founded in whiggish principles, handed down to us by our Ancestors. In order to strengthen ourselves to accomplish these great ends we ought in my opinion to conduct ourselves so as to unite America and divide Britain. This as it appears to me may most likely be effected by doing rather more than less in the peaceable Line than would be required if our petition is rejected with contempt which I think most likely. Will not our Friends in England be still more exasperated against the Court, and will not our very moderate Men on this side of the water be compelled to own the necessity of opposing Force by Force? The rejection of the New-York petition was very servicable to America. If our petition should be granted the Troops will be recalled, the obnoxious Acts repealed, and we restored to the footing of 1763. If the petition should not be granted, but so far attended to as to lay the ground work of a negotiation Britain must I think be ruined by the delay. If she subdues us at all it must be by a most violent and sudden exertion of her force, and if we can keep up a strong party in England headed by such characters as Lord Chatham and the others in the present opposition, Bute, Mansfield, and North, and a corrupt majority cannot draw the British force fully into action against us. Our Friends will certainly continue such so long as they see we do not desire to break from a reasonable and beneficial Connection with the Mother Country, but if, unhappily for the whole Empire, they should once be con-



vinced by our conduct that we design to break from that Connection I am apprehensive they will thenceforth become our most dangerous enemies. The greatest and first Law of self preservation will justify, nay compel it. The cunning Scotchmen and Lord North fully feel the force of this reasoning; hence their Industry to make it be believed in England that we have a scheme of Independance, a general term they equivocally use to signify to the Friends of Liberty a breaking off all connection; and to Tories that we dispute the Supremacy of Parliament. In the Extent of the Declaratory Act is the power of binding us by its acts, in all causes whatever. The latter we do most certainly dispute, and I trust shall successfully fight against, with the approbation of every honest Englishman. Lord North's proposition, and consequent resolution of Parliament were insidiously devised to wear the face of peace, and Embarrass us in the Choice of evils—either to accept and be slaves or reject and increase the number and power of our Enemies. I flatter myself that our petition will present to him only a choice of means injurious to his villanous schemes." Concludes with description of the proceedings of a recent meeting of the Maryland Provincial Convention.<sup>1</sup>

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 92:285–87). Printed, with numerous minor variations, in *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:157–59. Johnson's letter was intercepted by the British and subsequently printed in newspapers in England and America. See Gen. Thomas Gage to Lord Dartmouth, September 20, 1775, PRO: C.O. 5, 92:281–84.

<sup>1</sup> On these proceedings, see *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:99–132.

## Silas Deane to Philip Schuyler

Cambridge Head Quarters  
20th August 1775

Dear Sir

I wrote you from Philadelphia<sup>1</sup> & after from Wethersfeild which hope you recd. This comes by Capt. Oswald with dispatches from the General, The Contents of which I am only to conjecture, but the Northern expedition, you know, has from the first been my favorite object. Success in that, will I am fully convinced destroy the present Administration, and bring salvation to These Colonies. It greives me, to hear, that You are no better supplied, & supported from below. Hope for the best. Nothing shall be wanting on Our part, only let Us know the Essential Necessaries.

Capt. Oswald can give You the situation of Affairs here, to whom refer you, & am confident You will give him, all the dispatch in Your power. Col. Arnold has been hardly treated in my Opinion by this Colony thro' some mistake or other. You once wrote to Me in his favor for the Office of Adjutt. Genl. in Your Department. If the post is not filled wish You to remember him as I think he has deserved

much & received little, or less than Nothing, and it would be very unhappy that any Gentleman concerned in the first Adventure that Way should be Neglected. If you design for *Montreal* &c Col. Arnold will I trust have the Command of a body of Men, capable of making a powerful diversion in your favor, but at any rate he ought to be made Use of, not to provide for him mer[e]ly, but to take the advantage of those abilities, & Activities of which I am sure he is possessed.

Nothing (your presence excepted) can be more agreeable than a Line from You, if Dated *Montreal* the better. I am Dr Sir Yours  
S. Deane

RC (NN).

<sup>1</sup>Apparently his letter of August 4, posted from "Elisabeth Town," in which he wished Schuyler success and promised him "a long letter from Wethersfield." NN. His letter of August 15 from Wethersfield, however, was also brief, but he promised a longer one from "the Camp, near Boston," for which he was about to depart. NN.

## A Delegate in Congress to a Correspondent in London

[August 24, 1775]

You will see by the publick Papers some of the Proceedings of our Congress; the rest will soon be published. Three million of Dollars are now striking by their Orders, for defending the Rights of America. The very Quakers in this and other Provinces are in Arms, and appear in the Field every Day in their Regimentals, and make as good a Figure as the best; you may be sure we are in earnest, when they handle a Musquet.

All trade to England, and every other Part of the World, will most certainly be stopped on the 10th of next Month, and if the Ministry do not very soon see the Justice and Equity of placing the Colonies in the same Situation they were in before the Year 1763, in which both Sides experience Satisfaction and mutual Benefit, then you may expect to hear in the Course of next Winter that the Congress have opened all our Ports to every foreign Power that will come with their Manufactures, and trade with us for our Produce. Whether that will not be one Means of dissolving our Connection entirely with Great Britain, I shall leave to wiser Heads to determine; I am far, very far, from wishing such an Event; but, nevertheless, I am very apprehensive, from the present Temper of our People, that a few more violent Steps will lay a Foundation for it.

MS not found; reprinted from the *Daily Advertiser* (London), October 19, 1775. Printed under the heading: "Extract of a Letter from one of the Gentlemen of the Provincial Congress at Philadelphia, Aug. 24." Force, who took his text and date for this letter from the *Weekly Magazine*, or *Edinburgh Amusement*, October 26,

1775, printed it under the date August 26, 1775. *Am. Archives*, 4th ser. 3:435. Aside from the fact that the writer was probably a delegate from Pennsylvania, it is impossible to identify the author or the recipient on the basis of available evidence.

## James Wilson to John Montgomery

*Pittsburgh. 24th Augt 1775.* Arrived here August 19 amidst reports that alarm had "spread over the Frontiers of this Province and Virginia. . . . I am inclined, however, to believe that these Fears far exceed any Occasion that has been given for them." On the other hand, some of the Wyandots and Mingoes have not "such friendly Dispositions as are to be wished for," and the Shawnees appear to be disregarding an invitation to meet with the Virginians. "These Considerations determined me to dispatch Messengers to the Indians with Belts and Strings of Wampum, and with written Invitations to attend the Treaty appointed by the Congress.<sup>1</sup> The Nations to whom I have instructed the Messengers to go are the Delawares, the Shawnese, the Mingoes living on Scioto, the Wyendotes (or Hurons), the Tawas, and the six Nations residing on French Creek and the Alleghany River. . . . The 10th of Septr. is the Day named. . . . Eight Belts were, about ten Days ago, carried down this River to the Shawnese Tribe by three of the six Nations, and two Shawnese. Some say they were sent by the six Nations and Col. Johnson: Others by the six Nations, and the commanding officer at Niagara. I can obtain no certain Intelligence concerning the Messages sent with the Belts. Many suspect that they are intended to stir up the Ohio Indians against us."

RC (PHi).

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, Benjamin Franklin, and Patrick Henry had been appointed commissioners to superintend Indian affairs for the middle department on July 13. The commissioners were to prepare for talks with various tribes within their jurisdiction according to the forms prescribed by Congress for use with the Six Nations in the northern department. Subsequently, Franklin and Henry were replaced by Lewis Morris and Thomas Walker, both of whom had already gone to Pittsburgh independently, and joined Wilson for the conference that was finally convened October 7. *JCC*, 2:177-83, 251. For Wilson's role as a congressional commissioner, see Page Smith, *James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 69-72. The journal of Richard Butler, who was appointed agent for the commissioners at Pittsburgh has been edited by Edward G. Williams, "The Journal of Richard Butler, 1775, Continental Congress' Envoy to the Western Indians," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 46 (1963): 381-95; 47 (1964): 31-46, 141-56.

## Thomas Jefferson to John Randolph

*Monticello. Aug. 25. 1775.* Regrets that Randolph is leaving his native land.<sup>1</sup> Continues: "Looking with fondness towards a reconciliation with Great Britain, I cannot help hoping you may be able to contribute towards expediting this good work. I think it must be evident to yourself that the ministry have been deceived by their officers on this side the water, who (for what purposes I cannot tell) have constantly represented the American opposition as that of a small faction, in which the body of the people took little part. This you can inform them of your own knolege to be untrue. They have taken it into their heads too that we are cowards and shall surrender at discretion to an armed force. The past and future operations of the war must confirm or undeceive them on that head. I wish they were thoroughly and minutely acquainted with every circumstance relative to America as it exists in truth. I am persuaded this would go far towards disposing them to reconciliation. Even those in parliament who are called friends to America seem to know nothing of our real determinations. I observe they pronounced in the last parliament that the Congress of 1774 did not mean to insist rigorously on the terms they held out, but kept something in reserve to give up; and in fact that they would give up everything but the article of taxation. Now the truth is far from this, as I can affirm, and put my honor to the assertion; and their continuance in this error may perhaps have very ill consequences. The Congress stated the lowest terms they thought possible to be accepted in order to convince the world they were not unreasonable. They gave up the monopoloy and regulation of trade, and all the acts of parliament prior to 1764, leaving to British generosity to render these at some future time as easy to America as the interest of Britain would admit. But this was before blood was spilt. I cannot affirm, but have reason to think, these terms would not now be accepted. I wish no false sense of honor, no ignorance of our real intentions, no vain hope that partial concessions of right will be accepted may induce the ministry to trifle with accomodation till it shall be put even out of our own power ever to accomodate. If indeed Great Britain, disjoined from her colonies, be a match for the most potent nations of Europe with the colonies thrown into their scale, they may go on securely. But if they are not assured of this, it would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risque our accepting a foreign aid which perhaps may not be obtainable but on a condition of everlasting avulsion from Great Britain. This would be thought a hard condition to those who still wish for reunion with their parent country. I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependance on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of



those too who rather than submit to the right of legislating for us assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shewn they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean.

"If undeceiving the minister as to matters of fact may change his dispositions, it will perhaps be in your power by assisting to do this, to render service to the whole empire, at the most critical time certainly that it has ever seen. Whether Britain shall continue the head of the greatest empire on earth, or shall return to her original station in the political scale of Europe depends perhaps on the resolutions of the succeeding winter. God send they may be wise and salutary for us all!" Encourages him to write often, as "communication among individuals may be mutually beneficial to the contending parties."

RC (William Salt Library, Stafford, England, U. K. Courtesy the Earl of Dartmouth). Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:240-43.

<sup>1</sup> John Randolph (1728-84), last royal attorney general of Virginia and brother of Peyton Randolph, had decided to remain loyal to the crown and was preparing to depart for England. *DAB*.

## Silas Deane to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Augt. 26th 1775

I have wrote you two Letters, since my return from Philadelphia & should not trouble you again at this time were it not for my Situation respecting Mr. Skeene. I have not seen him since my return but am repeatedly inform'd of his receiving such Treatment, as is quite inconsistent with the Assurances I gave him at Philadelphia, of which I would think less had I not been Authoriz'd by the Congress, to make them.<sup>1</sup> To a person of any sensibility, nothing can be more painfull than to be constantly liable to the reflections of having his faith which he pledg'd & word of honor violated before his face. I have as contemptible an Opinion of Mr. Skeene as of any man in one point of light—his political principals, but as a prisoner he is intitled to the performance of the Conditions on which he was made such. I return'd but this instant from the Camp, & find that but last week a party beset his lodgings, insulted him, & searched all his papers &c. Your honor I trust will give some Order I hope to the Committee respectg him. If for particular reasons you think it best to Continue him where he now is, I wish to be favor'd with them, that I may reconcile the Matter to the congress, whose desires have been misunderstood, & so not complied with<sup>2</sup>—but give me leave to hint it as my Opinion, that he is in the very worst Situation for the Public. A country Village is inquisitive, & Communicative every where. He is

on a large Road and one which the people, passing to & from both Armies use. He has therefore all the intelligence of every thing he can wish to know, & 'twill the advantage of sending it to the Enemy that he would have in a Town. One thought farther, he is a very communicative man, & in the Secrets of Administration, were he near some Judicious person many important discoveries might be made, of this I am Confident from the Opportunities I had with him at Philadelphia. I will Trouble your honor no farther on this disagreeable Subject, as I am Confident you will give such Orders as will do me Justice, as well as the Public in whose behalf, and by whose express Orders I gave the Assurances I did.

Your Sons were well on Tuesday last. I am &c

S Deane

FC (CtHi) .

<sup>1</sup> Deane was a member of the congressional committee that originally examined Skene and supervised his parole. *JCC*, 2:82, 86.

<sup>2</sup> For Trumbull's explanation in response to Deane's assertion that the desires of Congress had not been complied with, see his August 30 letter to Deane, *NYHS Collections* 23 (1890): 546-50. See also *JCC*, 2:108-9, 126-27; and John Hancock to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., July 6, 1775.

## Benjamin Franklin to Silas Deane

Dear Sir,

Philada Augt. 27. 1775.

I am much oblig'd by your Favour of the 13th Inst. Mr [William] Goddard, Riding Surveyor to the Gen. Post Office is gone to the Southward, for Settling the new Post-Offices all along to Georgia. Mr [Richard] Bache, the Comptroller, is to set out next Week Northward on the same Business, who will take with him Directions from me to establish all the Officers in your Government that you recommend and the new Offices and Stages that appear likely to support themselves.

I am glad to hear that the Gunsmith's Business goes on so well with you. We make great Progress on it here; but the Price is high. If we would acquire that Manufacture in Perfection, it must be by assuring the Workmen of a large Demand, for a Number of Years, and at a Price certain. Then they will be encourag'd to bring up Apprentices for different Parts of the Work, and also to make Tools and Machines for facilitating & expediting it, such as Fuages for Lock Plates & Cocks Mills for grinding and boring the Barrels, &c. Those bred to Parts of the Work only, will dispatch more and do it better. And then I am confident Arms may be made as good and as cheap in America as in any Part of the World. I intend therefore to propose to our Assembly to give that Encouragement here, by engaging to take 2000 Muskets per Annum for Ten Years, at a good Price, which I

doubt not will in that time establish the Manufacture among us; and an Arsenal with 20,000 good Firelocks in it, will be no bad thing for the Colony. As the Numbers of People are continually increasing, we can never be long overstock'd with the Article of Arms. And I wish the Congress may think fit to recommend the same Project to the other Colonies.

I congratulate you on the plentiful Year with you as well as with us. It makes one smile to see in the English Papers, the Ignorance of some of their Political Writers, who fancy we cannot continue the Non Importation Agreement; because if we do it must starve us.

I lament with you the Want of a naval Force. I hope the next Winter will be employ'd in forming one. When we are no longer fascinated with the Idea of a Speedy Reconciliation, we shall exert ourselves to some purpose. 'Till then Things will be done by Halves.

Those you mention who seem frightened at finding themselves where they are, will by degrees recover Spirits when they find by Experience how inefficient merely mercenary the regular Troops are, when oppos'd to Freeholders & Freemen, fighting for their Liberties & Properties. A Country of such People was never yet conquer'd, (unless through their own Divisions) by any absolute Monarch and his Mercenaries. But such States have often conquer'd Monarchies, and led mighty Princes captive in Triumph.

I shall be curious to hear more Particulars of your new mechanical Genius. A Mr Belton who I fancy comes from your Province & is now here has propos'd something of the kind to us; but is not much attended to.

With great Esteem, I am Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant  
B Franklin

## INDEX

In this index descriptive subentries are arranged chronologically and in ascending order of the initial page reference. They may be preceded, however, by the subentry "identified" and by document subentries arranged alphabetically—diary entries, letters, notes, resolutions, and speeches. An ornament (☆) separates the subentry "identified" and document subentries from descriptive subentries arranged chronologically. Inclusive page references are supplied for descriptive subentries; for a document, only the page on which it begins is given. Eighteenth-century printed works are indexed by author and by short title. Other printed works are indexed when they have been cited to document a substantive point discussed in the notes, but not when cited merely as the location of a document mentioned. Delegates who attended Congress during the period covered by this volume appear in **boldface type**.

Adams, Mr.: debates American rights, 192; mentioned, 146

Adams, Abigail Smith (Mrs. John): letters to, 49, 69, 74, 79, 80, 87, 99, 128, 154, 164, 408, 416, 432, 464, 465, 478, 497, 502, 536, 579, 601, 630, 648, 657, 681; mentioned, 81, 443, 670

Adams, Amos, 683

Adams, Charles Francis, ed., *Works of John Adams*, 193, 194, 429

Adams, Elizabeth Wells (Mrs. Samuel): letters to, 493, 552, 683; mentioned, 49

**Adams, John**: diary, 3, 27, 33, 45, 59, 60, 63, 64, 68, 75, 81, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 93, 107, 109, 132, 138, 142, 143, 152, 156, 163, 167, 173, 189, 192, 200, 221, 227, 235, 236, 246; draft "Letter," 158; letters from, 49, 69, 70, 74, 79, 80, 81, 82, 87, 99, 106, 128, 129, 154, 156, 164, 265, 275, 296, 308, 333, 364, 408, 416, 417, 432, 450, 451, 452, 464, 465, 466, 467, 478, 497, 502, 503, 516, 517, 518, 529, 534, 536, 544, 579, 583, 586, 588, 590, 601, 618, 621, 630, 648, 650, 651, 657, 658, 667, 668, 670, 671, 676, 681, 682; notes, 27, 46, 93, 103, 109, 151, 197; resolutions, 131; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; arrives in Philadelphia, 3, 339, 346; describes Philadelphia, 4; visits Pennsylvania Hospital, 4-5; describes delegates, 5-8, 167-68, 236; Philadelphia residence, 6; on loyalists, 6-7, 69-70, 659; describes church services, 9, 63-64, 157, 163-65, 235; debates rules, 10; on lawyers, 34; committee on rights, 45-46; on American rights, 46-49, 180, 199; autobiography quoted, 46, 48-49, 201, 471; describes Congress, 49, 99, 128-30, 154-55, 164, 236, 297, 432, 657-58; cites treason statute, 68; social activities, 69, 156; assesses Congress' sentiment toward Massachusetts, 70, 79, 80, 106, 130, 156-57; describes Rev. Duché, 74; on means for restoring American rights, 93-94, 133, 144; on nonexportation, 103-5, 131; on nonimportation, 103-5, 151-52; on Galloway's plan of union, 109-12; protests Gen. Gage's fortification of Boston, 158; describes meeting with Baptists, 193; revises declaration of rights and grievances, 194, 200-201; on Quebec Act,



Adams, John (*continued*)

- 197; committee to draft an address to the king, 225; leaves Philadelphia, 246, 682; on British politics, 308–10; debates state of America, 352; health, 364, 416, 464–65, 545, 603, 652; debates American defense, 407; travels to Wilmington, Del., 435, 448; on naval preparations, 450–51; on Indian neutrality, 452; fast day committee, 456; examines Skene papers, 458; on reconciliation, 466; urges powder manufacturing, 466; on duties of military officers, 467; on forms of government, 471; on military pay, 504, 529; on Gen. William Howe, 516; on appointment of general officers, 518–19, 588, 651; describes Washington's departure, 537; describes German hussar uniform, 587, 590–91; on death of Joseph Warren, 588–89; on Petition to the King, 589–90; on Address to the People of Great Britain, 621; describes Benjamin Franklin, 648–49; interest in army personnel and organization, 650, 652, 667; intercepted letters, 653, 657–59; criticizes Massachusetts militia appointments, 668; on adjournment, 681–82; mentioned, xxii, xxiii, 54, 194, 220, 259, 264, 335, 429
- Adams, John, *Diary and Autobiography* (Butterfield, ed.), 10, 105, 193, 433, 442, 498, 653, 658, 659, 682
- Adams, John, *Legal Papers* (Wroth and Zobel, eds.), 58
- Adams, John, *Works* (Charles Francis Adams, ed.), 193, 267, 429, 535
- Adams, Samuel: draft "Letter," 158; letters from, 55, 71, 82, 94, 100, 205, 292, 320, 321, 361, 467, 493, 519, 531, 534, 552, 553, 571, 591, 623, 659, 677, 683, 684; letters to, 258, 303; notes, 107; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; portrait, xxxiv, 73; arrives in Philadelphia, 10, 339, 346; proposes Rev. Duché for prayers, 31, 55, 74; urges opposition to Massachusetts Government Act, 71, 94–95; assesses Congress' sentiment toward Massachusetts, 100; debates nonexportation, 107–8, 153; debates means for restoring American rights, 144–45; protests Gen. Gage's fortification of Boston, 158–60; meets with Baptists, 193; debates American rights, 194; at Massachusetts Provincial Congress, 317–18; on British reaction to American proposals, 321; committee to write to Canada, 409; ammunition committee, 412; on Gen. Lee's appointment, 519, 553; complains about lack of information from Massachusetts, 659; appointed to Massachusetts Council, 682–84; assesses service to constituents, 683; leaves Philadelphia, 684; accounts, 684; mentioned, 45, 60, 149, 236, 264, 335, 360, 369, 518, 529, 545, 587
- Adams, Samuel, *Writings* (Cushing, ed.), 321
- Adams, Samuel, Jr., 469, 659
- Adams, T. R., *American Independence*, 174, 263, 484
- Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield, ed.), 333, 529, 649, 658
- Address of the Presbyterian Ministers, of the City of Philadelphia*, 576
- Address to the King (1774): committee instructions debated, 133–34, 138–40, 143–45, 161; drafts, 222–33; legislative synopsis, 225; recommitted, 227; approved, 245–46; signed, 249; mentioned, 173, 181, 244; *see also* Petition to the King (1775)
- Address to the People of Great Britain (1775): committee, 444, 551; draft, 548–52; legislative synopsis, 551–52; debated, 604; dispatched to London, 619–20; mentioned, 589, 600, 618, 621, 629, 675
- Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland (1774): draft, 174–79; legislative synopsis, 179; distribution abroad, 248; mentioned, 181, 206
- Addresses; *see* Canada; Ireland; Jamaica; London
- Agents, American: to treat for reconciliation, 24–25, 93–94, 384, 386; mentioned, 246, 345, 620
- Albany, N. Y., Indian conference, 656, 679, 696, 698
- Albany, N.Y., Committee of Correspondence: letters to, 358, 449; ☆ accuses Massachusetts militia of recruiting New Yorkers, 449–50; Continental advance approved, 695; mentioned, 361, 444, 548, 554, 555
- Albany Plan of Union, 116–17

- Alden, John R., *General Charles Lee*, 301  
 Alexander, Edward P., *James Duane*, 137  
 Alison, Francis: address to North Carolina ministers, 576; preaches at fast day service, 638, 640, 650; mentioned, 163, 164  
 All, Isaac, 58, 67, 86, 87  
 Allen, Capt., 96  
 Allen, Andrew, 33–34, 91, 400  
 Allen, Ethan, 361, 363, 445, 449, 465, 495  
 Allen, James, 204, 400  
 Allen, William, 91, 319, 355, 359  
 Alsop, John: letters from, 256, 353, 358, 419, 442, 476, 559, 572, 596; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix, 137, 331; attends Congress, xxix, 57; credentials, 37; arrives in Philadelphia, 346; dines at City Tavern, 358; procures blankets, 572; holds bond on paymaster, 699; mentioned, 264, 307  
*American Querist* (Chandler), 174  
 American Rights; *see* Rights, American  
 Angel, James, 410  
 Anne Arundel County, Md., Committee of Observation, arms subscription, 300  
*Appeal to . . . The People of Great Britain* (Arthur Lee), 314, 315  
 Arms and ammunition: scarcity in Maryland, 299; subscription, 300; scarcity in New York, 560, 678–79; *see also* Powder; Saltpetre  
 Arnold, Benedict: captures Ticonderoga, 359–60; captures British vessels on Lake Champlain, 421–23; expects British counterattack at Ticonderoga, 424, 430; recommended to Schuyler, 704; mentioned, 15, 449, 465  
*Articles of Confederation of the United New England Colonies*, 347  
*Asia* (H.M.S.), 573  
 Association: completed, 206; signed, 222; opposed by South Carolina delegates, 222, 293–95; violations of, 351, 386, 414–16; mentioned, xxi, 181, 269, 271, 273, 278, 280, 292, 313, 415, 483, 511, 643, 664; *see also* Nonexportation; Nonimportation  
 Atkinson, C. T., “British Forces in North America,” 57  
 Augusta County, Va., inhabitants petition Congress, 666  
 Austin, Jonathan Williams, 534  
 Avery, Mr., 542
- Bache, Richard, sets up post offices, 709  
 Backus, Isaac: protests taxation of Baptists, 193; mentioned, 197  
 Ballendine, Mr., 301  
 Baltimore, Md., militia reviewed, 340  
 Baltimore, Md., Committee, letter to, 636  
 Bancroft, George, 395  
 Banning, John, 525  
 Bant, William, 534, 652  
 Baptists: taxation controversy, 193, 197; services described, 235; as political moderates, 318  
 Barclay, Mr., 101  
 Barrell, William: identified, 682; ☆ letter of introduction, 684; mentioned, 8, 193, 246, 603, 681  
 Bartlett, Josiah, xxxvi, 644  
 Bass, Joseph, inoculated for smallpox, 416, 432  
 Bassett, Burwell: identified, 516; letter to, 515  
 Bassett, Nancy Dandridge (Mrs. Burwell), 516  
 Bayard, John, 5, 13, 69, 152  
 Baylor, George: identified, 624; ☆ letter of introduction, 623

- Becker, Carl, "Nomination and Election of Delegates from New York," 138
- Beckly, Mr., 365
- Bedford, Miss, 359
- Bedford, Gunning, appointed deputy muster-master general, 632, 635–36
- Bee, Thomas: identified, 255; letter to, 254; mentioned, 535
- Beers, Isaac, 19
- Bell, Henry, 559, 578
- Belton, Joseph, 710
- Bermuda: exemption from trade ban, 474–76; address to Congress, 475; supplies powder to Congress, 476
- Biddle, Mr., 87
- Biddle, Clement, described, 92
- Biddle, Edward**: letters from, 315, 630; letter to, 265; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx; attends Congress, xxx; debates means for restoring American rights, 145; elected to Pennsylvania Assembly, 156; elected speaker of Pennsylvania Assembly, 202, 204; distributes Letter to Quebec, 266–67; opposes Pennsylvania's petitioning the king, 315; criticized by Joseph Galloway, 323; health, 359, 649; mentioned, 101, 233, 270, 624, 625
- Biddle, Elizabeth Ross (Mrs. Edward), 101, 204, 624
- Biddle, Rebekah Cornell (Mrs. Clement), 92
- Bigelow, Mr., 672
- Birch, William, xxxiii
- Bird, Mr., 674
- Bird, Benjamin, letter of introduction, 591
- Black, Mr., 361
- Blacks: clothing for, 595; insurrection incited, 606–7
- Blair, Samuel, 4, 85, 107
- Blake, Edward, 595
- Bland, Richard**: letter from, 245; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 7, 62; arrives in Philadelphia, 24; debates rules, 28; debates nonimportation and nonexportation, 103–4; debates means for restoring American rights, 139; leaves Philadelphia, 245; debates state of America, 401; falsely charged, 485–86; mentioned, 291, 336, 345
- Bliss, Col., 333
- Boerum, Simon**: letter from, 442; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix, 138, 331; attends Congress, xxix, 134, 136; arrives in Philadelphia, 346
- Bollan, William, 345
- Bond, Thomas, 630
- Boston: bombardment rumored, 27, 29, 32–34, 37, 49, 51, 54, 58–59, 85; town meeting, 63–64; relief, 157, 258–59, 360–62; evacuation recommended, 157, 160–61; Congress protests Gen. Gage's fortification of, 158–63, 171–72, 205; militia, 268; fire, 422; British reinforcements for, 467, 489, 520, 526; plight of inhabitants, 523, 602, 606
- Boston Committee of Correspondence: letter to, 71; mentioned, 72, 76, 154, 157, 162, 356
- Boston-Gazette*, 10, 55, 76, 591, 684
- Boston Harbor: raids, 432, 443, 447–49, 485; blockage considered, 671, 692
- Bostwick, David, 35
- Boundary disputes: Pennsylvania and Virginia, 170, 421, 665–66; Connecticut and Pennsylvania, 656, 661, 693–94
- Boudinot, Elias, 413
- Bounties: proposed for New York troops, 560; mentioned, 449
- Bowdoin, James: identified, 530; letter to, 530; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; mentioned, 534, 602
- Bowen, Dr., 410

- Bowen, Mr., 458
- Boyd, Julian P., *Anglo-American Union*, 116, 119, 127
- Boyd, Julian P., "Disputed Authorship of the Declaration on . . . Taking Up Arms," 588
- Boyd, Julian P., ed., *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 221, 644, 666, 691
- Boyd, Julian P., and Taylor, Robert J., eds., *Susquehanna Company Papers*, 656
- Boyle, John, 684
- Boylston, Thomas, 451, 466
- Brackett, Joshua, 85
- Bradford, Mr., 664
- Bradford, Katy, 359
- Bradford, Thomas: identified, 292; letter to, 292
- Bradford, William: identified, 292; letter to, 292; mentioned, 246
- Brewton, Miles, 571
- Bright, Capt., 341
- British constitution, 288, 471, 548; *see also* Rights, American
- British fisheries, nonexportation to, 397, 400, 451-52
- British navy: colonial support proposed, 39, 93-94; weakness of, 450-51
- British troops: transferred from Philadelphia to Boston, 57, 61; provisioning suspected, 137, 487, 492; expected at New York, 400, 496, 501; provisioning forbidden, 435; reinforcements for Gen. Gage, 467, 489, 520, 522, 526; numbers at Boston, 527; scant provisions, 586
- Brook, John, 632
- Brown, Capt., 338, 368
- Brown, Henton, 546
- Brown, John: identified, 321; ☆ reports on Canada, 356, 360, 452; mentioned, 357, 363, 438, 479
- Brown & Collinson, 546
- Brydges, Sir Samuel Egerton, *Arthur Collins' Peerage of England*, 609
- Bulloch, Archibald: letter from, 326; ☆ explains nonattendance at Congress, 326-28; elected to Congress, 663
- Bunker Hill, Battle of, 532, 534-37, 540, 542-45, 552-53, 558-59, 561, 569, 575, 578, 580-81, 585-86, 595, 605, 614, 629, 688
- Burbeck, Mr., 650, 667, 668
- Burdge, Franklin, *Second Memorial*, 89
- Burgh, James: identified, 276; letter to, 275; mentioned, 298
- Burgh, James, *Political Disquisitions*, 275, 276
- Burgoyne, John: identified, 467; ☆ debates American affairs, 372, 383; mentioned, 586, 614
- Burke, Edmund: letter to, 349; ☆ praised by Congress, 426
- Burke, Edmund, *Speech . . . on . . . Conciliation with the Colonies*, 349
- Burnett, Edmund C., *Continental Congress*, xxiii
- Burnett, Edmund C., ed., *Letters*, v-vi, xxiii, 428-29, 560, 566
- Burr, Aaron: account of Bunker Hill, 578; mentioned, 634, 642
- Burr, Thaddeus, 472, 532
- Butler, Andrew, 78
- Butler, Richard, appointed Indian agent, middle department, 706
- Butler, Zebulon: identified, 661; letters to, 660, 693
- Butterfield, Lyman H., ed., *Adams Family Correspondence*, 333, 529, 649, 658
- Butterfield, Lyman H., ed., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 10, 105, 193, 433, 442, 498, 653, 658, 659, 682
- Cadwalader, John, 6, 415, 437
- Cadwalader, Thomas, 143



- Caldwell, Andrew, 457  
 Calhoun, Robert M., "I Have Deduced Your Rights," 116, 313  
 Callender, Capt., 89  
 Camden, 1st earl of (Charles Pratt), 80  
 Campbell, Donald, appointed deputy quartermaster general, 632, 635, 668  
 Canada: intelligence presented to Congress, 356, 360, 412, 414, 452, 625; address to inhabitants, 409, 418, 481-82, 502; American invasion of, 430-31, 452, 548, 554-55, 558, 568, 700, 704; *see also* Letter to Quebec  
 Canadian Indians: incited by British, 542-44, 548; neutrality, 558, 561, 569; mentioned, 625  
*Candid Examination* (Galloway), 113, 119, 290, 313, 320, 325  
 Carleton, Guy: incites Indians, 542-44, 548, 607; mentioned, 264, 431, 555, 561, 568, 569  
 Caroline County, Va., committee disapproves of Hanover march, 420-21, 485  
 Carpenters' Hall: view of, xxxiii, 11; described, 9; mentioned, 4, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 27, 37, 197, 246  
 Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton: identified, 69; letter to, 526; ☆ described, 69; quoted, 69  
 Carter, Robert, letter to, 569  
 Cary, Mr., 510  
 Cary, John H., *Joseph Warren*, 76  
 Cary, Richard, 236, 670, 671  
 Cary, Samuel, 670  
 Caswell, Richard: letters from, 339, 511; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx; attends Congress, xxx, 91; described, 91-92; describes militia escort, 339-40; arrives in Philadelphia, 340; urges military preparations, 341, 514; returns home, 613; mentioned, 400, 446, 576  
 Caswell, William: identified, 341; letter to, 339  
 Catholic church; *see* Roman Catholic church  
 Caughuawaga Indians, incited by British, 542-43, 548  
 Cecil County, Md., donations for Boston poor, 361-62  
 Census, population information requested, 622-23  
 Chandler, Thomas Bradbury, *American Querist*, 174  
 Chandler, Thomas Bradbury, *Friendly Address*, 263, 313  
 Charleston, S. C., Secret Committee, letter to, 570  
 Charlestown, Mass., burning of, 574, 605  
 Charlestown, Mass., Battle of; *see* Bunker Hill, Battle of  
 Charlton, Mrs. 97  
 Charlton, James, 400  
 Chase, Samuel: letters from, 264, 304, 307, 632, 636, 700; letter to, 277; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; debates nonexportation, 103-4; debates nonimportation, 103-4, 151; debates means for restoring American rights, 145; described, 168; debates American rights, 182, 192; urges military preparations 304-5, 307; explains Maryland resolution, 304, 307; criticizes Parliament, 305 308; on Galloway's plan of union, 306; dines at City Tavern, 358; debates reconciliation, 371; debates state of America, 401; on Canadian expedition, 700; mentioned, 69, 173, 189, 280, 336, 527, 670  
 Chatham, 1st earl of (William Pitt): plan for reconciliation, 321, 425-26; praised by Congress, 425-26; mentioned, 80, 703  
 Chauncy, Charles: identified, 83; letter to, 82; mentioned, 142, 534  
 Checkley, Richard, 684  
 Chester, John, 365, 495, 533, 542, 640  
 Chew, Benjamin, entertains delegates, 90  
 Chew, Colby, 102  
 Chew, Joseph: identified, 102; letters to, 101, 488

- Cheyne, Mr., 340
- Chovet, Abraham: anatomical waxworks, 192-93; mentioned, 197
- Christ, Henry: identified, 316; mentioned, 315
- Christie, Mr., 485
- Christie, James, loyalist activities, 636-37
- Church, Benjamin: identified, 432; letter to, 580; ☆ appointed director of army hospital, 670, 672-73, 678; mentioned, 435, 464, 465, 468, 469, 470, 473, 499, 534, 552, 559, 603
- Clark, William Bell, et al., eds., *Naval Documents*, 487-88, 571
- Clarke, Ethan, 99
- Clarke, Joseph, 493
- Clergy: political activities, 478-79, 537, 576, 603, 613; German, 598
- Clinton, George: letters from, 358, 419, 469, 487, 579, 678, 695; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix, 331; attends Congress, xxix; leaves Philadelphia, 695
- Clinton, Henry, identified, 467
- Clopton, Dr., 138
- Clymer, George: identified, 697; ☆ appointed Continental treasurer, 697; mentioned, 156, 163
- Cobb, David, 13, 72, 85, 107, 179
- Coffin, Capt., 487
- Colden, Cadwallader, 116, 319
- Collier, Christopher, "Inside the American Revolution," 337
- Collier, Christopher, *Roger Sherman's Connecticut*, 656
- Collins, Ezra, 579, 589
- Collins, John, 600
- Collins, Stephen: identified, 318; letter to, 316; ☆ fears American disunity, 318; quoted, 318; letter of introduction, 597; mentioned, 4, 6, 13, 99, 132, 206, 402, 579, 583, 589, 600
- Collinson, Peter, 566
- Collinson, Thomas, 546
- Commissary general, Joseph Trumbull appointed, 641-42, 647, 662, 672
- Committee on Rights: appointed, 31, 36, 45-46; debates in, 38-44, 46-49, 51-54; subcommittee, 59, 60, 63, 68, 72; mentioned, 37, 57, 66, 75, 84, 86, 89, 90, 93, 168
- Committee on Trade (1774): appointed, 31, 36; report, 86; mentioned, 45, 57, 84
- Concord; *see* Lexington and Concord
- Confederation, advantages discussed, 291
- Confederation, Articles of, Franklin's proposed plan, 643-44
- Congress: activities summarized, xix-xxiii, 161-62, 168-69, 180-81, 201-3, 234-35, 256-58, 612-13, 686-87; unanimity, xx, 87, 227, 337, 497; chronology of, xxiv-xxv; convenes, 9, 25-26, 337, 338; appoints a secretary, 10, 12-14, 20, 23, 25-27, 58-59, 168, 337, 342, 344; rules, 10, 14, 23, 26, 27-33, 59, 360; voting method in, 10, 26, 28-31, 55, 59, 168; secrecy of proceedings, 29, 30, 32, 66-67, 69; opened with prayers, 31-35, 44-45, 55, 74-75, 342, 344-45, 347; committee to thank Rev. Duché, 35, 45; described, 49, 59, 99, 128-30, 141, 154-55, 164, 236, 297, 432, 436, 657-58; committee to draft a letter to Gen. Gage, 160, 162; committee to draft an address to the king, 225; plans second session, 233; committee to draft a letter to Quebec, 243; adjourns, 246, 248, 249, 254, 680-83, 692, 694-96; expenses apportioned, 249; proceedings discussed, 252-54, 257-58, 292-97, 307; proceedings criticized, 252-55, 286-87, 290, 295-96, 307, 315, 319, 322-24; foreign distribution of proceedings, 258-59; proceedings approved, 262, 264, 269, 271, 273, 275, 291-92, 295-96, 302, 304, 307, 314, 328, 330; annual meeting recommended, 270-73; Georgia unrepresented, 326-27; proposed adjournment to Connecticut, 348-49, 365-66, 433, 446, 494-95, 519-20, 522, 531, 543, 593, 600; debates military preparations, 351-52, 383-85, 388-95, 401-2, 404-7; committee on New York defense, 351, 356, 361; committee to write to Canada, 409; ammuni-

Congress (*continued*)

- tion committee, 412, 414; post office committee, 418–20, 423; policy toward pacifists, 433–34, 598; committee to draft a petition to the king, 441–42; committee to draft an address to the people of Great Britain, 444, 551; committee to purchase powder, 444, 457; committee on military estimates, 447; fast day committee, 456; committee to examine Skene papers, 458; adjournment discussed, 469, 645, 647, 656, 681–82; saltpetre committee, 484; withdrawal of southern colonies rumored, 487; committee on army rules, 493, 506; pledges support to Washington, 536; committee to draft a letter to city of London, 615; committee on trade, 626, 648, 653; committee on expenses, 648; committee on lead and salt, 686; list of measures adopted, 686–87; advances money to New York, 695; *see also* Committee on Rights; Committee on Trade; Delegates; Journals of Congress
- Congress, president of; *see* Hancock, John; Middleton, Henry; Randolph, Peyton
- Connecticut: responds to Boston alarm, 85–86; proposed adjournment of Congress to, 348–49, 365–66, 433, 446, 494–95, 519–20, 522, 531, 543, 593, 600; ordered to reinforce Ticonderoga, 422–24, 429, 431, 449, 479; accounts requested, 422, 480; troops ordered to New York, 496, 498, 501, 520, 635; troops ordered to Boston, 520, 522, 536; troops taken into Continental service, 520, 540, 646–48; requested to supply Gen. Schuyler, 547, 554–56; settlement in Wyoming Valley, 654–56; boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, 656, 661, 693–94
- Connecticut Assembly: approves proceedings of Congress, 291–92; in special session, 330; appoints militia officers, 540; mentioned, 661
- Connecticut Courant*, 202, 203
- Connecticut delegates: letters from, 168, 422, 423, 462, 479, 542, 618, 646, 672, 693; ☆ summarize work of Congress, 168–69; comment on Continental troop quotas, 618–19; urge peaceful conduct in Wyoming Valley, 693–94
- Connor, Morgan, letter of introduction, 591
- Continental Army: funding of, 447, 453, 457, 482, 490, 496, 503, 508, 515–16, 518, 524–26, 528, 536, 561; established, 465, 486, 490, 499, 502–3, 508, 515–16, 519, 524, 526, 528, 613; supplies for, 474, 476, 662; Washington elected commander in chief, 482, 486–87, 490, 494–99, 502–3, 507–10, 519–21, 524–26, 530–31, 533, 539; rules and regulations, 493, 506, 558, 584–85, 599, 612, 629; Connecticut troops, 496, 498, 501, 520, 522, 536, 540, 618–19, 635, 646–48, 662; Massachusetts troops, 502–3, 519, 613, 662; general officers appointed, 503, 508–9, 518–21, 525, 528–29, 533, 539–40, 542, 544, 547, 556, 588, 626–27, 642, 645, 657, 662; pay discussed, 504, 529, 702; New Hampshire troops, 522, 524, 536, 662; Rhode Island troops, 522, 526, 536, 662; North Carolina troops, 545–46; hospital, 558–59, 662, 670; medical supplies, 580; battalion organization, 593; colony quotas, 618–19, 634, 642, 662; Pennsylvania troops, 621, 662; engineers, 645, 650; enlarged, 650–51, 663; checks on power, 652, 667; subordinate officers appointed, 672–78; estimated expenses for 27,000 men, 689–91; pay rates, 700–701; advice to officers, 702–3; *see also* Northern military department; Powder; Riflemen
- Continental treasury: treasurers appointed, 697; *see also* Paper currency
- Cooke, Nicholas, 493
- Coombe, Thomas: described, 9; mentioned, 13, 20, 62, 163
- Cooper, Dr., 670
- Cooper, Mr., 507
- Cooper, Sir Grey, 422
- Cooper, Myles: loyalist activities, 137; mentioned, 174, 321, 359, 367
- Cooper, Samuel, 74, 142, 333, 497, 508, 517, 534
- Copley, John Singleton, xxxiv
- Corbutt, C. (pseud.), xxxvi
- Cox, Dr., 60, 69

- Craig, Charles, letter of introduction, 628
- Cranch, Richard: identified, 81; letter to, 81; mentioned, 107, 128, 517, 603
- Crane, Stephen**: elected to Congress, xxix; attends Congress, xxix; debates nonexportation, 153; mentioned, 19
- Crary, Catherine Snell, "American Dream," 174
- Cresap, Michael, identified, 557
- Cresap, Thomas, identified, 557
- Crown lands, Benjamin Franklin's resolution on, 688-89
- Crown Point, N.Y.: captured, 360, 367, 369; cannon removed, 369; British counter-attack expected, 430; resolves concerning, 541; powder for, 560; mentioned, 463, 555; *see also* Ticonderoga; Skene, Philip
- Cumberland County, Pa., riflemen on march, 629
- Cumberland County, Pa., Committee of Correspondence, letter to, 491
- Currency; *see* Paper currency
- Curwen, Samuel, describes delegates' arrival in Philadelphia, 339
- Curwen, Samuel, *Journal* (Oliver, ed.), 339
- Cushing, Deborah Fletcher (Mrs. Thomas): letter to, 142; mentioned, 49
- Cushing, Harry A., ed., *Writings of Samuel Adams*, 321
- Cushing, Thomas**: letters from, 76, 83, 142, 310, 312, 469, 470, 530, 534, 619, 659; letters to, 264, 301; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii, 339, 346; committee to thank Rev. Duché, 35, 45; on Suffolk Resolves, 76; debates nonimportation and nonexportation, 104-5; debates means for restoring American rights, 144-45; debates American rights, 182; meets with Baptists, 193; committee to draft a letter to Quebec, 243; on Massachusetts government, 310-12; at Massachusetts Provincial Congress, 317-18; travels to Wilmington, Del., 448; appointed to Massachusetts Council, 678; mentioned, 58, 64, 74, 76, 94, 259, 269, 271, 298, 317, 529
- Custis, John Parke, 516
- Dagworthy, Capt., 81, 90, 138
- Dagworthy, Col. (of Maryland), 88-89, 138
- Daily Advertiser* (London), 705
- Dallam, Jos., 340
- Danielson, Col., 333
- Darlington, William, *Memorials*, 396
- Dartmouth, 2d earl of (William Legge): circular letter to governors, 268-69, 271; intercepted letter, 663; mentioned, 328
- Dartmouth College, 543
- Davidson, Robert, address to North Carolina ministers, 576
- Davis, Mr., 59-60
- Davis, Rev., 135
- Dawson, Mrs., 446, 611
- Deane, B., 532
- Deane, Barnabas, 15, 19, 50, 55, 58, 60-61, 448, 506, 610
- Deane, Barzillai, 506, 610
- Deane, Elizabeth Saltonstall (Mrs. Silas): letters to, 14, 29, 34, 50, 55, 60, 65, 84, 91, 165, 335, 345, 365, 402, 433, 436, 448, 458, 493, 504, 532, 537, 542, 557, 566, 572, 609, 616, 626, 638, 653; mentioned, 348, 407, 458, 532
- Deane, James, identified, 625
- Deane, John, 640
- Deane, Silas**: diary, 133, 138, 143, 153, 337, 342, 347, 348, 349, 351, 355, 356, 369, 371, 401, 402, 407, 409, 412, 418, 435, 447, 453, 458, 463, 482, 532, 580, 592, 603, 624, 625, 626, 630, 638, 648; letters from, 14, 29, 34, 50, 55, 60, 65, 84, 91, 165,



**Deane, Silas** (*continued*)

- 168, 201, 227, 258, 291, 331, 335, 345, 348, 362, 365, 402, 422, 433, 436, 448, 458, 462, 479, 493, 504, 506, 532, 533, 537, 542, 557, 566, 572, 573, 592, 609, 616, 618, 626, 628, 638, 641, 646, 653, 660, 693, 704, 708; letters to, 330, 365, 709; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvi; attends Congress, xxvi; arrives in Philadelphia, 15, 337, 346; Philadelphia residence, 15; describes Philadelphia, 15–20, 50, 55–56; describes delegates, 16–18, 29, 34–35, 61–62, 91–92; urges boycott of Rivington's *Gazetteer*, 19; attends church, 19–20, 62; on choosing secretary of Congress, 20, 23; admires Quakers, 23; lists delegates attending Congress, 56–57; describes British troops, 61; on means for restoring American rights, 133, 138–40, 146; health, 140; on nonexportation, 153–54; summarizes work of Congress, 201–3; suggests foreign distribution of congressional proceedings, 258–59; on western land settlement, 259–62; on confederation, 291; describes New York sentiments, 335; debates state of America, 351; on proposed adjournment to Connecticut, 365–66, 433; on reconciliation, 371, 401–2; on American defense, 401–2, 407; committee to write to Canada, 409; ammunition committee, 412; travels to Wilmington, Del., 435, 447–49; describes Congress, 436; describes Pennsylvania militia uniforms, 437; committee on military estimates, 447; examines Skene papers, 458, 463, 479–80; estimates currency redemption quotas, 482; describes daily routine, 494, 505; committee on army rules, 506; plans bold stroke at New York, 505–6, 567, 573; describes trip to New Jersey, 616–17; describes Germantown, Pa., 617; committee on trade, 626, 648; on appointment of general officers, 626–27, 638–39; committee on expenses, 648; favors Canada expedition, 704; on treatment of prisoners, 708–9; mentioned, xxii, 26, 68, 90, 521, 522, 543, 556, 674, 675, 705
- Deas, Anne Izard, ed., *Correspondence of Ralph Izard*, 248, 254
- De Berdt, Mrs. Denny, 8
- De Bois, Maj., 138
- De Boor, Maj., 9
- Declaration of Rights and Grievances: contributions to, xxxiv, 38–44, 193–96, 200–201; legislative synopsis, 193–94; mentioned, 197
- Declaration on the Causes and Necessity for Taking Up Arms: discussed, 584, 587, 588; dispatched to London, 604, 620; mentioned, 612, 614, 618, 619, 620, 621, 629, 675
- Defense, American; *see* Military preparations; Militia
- De Hart, Balthazar, 88–89
- De Hart, John: elected to Congress, xxix; attends Congress, xxix; arrives in Philadelphia, 346; mentioned, 8, 143
- De Lancey, James (1732–1800), identified, 359
- De Lancey, James (1747–1804): identified, 359; mentioned, 367
- De Lancey, Oliver, 137
- De Lancey, Oliver, Jr.: identified, 359; mentioned, 367
- De Lancey, Peter, 359
- Delaware delegates, letter from, 557
- Delaware Indians, invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706
- Delegate, unknown: letter from, 705; speech, 426
- Delegates: attendance list, xxvi–xxxii, 56–57; arrival in Philadelphia, 3, 14–15, 337, 339–40, 346; lawyers among, 3, 34, 136–37, 173–74; social activities, 3–10, 33, 65, 67, 75, 92, 221, 348, 358–59, 412; described, 5–8, 16–18, 24, 27, 29, 34–35, 58, 61–62, 91–92, 167–68, 236, 339, 649; meet at City Tavern, 6, 13, 14, 16; religious diversity among, 74; assessed for expenses of Congress, 249; travel to second Congress, 335–36, 339–40; attend commencement, 355–56, 359; visit camp at Cambridge, 694, 696
- Deming, Lemuel, 15
- Denison, Nathan, letter to, 693

- De Peyster, James, 173-74
- Derby, Richard, Jr., 534
- Devens, Richard, letter to, 83
- Dexter, Franklin B., *Biographical Sketches*, 418, 656
- Dexter, Samuel, 534, 683
- Diana* (British schooner) captured, 447, 449
- Dickinson, John: draft "Address," 228; draft "Letter," 236; draft "Memorial," 207; letters from, 232, 250, 251, 252, 264, 301, 302, 331, 457, 491, 578, 598, 604, 635, 665, 688; letters to, 268, 307, 310, 328, 430, 431; notes, 390; resolutions, 383, 633; speeches, 371, 386; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 202; attends Congress, xxx, 206; portrait, xxxvi, 389; described, 5, 64-65, 649; answers Galloway's *Candid Examination*, 116, 325; elected to Pennsylvania Assembly, 133, 138, 142, 155-56; contributes to a declaration of rights and grievances, 193-95; drafts a memorial to the inhabitants of the colonies, 207-21; committee to draft an address to the king, 225, 233; drafts an address to the king, 228-32; drafts a letter to Quebec, 236-44; blames ministry for breach, 250-51; on American unity, 252, 301-3; reports on Pennsylvania politics, 302-3; debates state of America, 352, 401; debates reconciliation, 371-91; proposes annual grant to crown, 382-83; against invasion of Canada, 430; appointed to draft a petition to the king, 441-42; proposes militia regulations, 633; comments on Petition to the King, 688; holds bond on paymaster, 699; mentioned, xxii, 4, 8, 14, 15, 66, 84, 87, 89, 92, 93, 100, 101, 109, 156, 189, 204, 227, 233, 236, 266, 267, 298, 315, 316, 317, 319, 322, 323, 364, 400, 415, 417, 437, 610, 655, 658
- Dickinson, Mary Norris (Mrs. John), 64
- Dill, John, 599
- Dilly, Edward, 298, 432
- Doorkeepers, 45, 58, 249
- Douglas, Benjamin: identified, 418; mentioned, 532
- Douw, Volkert P.: appointed Indian commissioner, northern department, 624, 635, 660, 672, 696; confers with Six Nations, 698
- Dowdle, Michael, 599
- Draper, William, *Thoughts of a Traveler*, 606, 607
- Drayton, John, ed., *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 295, 571
- Drayton, William Henry, 571, 595
- Drinker, Henry, petition, 351, 355
- Duane, James: letters from, 136, 173, 258, 277, 280, 353, 358, 414, 419, 442, 449, 453, 476, 498, 596, 637, 641, 678, 696, 697, 698; letters to, 262, 264, 273, 304; notes, 25, 30, 35, 180, 194, 198; propositions, 38; resolutions, 134; speeches, 51, 189, 391; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix, 137, 331; attends Congress, xxix, 57; portrait, xxxvi, 393; on choosing secretary of Congress, 25-26; debates rules, 26; credentials, 26, 37; contributes to a declaration of rights and grievances, 38-44; on American rights, 38-44, 47-48, 51-54, 180, 189-92, 194; supports Galloway's plan of union, 110, 112, 119, 278-79; debates means for restoring American rights, 133-34, 139, 145; legal practice, 136, 173-74; described, 168; on Quebec Act, 198-99; on New York political attitudes, 280-82; arrives in Philadelphia, 346; debates American defense, 391-95; debates reconciliation, 391-95; Philadelphia residence, 415; secures military funds, 696; mentioned, 10, 44, 227
- Duane, Mary Livingston (Mrs. James): letter to, 414; health, 453
- Duché, Jacob: identified, 32; ☆ prays in Congress, 31-35, 44-45, 55, 74-75, 342, 344-45, 347; described, 74; preaches to Pennsylvania militia, 610; preaches at fast day service, 638, 640, 650; mentioned, 20, 45, 60, 62, 65, 163, 573
- Duck, shortage of, 507
- Duffield, George: address to North Carolina ministers, 576; mentioned, 573, 681

- Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*: letter to, 78; mentioned 65, 85, 170, 266, 355, 356, 426
- Dunmore, 4th earl of (John Murray): proclamations, 170, 420, 421; expedition against Indians, 328, 366-69; seizes gunpowder, 421, 490; boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, 421, 666; encourages slave insurrection, 606-7; mentioned, 102, 330, 569, 582, 628, 645
- Dunning, John, 373
- Dupont, Mr., 595
- Du Simitière, Pierre Eugène, xxxiv, xxxvi
- Dutchess County, N.Y., Freeholders, letter to, 258
- Dyer, Eliphalet: letters from, 168, 330, 356, 422, 423, 438, 458, 462, 471, 479, 495, 499, 501, 519, 521, 542, 618, 620, 633, 642, 646, 654, 672, 673, 693, 695; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvi; attends Congress, xxvi; arrives in Philadelphia, 15, 23, 346; Philadelphia residence, 15; attends church, 19-20; debates American rights, 46-47; debates nonexportation, 105, 153; debates nonimportation, 105, 151; debates means for restoring American rights, 139, 144-45; described, 168; debates reconciliation, 371; travels to Wilmington, Del., 435, 448; on military preparations, 439, 459-60; reports London news, 458-59; comments on Washington's appointment, 495-96, 499-500; mentioned, 19, 68, 90, 236, 438, 506, 556, 599, 627, 675
- Eden, William, 96
- Edenton, N.C., Committee of Correspondence, 611
- Edenton, N.C., Independent Company, letter to, 608
- Edes, Benjamin, 155
- Edes, Henry D., "Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young," 206
- Edinburgh Amusement*, 706
- Edwards, Mr., 422
- Edwards, Pierpoint, 532
- Effingham, 3d earl of (Thomas Howard), identified, 609
- Einstein, Lewis, *Divided Loyalties*, 96
- Eliot, Mrs. 684
- Elliot, Mrs. (of New York), 204
- Elliot, Sir George, 373
- Emlen, George, 58, 67
- Eppes, Elizabeth Wayles (Mrs. Francis), 544, 581
- Eppes, Francis: identified, 544; letters to, 543, 580
- Erving, Robert, 580
- Eugene, prince of Savoy, 553
- Evans, Charles, *American Bibliography*, 440, 569
- Fairfax, George William, letter to, 425
- Fairfax County, Va., Committee, letter to, 354
- Fairnsworth, Dr., 495, 640
- Farrow, Capt., 447
- Fast day: resolution, 453, 455-57, 463, 481, 524; observed, 638, 640, 647, 649-50; mentioned, 458, 497-98, 508
- Fenwicke, Edward, 595
- Fenwicke, Edward, Jr., 595
- Fenwicke, Mary Drayton (Mrs. Edward), 595
- Fessenden, Josiah, 468, 473, 508, 547, 584, 699
- Fisher, Miers: described, 33-34; mentioned, 45

- Fisher, Richard D., "Burning of the 'Peggy Stewart,'" 244
- Fitch, Samuel, 653
- Fitzpatrick, John C., ed., *Diaries of George Washington*, 33, 336
- Flaxseed, nonexportation of, 103, 105, 108, 133, 135, 145-49, 153, 162
- Fleeson, Mr., 344
- Floyd, William: letters from, 358, 442, 476, 559, 596; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix, 137, 331; attends Congress, xxix; arrives in Philadelphia, 15, 346; credentials, 37; mentioned, 19, 236
- Folsom, Nathaniel: letter from, 180; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; described, 24; mentioned, 3, 60, 85
- Force, Peter, 688
- Ford, Mr., 485
- Ford, Paul L., *Bibliography of Publications of the Continental Congress*, 248
- Ford, Paul L., ed., *Works of Thomas Jefferson*, 442
- Ford, Worthington C., ed., *Correspondence of Samuel B. Webb*, 641
- Ford, Worthington C., ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xxiii, 193-94
- Fort Pitt, Pa., claimed by Virginia, 170
- Fort Pitt, Pa., Committee of Correspondence: Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute, 421; petition on Indian affairs, 421
- Fort William and Mary, N.H.: Portsmouth inhabitants seize military stores, 277, 280-81
- Fortner, Nat, 58, 67, 96
- Foster, Col., 333
- Foster, Maj. (of Hartford), 478
- Foster, Isaac, Jr., letter to, 83
- Foster, Jedediah, 534
- Foster, Robert H., "Pennsylvania and Virginia Controversy," 170
- Fothergill, John, 604
- Francis, Turbutt, appointed Indian commissioner, northern department, 635, 660, 696, 698
- Franklin, Benjamin: letters from, 335, 349, 352, 395, 409, 433, 445, 457, 501, 546, 578, 604, 621, 665, 694, 698, 699, 709; letter to, 701; resolutions, 425, 688; "Vindication," 561; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi, 335-36, 342, 344, 352, 357; attends Congress, xxxi; quoted, 113, 336; plans of confederation, 116-17, 643-44; describes British retreat from Concord, 349; scientific observations, 352-53; on American defense, 395; advice to Moravian pacifists, 433-34; appointed to draft a petition to the king, 441-42; withdraws legal appeal, 445; engineers Bermuda's exemption from trade ban, 475-76; on America's contributions to the empire, 561-66; answers ministerial charges against America, 561-66; comments on Bunker Hill, 605; appointed Indian commissioner, middle department, 629, 706; described, 648-49; appointed postmaster general, 671, 694; proposes withholding quitrents, 688-89; requests lead from Ticonderoga, 699; proposes encouragement of gunsmiths, 709-10; laments lack of naval force, 710; mentioned, xix, 345, 346, 456, 478, 567, 626, 677
- Franklin, Benjamin, *Works* (Sparks, ed.), 566
- Franklin, Benjamin, *Writings* (Smyth, ed.), 113, 566
- Franklin, William: letters to, 23, 27, 318, 322, 325; ☆ quoted, 113; mentioned, 371
- Franklin, William Temple, 352
- Frazer, John G., 692-93
- Free Thoughts* (Seabury), 313
- Freeman, Douglas, *George Washington, A Biography*, 12, 103, 469
- French, Allen, "First George Washington Scandal," 646
- French, Allen, *First Year of the American Revolution*, 321, 447, 590
- Friendly Address* (Chandler), 263, 313



Friends, Society of; *see* Quakers  
 Fristoe, William, 236  
 Frye, James, 667, 668  
 Frye, Joseph, 667, 668

**Gadsden, Christopher:** letter from, 570; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi; Philadelphia residence, 15; debates rules, 28; described, 35; on regulation of trade, 68–69; debates nonexportation, 103–4, 154; debates nonimportation, 103–4, 151; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 146; debates American rights, 199; reports to South Carolina Provincial Congress, 293–94; on weaknesses of British navy, 450–51; visits camp at Cambridge, 695; mentioned, 3, 4, 255

Gadsden, Thomas, 15, 348, 695

Gage, Thomas: letter to, 158; ☆ seizes powder at Charlestown, Mass., 27, 45; fortifies Boston, 77, 154; Suffolk County, address to, 77–78; answers Suffolk County address, 97; Congress' remonstrance to, 158–63, 171–72, 205; health, 204; proclamation, 552, 572, 587; intercepted letter, 576, 611; treatment of Bostonians, 606; mentioned, xxi, 82, 130, 143, 268, 343, 349, 350, 368, 425, 460, 527, 543, 544, 595, 609, 613, 615, 627, 663, 665, 683, 704

Galloway, Elizabeth, 296

Galloway, Grace Growden (Mrs. Joseph), 296

**Galloway, Joseph:** letters from, 23, 27, 255, 282, 295, 313, 318, 322, 325; letter to, 336; plan of union, 117; resolution, 112; statement, 119; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi; compared to Hutchinsonians, 6–7; offers statehouse, 19, 25; describes delegates, 24, 27; suggests sending commissioners to Great Britain, 24–25; on choosing secretary for Congress, 27; debates American rights, 47–48, 182; debates nonexportation, 109–12, 153; debates nonimportation, 109–12; proposes plan of union, 109–28, 234, 287–89; debates means for restoring American rights, 145–46; described, 168; meets with Baptists, 193; on association, 222; criticizes proceedings of Congress, 255, 286–87, 290, 295, 319; declines appointment as delegate, 295; comments on loyalist pamphlets, 313; supports Pennsylvania's petitioning the king, 315–16, 319, 322; describes proceedings of Pennsylvania Assembly, 322–24; harrassed, 342–43; excused as delegate, 343, 357; mentioned, xxii, 15, 20, 65, 92, 94, 156, 173, 204, 265, 267, 280, 346

Galloway, Joseph, *Candid Examination*, 113, 119, 290, 313, 320, 325

Galloway, Joseph, *Examination . . . Before the House of Commons*, 113

Galloway, Joseph, *Historical and Political Reflections*, 127

Galloway, Joseph, *Reply to an Address to the Author of . . . "Candid Examination,"* 116, 222, 325

Gardner, Thomas, 534, 537

Gates, Horatio: identified, 268; letters to, 267, 334, 703; ☆ appointed adjutant general, 503, 521, 528, 544, 557; departs for army at Boston, 557; mentioned, 300, 502, 526, 555, 561, 566, 624

*Gentlemen's Magazine*, 646

George III: speech to Parliament, 315; replies to London Address, 439–40, 459, 462, 482; refuses to receive petition (1775), 442; *see also* Address to the King (1774); Petition to the King (1775)

Georgia: unrepresented in Congress, 326–28; represented in Congress, 348, 351; mentioned, 502–3

Georgia delegates: letters from, 326; ☆ explain nonattendance at Congress, 326–28

Georgia Provincial Congress: elects delegates to Congress, 328, 643, 646–47, 663–64, 680; provides powder for Continental Army, 570–71; adopts Association, 643, 664

Gerlach, Larry R., "Revolution or Independence?," 511

German hussars: uniforms described, 587, 590–91; mentioned, 624

- Germantown, Pa., described, 617  
 Gerry, Elbridge: letters to, 450, 469, 473, 477, 503, 507, 580; mentioned, 532, 534, 597  
 Gibson, Mr., 204  
 Giles, Capt., 445  
 Gill, John, 155  
 Gill, Moses: identified, 466–67; letters to, 466, 580; mentioned, 362, 507  
 Gill, Rebecca Boylston (Mrs. Moses), 451, 466  
 Gillis, Capt., 396  
 Gilmer, George, letter to, 585  
 Gipson, Lawrence H., *Jared Ingersoll*, 23  
 Glover, Capt., 292  
 Glover, Richard, *Substance of the Evidence*, 483, 484  
 Goddard, William: identified, 65–66; ☆ promotes Continental post office, 143; sets up post offices, 709; mentioned, 65  
**Goldsborough, Robert**: elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; debates means for restoring American rights, 133; mentioned, 45, 527  
 Goodhue, Capt., 72  
 Goodrich, Capt., 495, 640  
 Goodrich, Mr., 368  
 Graham, Robert E., “Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia,” 12  
 Grant, James: identified, 469; mentioned, 468  
 Grape Island, Boston Harbor, raid, 432, 443, 448  
 Gray, Ebenezer, 620, 642  
 Gray, George, 457  
 Gray, William, 66  
 Great Britain; *see* addresses to the people of; British constitution; British navy; British troops; George III; North ministry; Parliament; Reconciliation; Rights, American  
 Great Britain, *Parliamentary History of England*, 426  
 Green Mountain Boys, 541, 568  
 Greene, Mr., 536  
 Greene, Catharine Ray (Mrs. William), identified, 501  
 Greene, Nathanael, appointed brigadier general, 539, 541, 556  
 Greene, William, identified, 501  
 Greenleaf, Benjamin, 179, 534  
 Greenleaf, Joseph, 72, 85, 101, 107, 531  
 Gridley, Richard: identified, 503; mentioned, 502, 645, 650, 667, 668  
 Grievances; *see* Rights, American  
 Griffen, Mr., 624, 625  
 Griffin, Samuel, 356  
 Grosvenor, Thomas, 620, 642  
 Grotius, Hugo, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, 189  
*The Group* (Warren), 364–65  
 Gunpowder; *see* Powder  
 Gunsmiths, 709
- Haley, George, 9, 87  
 Hall, Aquilla: letters of introduction, 408, 417–18; mentioned, 571  
**Hall, John**: elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; mentioned, 336, 527  
 Hall, Josias Carvill: letters of introduction, 408, 417–18; mentioned, 571  
**Hall, Lyman**: letter from, 631; ☆ portrait, xxv, 329; elected to Congress, xxvii, 328, 664; attends Congress, xxvii, 328, 348; voting in Congress, 351; mentioned, 298, 647  
 Hamilton, Mr., 204

- Hamilton, James, 91, 143
- Hamilton, Stanislaus M., ed., *Letters to Washington*, 167
- Hammond, Matthias, identified, 301'
- Hancock, John:** letters from, 409, 413, 424, 429, 472, 473, 474, 481, 487, 507, 522, 531, 533, 534, 541, 547, 554, 568, 580, 584, 594, 610, 620, 631, 632, 634, 638, 644, 648, 661, 662, 699, 701; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; arrives in Philadelphia, 339, 346; elected president of Congress, 363, 401-2, 406; courtship, 472; sends medicines to Boston, 580; holds bond on paymaster, 699; mentioned, 87, 264, 333, 335, 344, 345, 362, 369, 416, 465, 467, 492, 495, 529, 545, 552, 572, 587, 646, 684
- Hand, Edward, 674
- Hanover County, Va., militia marches on Williamburg, 420-21
- Hare, Mr., 129
- Harford County, Md., Committee of Safety, letter to, 350
- Haring, John:** elected to Congress, xxix, 137; attends Congress, xxix, 89; mentioned, xxii
- Harrison, Miss, 64
- Harrison, Benjamin:** letters from, 245, 622, 644, 656, 664, 665; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 7, 61; arrives in Philadelphia, 25; debates rules, 31; debates means for restoring American rights, 139; debates non-exportation, 153; leaves Philadelphia, 245; dines at City Tavern, 358; debates state of America, 401; intercepted letter, 644-46; mentioned, 8, 624
- Hart, Timothy, 173
- Hartley, David: identified, 336; letter to, 335; ☆ praised by Congress, 426; mentioned, 607
- Harvey, John, 399, 446, 612
- Hastings, Hugh, and Holden, J. A., eds., *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 487
- Hastings, Selina, countess of Huntingdon, 236
- Hatch, Capt., 608, 611
- Hawley, Joseph: identified, 471; letters to, 470, 619, 659; ☆ appointed Indian commissioner, northern department, 624, 635, 660, 672, 696; declines appointment as Indian commissioner, 698; mentioned, 534
- Hays, I. Minis, ed., *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 566
- Hazard, Ebenezer: appointed deputy postmaster, 679; mentioned, 347
- Heath, William: appointed brigadier general, 539, 556; position among general officers, 590; mentioned, 508, 591
- Heitman, F. B., *Historical Register*, 623
- Henkels Catalog* (Stan V. Henkels), 569
- Henly, Mr., 432
- Henry, Matthew, 78, 85
- Henry, Patrick:** draft "Address," 222; letters from, 622, 665, 669; letter to, 291; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; debates rules, 10, 27-30; arrives in Philadelphia, 14; on secrecy of proceedings, 32; described, 62, 168, 173; debates nonimportation and nonexportation, 104; debates Galloway's plan of union, 111; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 139, 144; debates American rights, 196, 199; drafts an address to the king, 222-25; debates reconciliation, 371; health, 420; gunpowder episode, 421; appointed Indian commissioner, middle department, 629, 706; mentioned, 143, 220, 346, 357, 429, 485, 624, 693
- Henshaw, Mr., 505
- Henshaw, Joshua, 683
- Hervey, Augustus John, debates American affairs, 372-73, 383
- Hewes, Joseph:** letters from, 254, 342, 396, 445, 511, 575, 608, 611, 612, 615, 684; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx; attends Congress, xxx, 91; portrait, xxxvi,

**Hewes, Joseph** (*continued*)

577; arrives in Philadelphia, 68, 342; described, 91-92; travels to Philadelphia, 339-40; urges military preparations, 343, 397, 511-14; recommends holding North Carolina convention, 446; summarizes work of Congress, 612-13; urges change of ministry, 685; discusses mercantile matters, 685; committee on lead and salt, 686; mentioned, 256, 263, 399, 400, 446

Hewson, Mary, 608

Hichborn, Benjamin: captured by British, 653, 701; mentioned, 652

Hill, Edward: identified, 50; mentioned, 71

Hill, Henry, 90

Hillegas, Michael: identified, 697; mentioned, 457

Hockley, Richard: identified, 78; mentioned, 82, 96

Hodge, Andrew, 152, 154

Hog's Island, Boston Harbor, raid, 447-48

Holt, John, 258, 262

Home, Henry, Lord Kames, quoted, 702-3

Hood, Mr. (the collector), 455

Hooper, Ann Clark (Mrs. William), 447, 523

Hooper, John, 523

Hooper, Mary: letters to, 255, 523; mentioned, 554

**Hooper, William:** letters from, 255, 262, 398, 446, 511, 523, 575, 615; resolve, 455; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx; attends Congress, xxx, 91; arrives in Philadelphia, 68; described, 91-92, 168; debates nonexportation, 104, 153; debates nonimportation, 104; debates means for restoring American rights, 139; debates American rights, 192; opposes patriot restraints on free press, 263; debates reconciliation, 371; recommends holding North Carolina convention, 399; urges military preparations, 446, 514; drafts fast day resolve, 455-56; mentioned, 92, 343, 396, 397, 446, 554, 613, 614, 697

Hopkins, Mr. (of Baltimore), 670, 671

Hopkins, Anne Smith (Mrs. Stephen), 407, 535

Hopkins, George, 407, 408

Hopkins, Ruth Smith (Mrs. George): identified, 408; letters to, 407, 531

**Hopkins, Stephen:** letters from, 407, 531; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi, 360; arrives in Philadelphia, 14, 407; appointed chairman, Committee on Rights, 37; health, 79, 86, 89-90, 531, 535; meets with Baptists, 193; mentioned, 6, 7, 34, 141, 192, 234, 249, 588

Hosmer, Titus: identified, 592; letter to, 592; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvi; quoted, 365-66; mentioned, 228, 347, 458, 505, 506, 610

Hospitals: in Philadelphia, 4-5, 13, 107; military, 558-59, 662, 670

House, Mary, 15

Houstoun, John: letter from, 326; ☆ explains nonattendance at Congress, 326-28; elected to Congress, 663

Hovey, Alvah, *Memoir of Rev. Isaac Backus*, 193

Howard, Martin, 614

Howard, Thomas, 3d earl of Effingham, identified, 609

Howe, George Augustus, 3d Viscount Howe, identified, 517

Howe, William: identified, 467; ☆ discussed, 516-17; mentioned, 569, 571, 578, 582, 586, 595, 614

Hubbard, William, 19, 30

Huger, Benjamin, 595

Hughes, Hugh, 623

**Humphreys, Charles:** letters from, 457, 491, 598, 665; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi

Hunt, William, xxxvi



- Huntingdon, countess of (Selina Hastings) , 236  
 Huron Indians, invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706  
 Hutchinson, James, identified, 604  
 Hutchinson, William T., ed., *Papers of James Madison*, 102, 366  
 Hutchinsonian addressers, 6-7  
 Hutson, James H., comp. and ed., *Decent Respect*, 194
- Independence: attitudes toward, 166-67, 284-85, 704; debated, 351-52  
 Indian affairs, middle department: commissioners appointed, 624, 629, 672, 706;  
   Pittsburgh conference, 694, 706; agent appointed, 706  
 Indian affairs, northern department: commissioners appointed, 624, 635, 660, 672,  
   696, 698; speech to Six Nations, 624, 635; Albany conference, 656, 679, 696, 698  
 Indian affairs, southern department, commissioners appointed, 624, 672  
 Indians: Dunmore's expedition against, 328, 366-69; incited by British, 369, 439,  
   542-44, 548, 569, 606-7, 663; neutrality, 452, 454, 476-77, 489, 561, 569; funds  
   for schooling, 543, 624; mentioned, 421, 442, 450, 625, 660, 666, 701-2; *see also*,  
   Canadian Indians; Kirkland, Samuel; Six Nations  
 Indigo, nonexportation of, 253, 294-95  
 Ingersoll, Jared: identified, 23; mentioned, 19  
 Ingham, John, 4, 13  
 Inglis, John, 58  
 Inman, Elizabeth, 523, 554  
 Iredell, Hannah Johnston (Mrs. James) , 611  
 Iredell, James: identified, 254; letters to, 254, 396, 611; mentioned, 399, 446  
 Ireland: address to the people of (1774) , 174-79, 181, 206, 248; address to the people  
   of (1775) , 444, 589  
 Iroquois, League of; *see* Six Nations  
 Ives, Thomas, 36  
 Izard, Anne De Lancey (Mrs. Ralph) , 609  
 Izard, Ralph: identified, 248; letters to, 247, 252, 608  
 Izard, Ralph, *Correspondence* (Deas, ed.) , 248, 254
- Jamaica, address to the assembly of, 444, 589  
 James, Abel, petition, 355  
 James, Edward T., et al., eds., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, 411  
 James and Drinker petition, 351  
 Jameson, J. Franklin, v-vi  
 Jarvis, Parson, 567  
 Jay, James, 96  
**Jay, John**: draft "Petition," 440; letters from, 95, 258, 353, 559, 596, 678; ☆ elected  
   to Congress, xxix, 137, 331; attends Congress, xxix; debates rules, 29; credentials,  
   37; debates American rights, 46-47, 198-99; debates nonexportation, 105, 152; de-  
   bates nonimportation, 105; debates Galloway's plan of union, 111; debates  
   means for restoring American rights, 133, 139, 144-45; drafts an address to the  
   people of Great Britain, 179; on authorship of Memorial to the Inhabitants of the  
   Colonies, 220; prepares letter to American agents, 246; debates reconciliation, 371;  
   committee to write to Canada, 409; drafts a petition to the king, 440-42; men-  
   tioned, 10, 19, 25-26, 74, 137, 173, 264, 307  
 Jay, William, *Life of John Jay*, 220  
**Jefferson, Thomas**: letters from, 474, 543, 580, 585, 622, 665, 669, 707; notes,  
   689; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii, 535; on Bermuda  
   trade, 474-75; discusses prospects for reconciliation, 707-8; mentioned, 220, 569

- Jefferson, Thomas, *Papers* (Boyd, ed.), 221, 644, 666, 691  
 Jefferson, Thomas, *Summary View*, 535, 536  
 Jefferson, Thomas, *Works* (Ford, ed.), 442  
 Jefferys, Thomas, xxxiii  
 Jenkinson, Sir Charles, debates American affairs, 374, 383  
 Johnson, Capt., 292  
 Johnson, Guy: identified, 370; ☆ incites Indians, 369, 439, 663; mentioned, 489, 660, 706  
 Johnson, Samuel, *Taxation No Tyranny*, 606  
 Johnson, Thomas: letters from, 267, 273, 298, 301, 334, 350, 357, 430, 434, 482, 636, 703; letter to, 280; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; portrait, xxxv, 274; debates means for restoring American rights, 144; debates nonexportation, 153; described, 168; debates American rights, 183, 192; committee to draft an address to the king, 225; reports London news, 267; discusses prospects for reconciliation, 298–99, 703–4; supports military preparations, 334–35; debates reconciliation, 371; debates state of America, 401; against invasion of Canada, 430; on military restraint, 434–35; appointed to draft a petition to the king, 441–42; saltpetre committee, 484; intercepted letter, 704; mentioned, 45, 90, 173, 277, 336, 361, 527  
 Johnson, Sir William, 102, 260, 370  
 Johnson, William Samuel: identified, 23; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvi; mentioned, 15  
 Johnston, Mr., 646  
 Johnston, Henry P., ed., *Connecticut Men in the Revolution*, 363  
 Johnston, Samuel: identified, 398; letters to, 342, 396, 398, 445, 446, 612  
 Jones, Noble Wimberly: letter from, 326; ☆ explains nonattendance at Congress, 326–28; elected to Congress, 664  
 Jones, Owen, letter to, 457  
 Jones, Samuel W., 280  
 Journals of Congress: Charles Thomson's manuscript, xxxiv, 113–15; publication, 233; provenance, 234; distribution abroad, 258–59; sale of, 292  
*Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford, ed.), xxiii, 193–94  
 Judd, William: identified, 656; letters to, 654, 693
- Kaighn, John, 579, 583, 589, 597  
 Kames, Lord (Henry Home), quoted, 702–3  
 Kearny, F., xxxvii  
 Kellock, Katherine A., "Stephen Collins," 318  
 Kempe, John Tabor: identified, 174; letter to, 173; ☆ loyalist activities, 137, 174  
 Kent, Benjamin, 101, 497, 517  
 Kerr, Wilfred B., *Bermuda and the American Revolution*, 475, 476  
 Keys, Miss, 438  
 Kingsbridge, N.Y., 477  
 Kinsey, James: letter from, 511; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix; attends Congress, xxix; meets with Baptists, 193  
 Kirkland, Samuel: identified, 592; ☆ advises Congress on Indian matters, 618, 672; mentioned, 630  
 Klingelhofer, Herbert, "Cautious Revolution," 351  
 Knollenberg, Bernhard, ed., *Correspondence of Samuel Ward*, 60, 99, 162, 411, 601  
 Knox, Dr. (in Philadelphia), 3  
 Knox, Henry, 503, 652  
 Korn, Christoph Heinrich, xxxvi

- Laight, Mr., 95
- Lake Champlain: British vessels captured, 421–23; military supplies for, 431; naval operations ordered, 555, 568
- Lake George, British vessels captured, 422
- Lancaster County, Pa., Committee of Correspondence, letters to, 421, 430, 502, 598, 621
- Lancot, Gustave, *Canada & the American Revolution*, 414
- Land, western: Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute, 170, 421, 665–66; settlement, 259–62, 291, 654–56; Connecticut-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, 656, 661, 693–94
- Land grants, royal, for military service, 102
- Langdon, John: letters from, 369, 524, 574; letter to, 150; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; mentioned, xxxvi, 682
- Langdon, Samuel, 534
- Lansing, John, 136
- Lasher, Capt., 345
- Laurel Hill: location, 170; Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute, 170, 665–66; letter to inhabitants west of, 665
- Law, Richard, elected to Congress, xxvi
- Lawyers: as public servants, 3, 34, 136–37, 173–74; mentioned, 64
- Lead: production investigated, 686; Pennsylvania request for, 699
- Lee, Col., 478
- Lee, Arthur: identified, 88; letters to, 250, 313, 320, 331, 604, 688; mentioned, 7, 338, 345, 368, 456, 671
- Lee, Arthur, *Appeal to . . . the People of Great Britain*, 314, 315
- Lee, Charles: identified, 142; ☆ military plan, 301; appointed major general, 503, 508, 518–21, 525, 528–30, 535, 539, 544, 553, 556; reviews Philadelphia troops, 518; departs for army at Boston, 537; indemnified against property loss, 553–54; mentioned, 81, 90, 109, 143, 189, 236, 502, 516, 526, 531, 532, 545, 561, 569, 624, 625, 659, 677, 684
- Lee, Charles, *Strictures on a Pamphlet, Entitled, A "Friendly Address,"* 263
- Lee, Francis Lightfoot: letter to, 366; mentioned, 338
- Lee, Philip Ludwell, 314, 338
- Lee, Richard H., *Life of Richard Henry Lee*, 220
- Lee, Richard Henry: draft "Addresses," 174, 225, 548; draft "Letter," 614; letters from, 87, 303, 313, 328, 337, 366, 415, 558, 559, 569, 622, 665, 669, 691; letters to, 271, 321; motion, 160; resolution, 140; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 7, 62, 168; Philadelphia residence, 7; arrives in Philadelphia, 24, 337; debates rules, 28; debates American rights, 46–47, 180, 199; debates nonimportation, 103, 152, 154; debates nonexportation, 105, 153; debates Galloway's plan of union, 111; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 138–40, 144–45; protests Gen. Gage's fortification of Boston, 160–61; recommends evacuation of Boston, 160–61; drafts an address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, 174–79; drafts a memorial to British merchants and manufacturers, 179; drafts an address to the king, 225–27; committee to draft a letter to Quebec, 243; prepares a letter to American agents, 246; criticizes ministerial plans, 303–4; debates state of America, 351, 402; dines at City Tavern, 358; debates reconciliation, 371; drafts an address to the people of Great Britain, 548–52; drafts a letter to the lord mayor of London, 614–15; holds bond on paymaster, 699; mentioned, xxxv, 8, 90, 109, 220, 232, 236, 395, 429, 624
- Lee, William: letters to, 87, 337; mentioned, 7, 267, 434
- Legge, William; *see* Dartmouth, 2d earl of
- Leigh, Sir Egerton, 5
- Lennox, Charles, 3d duke of Richmond and Lennox, 80

- Letter to Quebec: draft, 236–44; legislative synopsis, 243–44; recommitted, 244–45; approved, 248–49; publication expenses, 249; distribution, 265–67
- Levey, Miss, 50
- Lewis, Francis: letters from, 353, 358, 442, 449, 476, 596, 694; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 331; attends Congress, xxx; leaves Philadelphia, 694
- Lewis, Morgan, 632
- Lexington and Concord, Battle of: described, 332, 337–38, 343–44, 425; unifies martial spirit, 337, 343, 364; casualties, 340, 357, 367; account read in Congress, 345; British retreat described, 349; news reaches London, 671, 674; mentioned, xxii, 330, 331, 342, 352, 359, 362, 467
- Library Company of Philadelphia, 9, 33, 246
- Life, Thomas, letter to, 445
- Little, Capt., 629
- Livingston, Mr. (young), 454
- Livingston, Edwin Brockholst, *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*, 455
- Livingston, Peter Van Brugh, letters to, 429, 631, 695
- Livingston, Philip: letters from, 256, 353, 419, 449, 476, 596, 637, 678, 695; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 137, 331; attends Congress, xxx; credentials, 37; arrives in Philadelphia, 346; leaves Philadelphia, 695; mentioned, 571
- Livingston, Robert (1708–90), identified, 455; letter to, 453
- Livingston, Robert C., 415
- Livingston, Robert R., Jr.: letters from, 331, 419, 442, 559, 596; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 331; attends Congress, xxx; debates state of America, 351; committee to draft an address to the people of Great Britain, 551; committee to draft a letter to city of London, 615
- Livingston, Walter, appointed commissary, northern department, 632, 635, 679–80
- Livingston, William: letter from, 511; ☆ elected to Congress, xxix; attends Congress, xxix; described, 6; debates American rights, 47; mentioned, 19, 179, 220, 227
- Lockerman, Vincent, 78, 670
- London, addresses the king, 439–40, 459–60, 462, 482, 615
- London, Letter to the Lord Mayor of, 614–15, 619
- London Chronicle*, 382, 383, 686
- London Gazette*, 440
- London mercantile firm, letter to, 684
- Longacre, J. B., xxxvii
- Loring, Dr., 236
- Lovejoy, David S., *Rhode Island Politics*, 141, 493
- Low, Isaac: letters from, 88, 256; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 137; attends Congress, xxx; credentials, 37; evaluates Wisner's credentials, 88–89; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 139, 144–45; debates nonimportation, 152; debates nonexportation, 153; debates American rights, 183; mentioned, 189, 264, 307, 360, 361
- Loyalists: in Philadelphia, 6–7, 69–70, 319; in New York, 137, 174, 335, 337, 359–60, 367, 398; pamphlets, 263, 313; in North Carolina, 576; in Maryland, 636–37; mentioned, 343, 493, 584, 659
- Ludlow, Mrs., 296
- Lukins, Jesse, 629
- Lumber, nonexportation of, 103, 105, 108, 133, 145, 153
- Lundy, Mr., paroled to Connecticut, 578, 593–94, 610
- Lux, George, 670, 671, 678
- Lynch, Hannah Motte (Mrs. Thomas), 5, 248, 609
- Lynch, Thomas: letters from, 247, 570, 608; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 5, 34; Philadelphia residence, 5; nominates Peyton Randolph and Charles Thomson, 9–10, 25; debates rules, 28; on selection of com-



**Lynch, Thomas** (*continued*)

mittee on rights, 36; debates nonexportation, 104, 153; debates nonimportation, 104, 151–52; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 139, 144–46; debates American rights, 180, 183; leaves Philadelphia, 248; debates state of America, 351, 402; holds bond on paymaster, 699; mentioned 3, 4, 7, 13, 37, 160, 494

Macauley, Catharine Sawbridge, 298

McCall, George, 78

McClain Allen; *see* McLane, Allen

McCulloch, Capt., 460

McDougall, Mr., 81, 143

McDougall, Alexander: identified, 665; letter to, 665

McEvers, Mr., 137

McKean, Thomas: letters from 557, 635; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; debates American rights, 199; debates reconciliation, 371; debates American defense, 407; mentioned, 3, 34, 173, 179

McKenzie, Mrs., 5

Mackenzie, Robert: identified, 167; letter to, 166; mentioned, 657

McKesson, John: identified, 469; letters to, 469, 487, 700

McLane, Allen, 97

Macpherson, John, Jr.: identified, 67; mentioned, 58, 66, 204, 636

McRee, Griffith J., *Correspondence of James Iredell*, 254

Madison, James (1723–1801), 102

Madison, James, *Papers* (Hutchinson and Rachal, eds.), 102, 366

Magaw, Mr., 578

Magaw, Robert, 578, 629

Manning, James, protests taxation of Baptists, 193, 197

Manufactures, proposal to encourage, 93–94, 132

Marchant, Henry: identified, 162; letters to, 161, 171

Marchant, Isabel Ward (Mrs. Huxford), 135, 162

Marlone, Ang., 578

Marshall, Christopher: described, 23; mentioned, 50, 55, 402, 505

Marshall, Humphry: identified, 396; letter to, 395

Marshfield, Mass., meeting, 320

Marston, Mr., 79

Martin, Josiah: incites regulators to oppose patriots, 576; expects powder from Gen. Gage, 576, 615; intercepted letter, 583, 611, 613, 615; mentioned, 614, 663, 664

Maryland: militia, 277, 280, 300, 304, 306, 308, 339–40; arms and ammunition shortage, 299; loyalists, 636–37; *see also* Riflemen

Maryland Convention: approves proceedings of Congress, 275, 304, 307; resolutions, 280, 304, 307, 704; mentioned, 267, 273, 350, 637

Maryland delegates: letters from, 350, 636; ☆ leave Philadelphia, 656, 664

Mason, George, 338

Massachusetts: sentiment in Congress for, 70, 79, 80, 100, 106, 129–30, 156–57; responds to Boston alarm, 85–86; militia, 265, 449–50, 467, 668; troops taken into Continental service, 502–3, 519, 613, 662; scarcity of news from, 579, 588, 652, 659; *see also* Suffolk Resolves

Massachusetts Committee of Safety, letter to, 580

Massachusetts Council, delegates appointed to, 678, 682–84

Massachusetts delegates: letter from, 534; ☆ arrive in Philadelphia, 3, 343; split on Gen. Lee's appointment, 518, 529; disagreement among, 652; appointed to Massachusetts Council, 678, 682–84

- Massachusetts Gazette*, 646, 658
- Massachusetts Government Act: opposition to, 58, 71, 94–95, 276, 297, 301–2, 310–12; effects of, 265; challenged by Congress, 473
- Massachusetts House of Representatives, chooses officers, 677
- Massachusetts Provincial Congress: letters to, 472, 473, 474, 547; ☆ dissolution, 318; seeks advice, 435; considers naval preparations, 451; advised to resume government, 463–64, 469–70, 472–73
- Massachusetts Provincial Convention, 179, 457
- Massachusetts Spy*, 30, 591
- Mather family library, 602
- Matlack, Timothy, appointed secretary's clerk, 351
- Matson, John, 599
- Matthews, David, letter to, 88
- Matthews, Vincent, 88
- Maurice, Mr., 344
- Mayne, Sir William, debates American affairs, 373, 383
- Mayo, Lawrence S., *John Langdon*, 682
- Mead, Frank S., *Handbook of Denominations*, 99
- Mease, James, 86, 87, 143, 447
- Mecom, Jane Franklin (Mrs. Edward), letters to, 409, 501, 694
- Medicine, sent to Boston, 580
- Memorial "To the Gentlemen Merchants, and Manufacturers of G. Britain," 179
- Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies: authorship, xxxv, 217–21; draft, 207–21; mentioned, 181
- Mercer, Hugh, 510
- Meredith, Capt., 645
- Meredith, Mr., 90
- Meredith, Reese, 697
- Meredith, Sir William: debates American affairs, 373, 383; mentioned, 561
- Merriam, Mr., 438
- Methodist church, services described, 235
- Middlesex County, Mass., resolves received in Congress, 71, 83–84
- Middleton, Arthur: identified, 595; letter to, 594; mentioned, 193
- Middleton, Henry**: letters from 570, 594; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 4, 35; elected President of Congress, 228, 233; declines presidency, 406; letter of introduction, 610; holds bond on paymaster, 699; mentioned, 7, 326
- Mifflin, John, 347
- Mifflin, Samuel, 457
- Mifflin, Sarah Morris (Mrs. Thomas), 155
- Mifflin, Thomas**: letters from 457, 491; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi; debates nonexportation, 103, 153; debates nonimportation, 103, 152; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 144–45; elected to Pennsylvania Assembly, 138, 142, 155–56; described, 168; meets with Baptists, 193; debates state of America, 401; ammunition committee, 412; examines Skene papers, 458; aide-de-camp to Washington, 529, 532, 599; departs for army at Boston, 537; mentioned, xxxvi, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 64, 87, 139, 189, 193, 236, 270, 291, 298, 319, 347, 417, 437, 468, 531, 541, 610, 624, 634, 640, 641, 649, 653, 671, 674
- Military preparations: urged in North Carolina, 341, 343, 397, 446, 511–14; debated, 351–52, 383–85, 388–95, 401–2, 404–7; for New York, 351, 356, 361, 402, 407, 409–10, 439, 442–43; in New Hampshire, 413–14; mentioned, xxii–xxiii, 304–5, 307, 334–35, 459; *see also* Arms and ammunition; Powder; Saltpetre

- Militia: proposals to establish, 93–94, 132–33, 139, 140; estimated strength, 367; uniforms described, 437, 526; regulations, 633, 648, 660; mentioned, 298; *see also* individual colonies
- Miller, Henry, 599
- Milner, Mr., 354
- Minchall, Mr., 67
- Miner, Ward L., *William Goddard, Newspaperman*, 66
- Mingo Indians, invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706
- Mitchell, Stephen, 165
- Monaghan, Frank, *John Jay*, 96, 179
- Money; *see* Paper currency
- Montagu, George, 420
- Montagu, John, 4th earl of Sandwich, 425, 607
- Montgomery, John: identified, 371; letters to, 370, 628, 706
- Montgomery, Richard: identified, 642; letter to, 641; ☆ appointed brigadier general, 539, 556; position among general officers, 641–42; mentioned, 443, 636
- Moore, Mr., 371
- Moore, Jacob, 204
- Moravians: church service described, 64; pacifism, 433–34
- Morgan, Maj., 643
- Morgan, Daniel, 567
- Morgan, John: entertains delegates, 193; mentioned, 45, 60, 69, 173, 197
- Morgan, Mary Hopkinson (Mrs. John), 193
- Morris, Mr. (prothonotary), 34
- Morris, Gouverneur, letter to, 415
- Morris, John, 78, 85
- Morris, Lewis: letters from 353, 358, 419, 449, 596, 637, 678; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 331; attends Congress, xxx; ammunition committee, 412; appointed Indian commissioner, middle department, 706
- Morton, John: letters from, 457, 460, 492; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi; health, 649; mentioned, 204
- Morton, Perez, 652
- Mott, Edward: identified, 363; mentioned, 362
- Moylan, Stephen, 109
- Mumford, Mr., 458
- Mumford, D., 347
- Mumford, James G., *Mumford Memoirs*, 203
- Mumford, Thomas: identified, 203; letter to, 201
- Murray, Mr., 35
- Murray, John; *see* Dunmore, 4th earl of
- Murray, John (New York merchant): identified, 351; ☆ petition, 351, 353
- Murray, Robert: identified, 351; ☆ petition, 351, 353
- Music, 9, 64, 165, 235, 338, 340, 342, 345
- Nagal, George, 630
- Namier, Lewis, and Brooke, John, *House of Commons*, 546
- Nantucket, 418
- Nash, George H., III, “From Radicalism to Revolution,” 82
- Naval preparations: discussed, 450–51; ordered on Lake Champlain, 555, 568; in New England, 581, 585; lack of, 710
- Naval stores, nonexportation of, 104–5, 153
- New England Confederation, 291, 347

- New Hampshire: considers petitioning king, 370; military preparations, 413-14; troops ordered to Boston, 522, 536
- New Hampshire delegates: letters from, 180, 369, 524; report, 413; ☆ summarize work of Congress, 180-81
- New Hampshire Provincial Committee, letter to, 369
- New Hampshire Provincial Congress, letters to, 522, 547
- New Jersey: described by Silas Deane, 14-15, 616-17; militia, 345-46
- New Jersey Assembly: approves proceedings of Congress, 314; refers Lord North's conciliatory plan to Congress, 410, 413
- New Jersey delegates: letter from, 511; ☆ forward powder to New York, 679; mentioned, 107
- New Jersey Provincial Congress, association, 511
- New Jersey Provincial Convention, letter to, 413
- New York: loyalists, 137, 174, 335, 337, 359-60, 367, 398; approves proceedings of Congress, 262; attitudes toward military preparations, 282; attitudes toward accommodation, 282; defection feared, 331; supports American cause, 335, 338, 396-99; military preparations for, 351, 356, 361, 402, 407, 409-10, 439, 442-43; militia, 419-20, 679; ordered to supply Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 422-24, 429, 431, 450, 479; Indian affairs, 439, 442, 450, 454, 476-77, 489; Connecticut troops ordered to, 496, 498, 501, 520, 635; bounties proposed for troops, 560; arms and ammunition shortage, 560, 678-79; accounts requested, 679
- New York Assembly: disapproves proceedings of Congress, 307, 315; petitions king, 307, 611; criticized, 320
- New York City: loyalists in, 137, 359, 367; elects delegates to Congress, 137-38; receives Massachusetts and Connecticut delegates, 335; supports Association, 415; bold stroke planned at, 505-6, 567, 573
- New York City Committee of Fifty-One, 137
- New York City Committee of Mechanics, 258
- New York City Committee of One Hundred: letter to, 353; ☆ seeks Congress' advice, 353; mentioned, 361
- New York Committee of Safety: letters to, 637, 638, 678; mentioned, 616
- New York delegates: letters from 256, 353, 358, 419, 442, 449, 476, 559, 596, 637, 678, 695; ☆ credentials, 26, 37, 88-89; elected to Congress, 137-38, 321, 331; summarize work of Congress, 256-58; avoid religious disputes, 596-97; urge military preparations, 679; mentioned, 142
- New York Gazetteer*, 202, 203
- New York Journal*, 258, 262
- New York Provincial Congress: letters to, 419, 429, 442, 445, 474, 476, 481, 487, 498, 541, 547, 559, 572, 582, 596, 615; ☆ authorized to appoint militia officers, 419-20; recommends general officers, 443, 477; ordered to supply Continental Army, 474, 476; slow in raising troops, 498; investigates Henry White, 583; plan of accommodation, 596-97; mentioned, 487, 576, 611, 631, 679, 694
- New York Provincial Convention: letters to, 409, 424; ☆ elects delegates to Congress, 321, 331; Continental advance approved, 695-96; mentioned, 613, 679
- Newcastle, Del., Committee, donations for Boston, 360
- Newcomb, Benjamin H., *Franklin and Galloway*, 205
- Newfoundland, exportation to, 355, 397, 400, 451-52
- Newport, R.I., British search ferries, 701
- Newport Mercury*, 601
- Nicholas, Robert Carter, 368
- Nickleson, Thomas, letter to, 255
- Nightingale, Col., 681
- Noddle's Island, Boston Harbor: raid, 447-49, 485; mentioned, 539, 556, 675



- Nonexportation: debated, 103–5, 107–9, 131–33, 145–49, 153–54; of flaxseed, 103, 105, 108, 133, 135, 145–49, 153, 162; of lumber, 103, 105, 108, 133, 145, 153; of indigo, 253, 294–95; rice exempted from, 293–95; to Newfoundland, 355, 397, 400, 451–52; to British fisheries, 397, 400; effective date reconsidered, 611–12; mentioned, 130, 131, 135, 141, 142, 150, 152, 162, 181, 395, 432, 705; *see also* Association
- Nonimportation: anticipated, 91, 97, 99; debated, 103–5, 107–8, 151–52; mentioned, 130, 131, 135, 141, 142, 150, 154, 162, 168, 181, 206, 395; *see also* Association
- Norris, Miss, 64
- Norris, Isaac, 64
- North, Frederick (Lord): debates American affairs, 373, 383; mentioned, 7, 422; *see also* North ministry
- North Carolina: military preparations urged, 341, 343, 397, 446, 511–14; loyalists, 576; Presbyterian congregations addressed, 576
- North Carolina Committees, letter to, 511
- North Carolina delegates: letters from, 511, 575, 615; ☆ urge military preparations, 511–14; mentioned, 91
- North Carolina Provincial Convention, delegates recommend convening, 399, 446
- North ministry: blamed for breach with colonies, 250–51; criticized, 273, 275, 277–78, 303–5, 308, 313, 331–32, 334, 685, 703–4; response to Congress' resolutions awaited, 275, 285, 291, 305, 309–12; conciliatory proposal, 352, 366, 383, 410, 471, 566, 689, 704; scheme to corrupt American leaders feared, 456, 471, 479–80; British support assessed, 468; misrepresentations denounced by Benjamin Franklin, 561–66
- Northern military department: orders, 548, 554–55, 558, 568, 660, 663; provisions for, 554–55; officers appointed, 632, 635–36, 679, 699; paymaster's office, 672–73, 675, 696, 697, 699; *see also* Schuyler, Philip
- Northumberland, 2d duke of (Hugh Percy), 337, 425
- Nova Scotia, nonexportation to, 397, 400
- O'Callaghan, Edmund B., and Fernow, Berthold, eds., *Documents Relative to Colonial New-York*, 270
- Ohio, 102
- Ohio Indians, 706
- Ogden, Mr., 634
- Olive Branch Petition; *see* Petition to the King (1775)
- Oliver, Andrew, ed., *Journal of Samuel Curwen*, 339
- Oliver, Peter, 58
- Oneida Indians, 672
- Orange County, N.Y.: Goshen and Cornwall meeting, 89; elects delegates to Congress, 89
- Orne, Azor, 478, 534
- Oswald, Miss, 204
- Oswald, Eleazer, 704
- Otis, James, Sr., 534
- Otis, James, Jr., 365
- Outram, Capt., 368
- Paca, William:** letter from 636; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; debates American rights, 43, 182–83; described, 168; debates state of America, 401; mentioned, 173, 189, 204, 527
- Pacifists: contributions in lieu of military service, 430–31, 598; Moravians as, 433–34; *see also* Quakers

- Paine, Robert Treat:** diary, 12, 32, 44, 54, 57, 66, 72, 75, 77, 85, 90, 93, 101, 107, 132, 154, 163, 179, 197, 206, 221, 236, 248, 338, 348, 355, 363, 443, 447, 456, 537, 539, 638, 695; letters from, 316, 477, 509, 534, 597; notes, 181, 191, 200; speech, 146; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; arrives in Philadelphia, 3, 10, 13, 338–39, 346; gives toasts, 8; Philadelphia residence, 13; attends church, 13, 101, 236; attends committee on rights, 54; health, 66; debates nonexportation of flaxseed, 145–49; on American rights, 181–83, 191–92, 199–200; meets with Baptists, 193, 197; leaves Philadelphia, 248, 695; on American unity, 317; fast day committee, 456; on making powder, 478; mentioned, xxii, 4, 91, 259, 264, 529
- Paine, Sally Cobb (Mrs. Robert),** 179
- Palfrey, William:** identified, 684; letter to, 684
- Palmer, Joseph:** identified, 333; letters to, 106, 333, 417, 516, 583; mentioned, 101, 128, 534, 545, 571, 579
- Palmer, Joseph Pearce,** 667, 668
- Paper currency:** emission anticipated, 419, 474, 482, 492, 496; redemption quotas, 482, 525, 536, 687, 689; first emission, 498, 502–3, 507–8, 515–16, 518, 524–26, 528, 536, 543, 561, 663; second emission, 650–51
- Parke, John:** identified, 558; ☆ letters of introduction, 557–58
- Parker, Joseph,** 457
- Parliament:** authority discussed, 38, 43, 285, 305–6, 321, 372–82; regulation of trade, 43, 68–69, 109–12, 180, 182, 184–92, 305, 403; elections, 267, 275–76, 309, House of Commons debates American affairs, 372–74, 383
- Parliamentary authority;** *see* Rights, American
- Parliamentary Register,*** 422
- Parsons, Samuel,** 459, 520, 522, 634, 639, 641, 643, 654
- Partridge, Benjamin,** 369
- Paterson, Catherine Livingston (Mrs. John),** 415
- Paterson, John,** 19, 415, 455
- Patterson, Stephen E.,** *Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts,* 470
- Paymaster general, James Warren** appointed, 668, 670, 672–73, 677–78, 681–82
- Peale, Charles Willson,** xxxv, xxxvii
- Peggy Stewart* (brig),** 244
- Pemberton, Israel:** identified, 584; mentioned, 193
- Pendleton, Edmund:** letters from, 330, 420, 485, 488, 581, 622, 623, 627; resolutions, 402; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; arrives in Philadelphia, 14; debates rules, 28–29; debates American rights, 43–44, 46, 182, 196; described, 62; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 139; debates nonimportation, 151; debates state of America, 401; debates reconciliation, 402–6; debates American defense, 404–7; drafts Washington's will, 510; committee to draft an address to the people of Great Britain, 551; committee to draft a letter to city of London, 615; leaves Philadelphia, 656; mentioned, 102, 143, 160
- Penn, John:** recommends that Pennsylvania petition the king, 315, 323; mentioned, 78, 82, 96, 204
- Penn, Richard, Jr.:** identified, 78; ☆ described, 96; entertains delegates, 109; transmits petition to the king, 618, 620; mentioned, 82, 101, 173, 189, 442, 447, 600
- Penn, Thomas,** 78
- Pennsylvania:** boundary dispute with Virginia, 170, 421, 665–66; politics discussed, 302–3; militia, 340, 342–43, 347, 356–57, 364, 396–97, 415, 430–31; 436–37, 451–52, 459, 460, 463, 465, 537, 539, 579, 585, 594, 604; boundary dispute with Connecticut, 656, 661, 693–94; riflemen for Continental Army, 491–92, 598–99, 621, 629–30; *see also* Riflemen
- Pennsylvania Assembly:** elections to, 133, 318, 142, 155–56; elects speaker, 202, 204; entertains Congress, 221; approves proceedings of Congress, 264, 295–96, 302;

- Pennsylvania Assembly (*continued*)  
 instructions to delegates, 296, 302; considers petitioning the king, 315–16, 319, 322; proceedings described, 322–24; accepts Galloway's resignation as delegate, 325; policy towards pacifists, 433–34, 598
- Pennsylvania Committee of Safety: sends powder to New York, 699; mentioned, 476
- Pennsylvania delegates: letters from, 457, 491, 578, 598, 621, 665; ☆ instructions to, 296, 302; borrow money for powder, 444, 457; recommend officers for rifle battalion, 598–99; described, 649
- Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 449
- Pennsylvania Gazette*, 177
- Pennsylvania Journal*, 116, 325, 484
- Pennsylvania Mercury*, 117
- Pennsylvania Packet*; *see Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*
- Pennsylvania Provincial Convention, proceedings, 302–3
- Percy, Hugh, 2d duke of Northumberland, 337, 425
- Peters, Richard, on lawyers, 64
- Peterson, Charles E., "Carpenters' Hall," 12
- Petition to the King (1775): draft, 440; committee, 441, 444; legislative synopsis, 441–42; approved, 580, 604; discussed, 589–90, 688; dispatched to London, 618–20; mentioned, 605, 622; *see also* Address to the King (1774)
- Philadelphia: view of, xxxiii; welcomes delegates, 3, 338–39, 346; described, 4, 15–23, 50, 55–56; residences of delegates, 5–7, 13–15, 415; loyalists in, 6–7, 69–70, 319; martial spirit in, 340, 342–44, 346, 348, 356–57, 364, 365, 396–97, 436–37, 451–52, 459, 463, 465, 518, 579, 587, 604; Presbyterian ministers of, 575–76; matrosses for Continental Army, 662
- Philadelphia, buildings and landmarks (*alphabetically arranged*): Bettering House, 55–56, 75, 77; Christ Church, 9, 45, 54, 539; City Tavern (also called New or Smith's Tavern), 3, 6, 9, 13, 14, 16, 33, 221, 246, 346, 348, 358, 361, 363, 412, 443; Conestoga Wagon Inn, 356; Fairhill, 64, 66; First Presbyterian Church, 164; Pennsylvania Hospital, 4–5, 13, 107; prison, 56; St. Mary's Church, 164; Society of Fort St. David, 64, 66; State House, 4, 13, 19, 25, 65, 67, 75, 133, 246, 338, 361; *see also* Carpenters' Hall; Library Company of Philadelphia; Philadelphia, College of; Philadelphia Market
- Philadelphia, College of, commencement, 355–56, 359
- Philadelphia Committee of Safety: letter to, 578; sends powder to Boston, 545, 558; sends powder to New York, 560, 568; mentioned, 582, 613, 615
- Philadelphia Market: view of, xxxiii, 17; described, 4, 16–18
- Phillipse, Frederick, 367
- Pidgeon, John, 667
- Piercy, Rev., 235, 438
- Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth: letter to, 535; mentioned, 595
- Pitcairn, John, killed at Bunker Hill, 581, 585
- Pitt, William; *see* Chatham, 1st earl of
- Pitts, James, 534
- Pitts, John, 507, 508, 534, 552
- Pittsburgh, Indian Conference, 694, 707
- Plan of union: proposed by Joseph Galloway, 109–28; debated, 109–12; legislative synopsis, 112–13; rejected by Congress, 234; discussed, 278–79, 287–89; mentioned, 280, 306; 324; *see also* Galloway, Joseph
- Platt, Zephaniah, letter to, 258
- Political Disquisitions* (Burgh), 275, 276
- Pomeroy, Seth: appointed brigadier general, 539, 556; retires, 618, 641; mentioned, 529, 545
- Port, Jane, 6, 13

- Porter, Col., 448
- Portsmouth, N. H., inhabitants seize military stores at Ft. William and Mary, 277, 280-81
- Post Office: proposal to establish, 143; committee appointed, 418-20, 423; established, 668, 709; postmaster appointed, 671, 694; deputy postmasters appointed, 679
- Post riders, 419, 701
- Potomac River, navigation, 301
- Potts, Jonathan: identified, 316; letter to, 315
- Powder: seized by Gen. Gage, 27, 45; seized by New Hampshire inhabitants, 227, 280-81; scarcity, 357, 435, 477, 480; ammunition committee, 412, 414; seized by Gov. Dunmore, 421, 490; committee to purchase, 444, 457; manufacture of, 466, 468, 477-78, 481, 545, 593, 601, 675, 677; for Boston, 467, 470, 477-78, 480, 530, 545, 558, 570-71, 574, 638, 669, 673, 674, 692, 694; Congress requests stock estimates, 473, 480; supplied by Bermuda, 476; for New York, 547, 554, 555, 560, 568, 593, 673, 674, 679, 694, 699; intercepted, 571, 643, 647; importation authorized, 670
- Powell, Samuel, 6, 45, 54
- Powell, Thomas, letter to, 460
- Pratt, Charles, 1st earl of Camden, 80
- Prebble, Jedediah, 529
- Presbyterian church, services described, 9, 63, 163-64
- Presbyterian church, *Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia*, 478-79, 575-76
- Presbyterian ministers of Philadelphia: letter to, 575; ☆ address North Carolina ministers, 576
- President of Congress; *see* Hancock, John; Middleton, Henry; Randolph, Peyton
- Prévost, Benoit Louis, xxxiv, xxxvi
- Price, James, reports on Canada, 412, 414, 452
- Price, Thomas, letters of introduction, 661, 664
- Priestley, Joseph: letter to, 352; mentioned, 608
- Prisoners, political; *see* Skene, Philip
- Privateering, in New England, 581, 585
- Proceedings of the American Continental Congress*, 258
- Providence, R.I., defensive preparations, 701
- Pryor, Joseph, 344
- Public Advertiser*, 566
- Purcell, R.; *see* Corbutt, C. (pseud.)
- Purviance, Samuel, Jr.: identified, 300; letters to, 298, 312, 357, 361, 434, 482; ☆ health, 434; mentioned, 267-68
- Putnam, Israel: conducts Noddle's Island raid, 449, 539, 556, 675; appointed major general, 518-19, 521, 525, 528-29, 533, 539, 556; position among general officers, 522, 539, 542, 556, 627, 675; mentioned, 32, 45, 50, 54, 459, 516, 532, 561, 569, 593, 634, 638, 643, 645, 674
- Quakers: care for poor, 55-56; as political moderates, 155, 315, 318, 399; join militia, 342-43, 357, 364, 415, 432, 452, 459, 579, 589, 599, 705; mentioned, 23, 99, 101, 193, 431
- Quebec: 264; *see also* Letter to Quebec
- Quebec Act: as a grievance, 145, 150, 179, 196-200; proposed defeat by western settlement, 259-62
- Quincy, Dorothy: letters to, 472, 531; mentioned 335
- Quincy, Josiah, letter to, 676; mentioned, 670



- Quincy, Josiah, Jr.: identified, 82; letters to, 81, 251; mentioned, 83, 252, 676
- Quincy, Norton, 432
- Quitrents, Franklin's resolution on, 688-89
- Randolph, Benjamin, 245
- Randolph, Edmund: identified, 669; ☆ recommended to Washington, 656-57, 669
- Randolph, John: identified, 708; letter to, 707
- Randolph, Peyton:** letters from, 76, 245; letter to, 326; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; portrait, xxxiii, 21; Philadelphia residence, 7; described, 7, 23, 61; elected president of Congress, 9, 13-14, 20, 25, 57-59, 168, 337-38, 342, 344; leaves Philadelphia, 227, 245, 402, 406; dines at City Tavern, 358; resigns presidency, 363; mentioned, 24, 74, 160, 233, 330, 420, 421, 475, 535, 708
- Read, George:** letters from, 82, 101, 204, 244, 358, 360, 400, 624; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; health, 82; reports Boston intelligence, 82; describes daily routine, 101, 358; debates means for restoring American rights, 143-44; resigns as attorney general for Delaware, 204-5; dines at City Tavern, 358; visits home, 559; mentioned, 336
- Read, Gertrude Ross (Mrs. George), letters to, 82, 101, 204, 244, 358, 400, 624
- Read, James, 204, 400
- Read, Mrs. James, 205
- Read, William, *Life and Correspondence of George Read*, 82
- Reconciliation: summarized, xix, xxii-xxiii; debated, 371-95, 401-6; prospects discussed, 298-99, 466, 483, 546, 589, 703-4, 707-8; southern plan for rumored, 487; and religion, 596-97; *see also* Address to the King; addresses to the people of Great Britain; Petition to the King; Plan of union
- Recruitment; *see* Bounties; Militia
- Redwood, William, 407
- Reed, Mr., 343, 397
- Reed, Esther De Berdt (Mrs. Joseph), 8, 92
- Reed, Joseph: identified, 702; letter to, 701; ☆ described, 63, 92; appointed Washington's secretary, 633, 647; mentioned, 4, 8, 13, 34, 45, 60, 64, 90, 173, 227, 236, 246, 364, 417, 517, 617, 625, 641, 653, 656, 671, 674
- Religion, and reconciliation, 596-97
- Remembrancer* (John Almon), 298, 310, 428
- Reply to an Address to the Author of . . . "Candid Examination"* (Galloway), 116, 222, 325
- Revere, Paul, 65, 75, 76, 83, 85, 154, 156, 179, 205
- Rhoads, Samuel:** elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi; mentioned, 6
- Rhode Island: militia, 269, 271; troops ordered to Boston, 522, 526, 536, 662; accounts requested, 535
- Rhode Island Assembly: letter to, 547; ☆ approves proceedings of Congress, 269, 271
- Rhode Island delegates, instructions to, 269, 271
- Rice, Nathan: identified, 50; mentioned, 657
- Rice, exempted from nonexportation, 293-95
- Richmond and Lennox, 3d duke of (Charles Lennox), 80
- Ridgely, Dr., 344
- Riflemen, for Continental Army, 491, 496-97, 503, 507-8, 518, 528, 545, 557, 561, 574, 578, 590, 594, 598-99, 621, 629-30
- Rights, American: discussed, 24-25, 59, 68-69, 71, 181, 193-95, 200-202, 206; debated, 38-44, 46-49, 51-54, 180-92, 194, 196-200; mentioned, xxi, 98; *see also* Committee on Rights; Committee on Trade; Declaration of Rights and Grievances; Massachusetts Government Act; Quebec Act; Suffolk Resolves

- Rights, American, means for restoring: debated, 93–94, 103–5, 107–9, 131–34, 138–40, 143–49, 151–54; *see also* Address to the King; addresses to the people of Great Britain; Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies; Nonexportation; Nonimportation; Petition to the King; Plan of union; Reconciliation
- Riley, Capt., 458, 504, 640
- Rivington, James: newspaper boycotted, 19; described, 202; violates Association. 415, 416; mentioned, 113, 290, 322, 325, 359, 367, 398
- Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, 202, 203
- Roberdeau, Daniel: identified, 35; mentioned, 437
- Roberdeau, Mary Bostwick (Mrs. Daniel), 35, 438
- Rodney, Caesar: letters from, 57, 66, 77, 85, 96, 336, 343, 525, 557, 559, 578, 670; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvii; attends Congress, xxvii; described, 8–9; arrives in Philadelphia, 57; describes delegates, 58; health, 58; reports Boston intelligence, 77; comments on response to Boston alarm, 85–86; reports on Lexington and Concord, 343–44; dines at City Tavern, 358; describes military uniforms, 526; mentioned, 34, 173, 204, 346
- Rodney, Caesar, *Letters* (Ryden, ed.), 78, 671
- Rodney, Thomas: identified, 58; letters to, 57, 66, 77, 85, 96, 336, 343, 525, 559, 578, 670; mentioned, 78
- Rodney, William, 343
- Roelker, William G., ed., *Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene*, 501–2
- Roman Catholic church: services discussed, 157, 163, 164–65; *see also* Quebec Act
- Rome, George: identified, 493; mentioned, 492
- Root, Mr., 458
- Rosenthal, Albert, xxxv
- Ross, George: letters from, 421, 430, 457, 491, 502, 578, 598, 621, 665; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi, 57, 244; debates means for restoring American rights, 133; debates nonexportation, 153; debates state of America, 401; on arms and clothing for militia, 430–31; mentioned, 265, 267, 315, 316, 319, 323, 641
- Ross, James, 621, 625, 641
- Ross, John, 624
- Rush, Benjamin, 10, 69, 85, 87
- Russell, Mr., 681
- Russell, Ezekiel, 440
- Rutledge, Mr.: debates rules, 28; debates American rights, 182
- Rutledge, Edward: letters from, 252, 254, 535, 570, 679; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 4, 8, 34–35, 168, 236; on nonexportation, 104, 153, 253; on nonimportation, 104, 253; debates Galloway's plan of union, 111; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 139, 145; criticizes restraint of Congress, 252–54; leaves Philadelphia, 254; debates state of America, 352; debates American defense, 407; letter of introduction, 610; comments on adjournment, 680; mentioned, 7, 74, 173, 193, 429
- Rutledge, John: letter from, 570; resolutions, 44; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; described, 6, 8, 24, 34–35, 168; debates rules, 26; debates American rights, 44, 46–47; debates nonimportation and nonexportation, 103; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 138–39, 144; committee to draft an address to the king, 225; reports to South Carolina Provincial Congress, 294; debates state of America, 351, 401; appointed to draft a petition to the king, 441–42; mentioned, xx, 3, 7, 27, 60, 173, 193, 471
- Ryden, George H., ed., *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, 78, 671

Sabine, Lorenzo, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*, 493

St. Asaph, bishop of; *see* Shipley, Jonathan

- St. Clair, Arthur, 629
- St. John Island (Prince Edward Island): letter to, approved, 233–34; nonexportation to, 397, 400
- St. John's Parish, Ga.: represented in Congress, 328, 345, 351, 356, 503; *see also* Hall, Lyman
- Salt, production investigated, 686
- Saltonstall, Gurdon, Jr., 18, 30, 203, 640
- Saltpetre, manufacture of, 478, 481, 483–84, 545–46, 570, 584, 675, 677
- Sanderson, John, *Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, 255
- Sandwich, 4th earl of (John Montagu), 425, 607
- Sargent, John: identified, 546; letter to, 546
- Sargent, Winthrop, "Letters of John Andrews," 682
- Saxe, Maurice, comte de, 553
- Sayre, Stephen, 456
- Schmidt, William John, "North Carolina Delegates in the Continental Congress," 686
- Schuyler, Philip: letters from, 358, 442, 444, 445, 449; letters to, 554, 568, 573, 632, 634, 635, 644, 679, 694, 698, 699, 700, 704; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 331; attends Congress, xxx; ammunition committee, 412; plans bold stroke at New York, 505–6, 573; appointed major general, 518–19, 521–22, 525, 528–29, 535, 539, 556; departs for army at Boston, 537; authorized to invade Canada, 548, 554–55, 558, 568; ordered to destroy British vessels on Lake Champlain, 555, 568; appointed Indian commissioner, northern department, 635, 660, 672, 696; to protect the frontiers from Indian attack, 660, 663; requests powder, 699; mentioned, xxxvi, 443, 541, 561, 567, 569, 593, 631, 638, 642, 673, 674, 679, 697
- Scull, Peter, letter of introduction, 591
- Seabury, Samuel, *Free Thoughts*, 313
- Sears, Isaac, 573
- Seidel, Nathaniel: letter to, 433; ☆ quoted, 434
- Sergeant, Jonathan Dickinson: identified, 631; letter to, 631
- Sermon on the Present Situation* (William Smith), 613, 614
- Sever, William, 534
- Several Methods of Making Salt-Petre*: [by W. Shewell?] 546
- Seymour, Thomas, 202
- Shawnee Indians, invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706
- Sheild, Samuel, falsely charges Richard Bland, 485–86
- Sherman, Isaac, 599
- Sherman, Roger**: letters from, 58, 168, 422, 423, 539, 542, 555, 599, 619, 672, 674, 693; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvi; attends Congress, xxvii, 675; arrives in Philadelphia, 23, 346; debates American rights, 47; debates means for restoring American rights, 139, 144; described, 168; daily routine, 556; on appointment of general officers, 675; mentioned, 143, 236, 449, 521, 522, 627, 640, 654
- Shipley, Anna Mordaunt (Mrs. Jonathan), 607
- Shipley, Jonathan, bishop of St. Asaph; identified, 67; letters to, 349, 604; ☆ praised by Congress, 426; mentioned, 81
- Shipley, Jonathan, *Speech Intended to Have Been Spoken by the Bishop of St. Asaph*, 66, 67
- Shippen, Alice Lee (Mrs. William), described, 7–8
- Shippen, Edward, 109
- Shippen, William (1712–1801), 107
- Shippen, William, Jr. (1736–1808): anatomical collection, 5; lectures on anatomy, 107; mentioned, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 85, 90, 109, 236, 558
- Shipton, Clifford K., *Harvard Graduates*, 55, 82, 83, 88, 364, 433, 509, 678
- Shoemaker, Samuel, petition, 351, 355

- Simpson, Sarah Webb (Mrs. John) , 18
- Six Nations: neutrality, 454, 558, 592, 698; speech to, 624, 635; Albany conference, 672, 679, 696, 698; invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706; mentioned, 450, 618, 635, 660
- Skaggs, David C., *Roots of Maryland Democracy*, 280, 636
- Skene, Philip: identified, 456; ☆ papers examined, 458-61, 463, 479-80; bribery scheme, 471-72, 479-80, 484; paroled, 478, 484-85, 530; paroled to Connecticut, 547-48, 555, 572, 578, 584, 592-94; treatment while prisoner, 708-9; mentioned, 458, 465, 544, 609, 632
- Skipwith, Robert, 581
- Skipwith, Tabitha Wayles (Mrs. Robert) , 581
- Sluman, Joseph, letter to, 693
- Smallpox: inoculation for, 416, 420; mentioned, 59, 135, 269, 462
- Smith, Mr. (of Baltimore) , 670, 671
- Smith, Mr. (Philadelphia merchant) , 65
- Smith, Elizabeth, 603
- Smith, Francis, 337, 375, 383, 425
- Smith, Isaac: identified, 452; letter to, 451; mentioned, 603
- Smith, Jere., 132
- Smith, Jonathan Bayard, 4
- Smith, Matthew, 621
- Smith, Page, *James Wilson*, 706
- Smith, Paul H., comp., *English Defenders of American Freedoms*, 67
- Smith, Richard: elected to Congress, xxix; attends Congress, xxix
- Smith, Robert: letter from, 684; mentioned, 396, 397, 446, 608, 612, 613
- Smith, Samuel, 4, 69, 72, 75, 77
- Smith, Thomas (of Philadelphia) , 3, 4, 8, 156
- Smith, Thomas (of Maine) , 4
- Smith, William (of Massachusetts) , 74, 432
- Smith, William, Jr. (of Massachusetts) , 535
- Smith, William (of Philadelphia): identified, 584; ☆ described, 4; compared to Hutchinsonians, 7; preaches to Philadelphia troops, 537, 539, 613; mentioned, 6, 15, 16, 18, 19, 610
- Smith, William, *Sermon on the Present Situation*, 613, 614
- Smith, William Peartree, 413
- Smyth, Albert H., ed., *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 113, 566
- South Carolina, intercepts powder, 643, 647
- South Carolina Committee of Intelligence, 576
- South Carolina Council of Safety, procures powder for Continental Army, 570-71
- South Carolina delegates: letter from, 570; report, 292; ☆ oppose the Association, 222, 293-95; request powder for Continental Army, 570; mentioned, 336
- South Carolina Provincial Congress, delegates report to, 292-95
- Spangenberg, Bishop, 433
- Sparks, Jared, ed., *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, 566
- Speech Intended to Have Been Spoken* (Shipley) , 66, 67
- Speech . . . on . . . Conciliation with the Colonies* (Burke) , 349
- Spencer, Elihu, 60, 62, 63
- Spencer, Joseph: appointed brigadier general, 522, 539, 556; position among general officers, 522, 542, 626-27; conduct deplored, 627, 639, 641, 643, 673-74; mentioned, 459, 499, 521, 634, 653, 657, 675
- Spotswood, Alexander, 627
- Sproat, James: address to North Carolina ministers, 576; mentioned, 5, 9, 13, 19-20, 60, 62, 63
- Stamp Act, 51, 109



- Stamp Act Congress, 183  
 Staples, William R., ed., *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, 249  
 Stelle, Mr., 492  
 Steptoe, Dr., 8, 45  
 Steven, Col., 484  
 Stevens, John: identified, 331; letter to, 331  
 Stevenson, Margaret (Mrs. Addinell), 546  
 Stewart, Mr., 301  
 Stone, Thomas: letter from, 350; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; debates state of America, 402; mentioned, 527  
 Story, D. A., *The de Lanceys*, 360  
 Story & Humphrey's *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 117  
 Strahan, William: letter to, 607; mentioned, 608  
*Strictures on a Pamphlet, Entitled, A "Friendly Address,"* (Charles Lee), 263  
 Stringer, Samuel, letter to, 444  
 Strong, Jedidiah, 654  
 Stuart, Miss, 595  
 Sturges, Jonathan, elected to Congress, xxvii  
*Substance of the Evidence* (Glover), 483, 484  
 Suffolk County, Mass.: address to Gen. Gage, 77-78; Gen. Gage's answer to, 97  
 Suffolk Resolves, applauded by Congress, 72, 75-79, 83-85, 100, 161-62, 168  
 Sullivan, John: letters from, 150, 180, 369, 524; report, 413; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; portrait, xxxvi, 538; described, 24; debates nonexportation, 105; debates means for restoring American rights, 144; on Quebec Act, 150; debates American rights, 182; appointed brigadier general, 539, 556, 575; departs for army at Boston, 542; returns home, 574; mentioned, xxxiv, 3, 60, 85, 193, 345  
 "Sullivan's Draught," 193  
 Sulphur, collection encouraged, 677  
*Summary View* (Jefferson), 535, 536  
 Susquehannah Company, 661  
 Swift, Samuel, 497, 517
- Tattlow, Mr., 360  
 Tawa Indians, invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706  
*Taxation No Tyranny* (Samuel Johnson), 606  
 Taylor, Francis, 582  
 Taylor, James, 627  
 Taylor, John: inoculated for smallpox, 420; mentioned, 485, 582  
 Tea: importation (after 1770), 87; paying for destroyed, 133, 488-89; sale and use after Association, 665  
 Thaxter, John: identified, 50; mentioned, 657  
 Thomas, John: identified, 590; letters to, 597, 661; ☆ appointed brigadier general, 539, 556, 642, 657, 662; position among general officers, 590, 618, 642; mentioned, 588, 664, 667, 668  
 Thompson, William: letter of introduction, 674; mentioned, 578, 625, 629  
 Thomson, Charles: letters from 78, 457, 582, 700; letter to, 232; notes, 233, 245, 248; ☆ portrait, xxxiii-xxxiv, 22; marriage, 4, 12; appointed secretary of Congress, 10, 12-14, 20, 23, 25-27, 58-59, 168, 337, 342, 344; appointed clerk of committee on rights, 37; manuscript *Journal of Congress*, 113-15; answers Galloway's *Candid Examination*, 116, 325; elected to Pennsylvania Assembly, 138, 142, 155-56; gift from Congress, 246, 249; mentioned, xxii, 6, 64, 90, 93, 160, 194, 266, 267, 270, 319, 322, 323, 643

- Thomson, Hannah Harrison (Mrs. Charles) , 4, 12, 64
- Thornton, Matthew: identified, 525; letters to, 524, 574
- Thoughts of a Traveler* (Draper) , 606, 607
- Thurlow, Edward, identified, 411
- Ticonderoga, N.Y.: captured, 356–60, 367, 369; cannon removed, 358, 360, 362, 369; to be reinforced, 422–24, 429, 431, 449–50, 479; British counterattack expected, 424, 430; accounts, 445; resolves concerning, 541; powder for, 560, 568; mentioned, 462, 463, 554, 699; *see also* Skene, Philip
- Tilghman, Matthew: letters from 350, 526; ☆ elected to Congress, xxviii; attends Congress, xxviii; chairman of the committee of the whole, 351, 353; mentioned, 8, 90, 336, 664
- Tilghman, Tench, identified, 680
- Tilton, James, 525
- Toasts, patriotic, 7, 8, 221
- Trade: committee on (1774) , 31, 36, 45, 57, 84, 86; committee on (1775) , 626, 648, 653; parliamentary regulation of, 43, 68–69, 109–12, 180, 184–92, 305, 403; suspension of, 107–8, 149; Bermuda exempted from ban, 474–76; West Indies affected by ban, 483–84; foreign, considered, 483, 652, 705; British restrictions declared unconstitutional, 600, 612; *see also* Association; Nonexportation; Nonimportation
- Treason statute, 68
- Treat, Richard, 63
- Trist, Nicholas: identified, 63; mentioned, 61
- Trumbull, Capt., 543
- Trumbull, J., 626
- Trumbull, John (1756–1843) , xxxvi
- Trumbull, Jonathan, Sr.: identified, 170; letters to, 168, 227, 362, 422, 429, 462, 474, 479, 495, 519, 542, 547, 555, 592, 594, 618, 646, 648, 672, 708; mentioned, 436, 458, 499, 507, 545, 601, 699, 709
- Trumbull, Jonathan, Jr.: identified, 673; letters to, 697, 699; ☆ appointed paymaster, northern department, 672–73, 675, 696–97, 699
- Trumbull, Joseph: identified, 357; letters to, 356, 438, 458, 471, 506, 521, 533, 599, 620, 633, 641, 642, 673, 695; ☆ elected to Congress, xxvii; recommended for Washington's secretary, 500, 506, 521; appointed commissary general, 641–42, 647, 662, 672; mentioned, 70, 71, 517, 532, 640, 645, 664
- Tryon, William, 530
- Tryon County, N.Y., 419
- Tucker, Daniel, 595
- Tucker, Henry, Sr., engineers Bermuda's exemption from trade ban, 475–76
- Tucker, St. George, letter to, 474
- Tucker, Samuel, 511
- Tudor, William: identified, 71; letters to, 70, 129, 156, 517, 586, 650, 667, 671; ☆ recommended for Washington's secretary, 517, 522, 630; appointed judge advocate of the army, 672; mentioned, 246, 497, 652
- Tufts, Cotton: identified, 529; letter to, 529; mentioned, 432, 603
- Tully, C., 233
- Turner, Pat, 101
- Turner, Philip, 19, 50–51, 55
- Tybout, Andrew, 360, 670
- Tyler, Richard, *Study of the First Continental Congress*, 26
- Underhill, Mr., 446, 612
- Unity, American: in Congress, xx, 87, 227, 337, 487, 497; among colonies, 252, 268, 301–3, 310–11, 316–18

- Vandervoort, Peter, 532  
 Van Doren, Carl, *Benjamin Franklin*, 426, 607  
 Van Dyke, Nicholas: identified, 360; letter to, 360  
 Van Luvenigh, Mr., 400  
 Van Schaack, Peter: identified, 137; letter to, 136  
 Vardill, John: identified, 96; letter to, 95; mentioned, 584  
 Vaughan, Mr. (of Philadelphia), compared to Hutchinsonians, 6–7  
 Vaughan, Benjamin, 566  
 Veazy, Mr., 362  
 Verplanck, Mrs., 296  
 Verplanck, Samuel: letters to, 282, 295, 313, 325; ☆ loyalist pamphlets, 313  
 Verterbeck claim, 136  
 “Vindication” (Franklin), 561–66  
 Vining, Phoebe Wynkoop (Mrs. John), 205, 359  
 Virginia: boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, 170, 421, 665–66; militia, 306, 314, 339, 527; *see also* Riflemen  
 Virginia Assembly, 328, 366  
 Virginia Convention: letter to, 622; ☆ praises Dunmore’s expedition against Indians, 328, 366–69; approves proceedings of Congress, 328, 330; mentioned, 354  
 Virginia delegates: letters from, 245, 484, 486, 561, 586, 622, 665, 669; ☆ leave Philadelphia, 244; Washington authorized to sign for, 245; instructions, 270; arrive in Philadelphia, 337, 342; recommend military training, 622, 645; request new delegation, 622; mentioned, 90, 156  
*Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 315, 486  
*Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 315, 369  
*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 338, 485, 486, 561, 586  
 Virginia independent companies, letter to, 527  
 Vivian, James F., and Jean H., “Congressional Indian Policy,” 698  
 Voting, method in Congress, 10, 26, 28–31, 55, 59, 168
- Wadsworth, Jeremiah, 16, 19  
 Wainwright, Nicholas B., “Indian Trade Failure,” 78  
 Wales, Nathaniel, 423  
 Walker, Thomas, appointed Indian commissioner, middle department, 706  
 Wallace, John, 72  
 Walpole, Thomas, 67  
 Wanton, Joseph: identified, 141; letter to, 141; mentioned, 411  
 War, benefits discussed, 426–29  
 Ward, Artemas: identified, 509; letters to, 509, 533, 591, 661; ☆ appointed major general, 503, 508–9, 519–21, 525, 528, 533, 539, 544, 556; mentioned, 333, 502, 516, 561, 569, 597, 667, 668  
 Ward, Hannah, death, 60, 99  
 Ward, Henry: identified, 411; letters to, 410, 492, 535, 600; mentioned, 98  
 Ward, Mary: letter to, 171; mentioned, 601  
**Ward, Samuel**: diary, 13, 32, 45, 54, 59, 63, 68, 72, 75, 79, 86, 89, 90, 91, 93, 98, 107, 108, 128, 131, 132, 134, 140, 143, 151, 154, 161, 163, 171, 180, 183, 192, 197, 200, 206, 221, 227, 234, 245, 246, 249, 345, 348, 351, 353, 355, 360, 363, 364, 370, 401, 406, 408, 410, 414, 418, 422, 424, 431, 435, 444, 457, 461, 463, 478, 481; letters from, 59, 98, 135, 141, 161, 171, 234, 268, 271, 302, 410, 411, 461, 464, 492, 535, 540, 600, 680, 701, 702; list, 686; speech, 184; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi; attends Congress, xxxi, 349, 351; portrait, xxxv, 272; arrives in Philadelphia, 13; debates rules, 28, 30; on committee to thank Duché, 35, 45; describes Congress, 59, 141; instructs children, 59, 461–62; on Galloway’s plan of

**Ward, Samuel** (*continued*)

union, 128; debates means for restoring American rights, 133, 146; health, 135; on happiness, 135; debates nonexportation, 153; summarizes work of Congress, 161–62, 234–35, 686–87; debates American rights, 180, 184–89; meets with Baptists, 193; leaves Philadelphia, 249; organizes intercolonial correspondence, 268; recommends annual congress, 270–73; on dying, 462; on duties of military officers, 464, 702–3; leaves Philadelphia, 694; mentioned, xx, xxii, 5, 6, 7, 14, 34, 60, 588, 644

Ward, Samuel, *Correspondence* (Knollenberg, ed.), 60, 99, 162, 411, 601

Ward, Samuel, Jr.: identified, 412; letters to, 59, 98, 135, 234, 411, 464, 540, 680, 702; mentioned, 601

Warner, Seth, 445

Warren, James: identified, 364–65; letters to, 364, 408, 452, 467, 518, 531, 544, 553, 571, 588, 590, 618, 621, 623, 650, 657, 658, 659, 667, 668, 670, 677, 682; ☆ recommended to Washington, 531, 534; appointed paymaster general, 668, 670, 672–73, 677–78, 681–82; mentioned, 80, 416, 451, 508, 579

Warren, Joseph: identified, 55; letters to, 55, 76, 94, 100, 507, 519, 529; ☆ killed at Bunker Hill, 508, 545, 552, 553, 558, 581, 585, 588–89; mentioned, 432, 467, 524, 534, 659, 676

Warren, Mercy Otis (Mrs. James): identified, 365; mentioned, 653

Warren, Mercy Otis, *The Group*, 364–65

*Warren-Adams Letters*, 451, 653

**Washington, George:** diary, 14, 33, 65, 109, 164, 221, 348, 356, 361, 447, 493; letters from, 101, 166, 354, 425, 509, 515, 527, 528; letters to, 245, 301, 330, 534, 555, 557, 558, 579, 584, 598, 620, 623, 644, 656, 662, 664, 669, 692; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxii; attends Congress, xxxii; offers to raise troops, 5, 62, 248; Philadelphia residence, 14; described, 61; attends church, 164; supports conduct of Massachusetts, 166–67; authorized to sign for Virginia delegates, 245; quoted, 306; committee on New York defense, 351, 356, 361; recommends substitute for Virginia convention, 354; dines at City Tavern, 358, 361; ammunition committee, 412; on Lexington and Concord battle, 425; committee on military estimates, 447; elected commander in chief, 482, 486–87, 490, 494–99, 502–3, 507–10, 519–21, 524–26, 530–31, 533, 539; committee on army rules, 493; pay and expenses, 500; on appointment as commander, 515, 527–28; reviews Philadelphia troops, 518, 525; Congress pledges support, 536; departs for army at Boston, 537, 539, 544; first communication from camp, 630; favors congressional adjournment nearer Boston, 645, 647; requests congressional proceedings respecting Indian affairs, 701–2; mentioned, xxxv, xxxvi, 91, 109, 340, 417, 420, 421, 502, 505, 509, 516, 517, 518, 529, 532, 545, 553, 561, 566, 567, 569, 593, 618, 619, 627, 657, 667, 675, 681, 704

Washington, George, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick, ed.), 33, 336

Washington, George, *Letters* (Hamilton, ed.), 167

Washington, John Augustine, letter to, 528

Washington, Lund, 510

Washington, Martha Dandridge Custis (Mrs. George): letter to, 509; mentioned, 516

Watson, William, described, 202

Watts, John: loyalist activities, 137; mentioned, 174, 367

Weare, Meshech, letter to, 180

Webb, Mr., 138, 235, 458

Webb, J., 626

Webb, John, 346, 402, 436, 506

Webb, Joseph, 18, 30, 56, 65, 165, 505, 532, 557, 567, 610

Webb, Samuel B.: identified, 533; letters to, 331, 348, 628; ☆ appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Putnam, 533; mentioned, 15, 23, 65, 85, 91, 347, 532, 557, 610, 626, 640



- Webb, Samuel B., *Correspondence* (Ford, ed.), 641  
 Webster, Pelatiah: identified, 64; mentioned, 63, 132  
*Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, 706  
 Wentworth, Sir John, 370  
 West, William, 87  
 West Indies, dependence on united colonies, 483–84  
 Western lands; *see* Land, western  
 Westmoreland, Conn., 661  
 Westmoreland County, Pa.: Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute, 170; mentioned, 629, 666  
 Wethersfield, Conn., Committee of Correspondence, letter to, 84  
 Wharton, Thomas: identified, 67; ☆ quoted, 67; mentioned, 20, 62, 65, 69, 150  
 Wheelock, Eleazar: identified, 543; ☆ funds for Indian school, 543, 624  
 Whitcomb, John, 667, 668  
 White, Mr., 62  
 White, Anthony Walton: identified, 579; ☆ letter of introduction, 579  
 White, Henry, investigated, 583  
 White, John, 193, 611, 615  
 Wibird, Anthony, 74, 602  
 Wickham, William, letter to, 88  
 Wightman, Reuben, 235, 492  
 Wilcocks, John, 204  
 Wilcox, Alexander, 142, 246  
 Williams, Col., 543  
 Williams, Edward G., *Journal of Richard Butler*, 706  
 Williams, Jonathan: identified, 50; mentioned, 71  
 Williams, William: letters to, 423, 674; mentioned, 481  
**Willing, Thomas**: identified, 584; letters from, 431, 457, 492; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi, 342, 344; attends Congress, xxxi; on lawyers, 64; against invasion of Canada, 431; mentioned, 8, 338, 345, 422  
 Willson, Thomas, 15  
 Wilmington, Del.: described by Silas Deane, 448–49; mentioned, 435  
**Wilson, James**: letters from, 370, 457, 491, 578, 598, 621, 628, 635, 665, 706; ☆ elected to Congress, xxxi, 336, 342, 344; attends Congress, xxxi; debates state of America, 352, 401; debates reconciliation, 371; appointed Indian commissioner, middle department, 629, 706; described, 649; holds bond on paymaster, 699; prepares for Pittsburgh conference, 706  
 Wilson, Rachel Bird (Mrs. James), 370  
 Winthrop, John: identified, 418; letter to, 417; mentioned, 497, 517, 534  
 Wirt, William, *Life and Character of Patrick Henry*, 220  
 Wisner, Franklin, *The Wisners in America*, 89  
**Wisner, Henry**: letters from, 442, 449, 596, 637; ☆ elected to Congress, xxx, 137, 331; attends Congress, xxx, 89; credentials, 89; mentioned, xxii  
 Witherspoon, John: described, 8; mentioned, 7, 20  
 Witherspoon, John, *Pastoral Letter from the Synod of New-York and Philadelphia*, 478–79, 575–76  
 Wolcott, Erastus, elected to Congress, xxvii  
 Wolcott, Oliver: identified, 698; letter to, 698; ☆ appointed Indian commissioner, northern department, 624, 635, 660, 672, 697–98  
 Wolf, Edwin, 2d, “Authorship of Address to the King,” 225, 227  
 Wollaston, John, xxxiii  
 Woodbury, Ellen C.D.Q., *Dorothy Quincy*, 472  
 Woodford, William: identified, 421; letters to, 402, 485, 581, 627

- Wooster, David: identified, 501; letters to, 501, 539, 610; ☆ appointed brigadier general, 522, 539, 556; position among general officers, 522, 539, 542, 626-27; refuses Continental commission, 522, 540; mentioned, 499, 520, 521, 562, 634, 657, 675
- Wright, Patience: identified, 411; mentioned, 410
- Wroth, L. Kinvin, ed., *Legal Papers of John Adams*, 52
- Wyandot Indians, invited to Pittsburgh conference, 706
- Wykoff, Mr.: takes Silas Deane to New Jersey, 616; mentioned, 347
- Wyoming Valley: Connecticut settlement in, 654-56, 661; Connecticut-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, 656, 693-94
- Yankee Doodle, 338
- Yard, Sarah, 9, 13, 90, 338, 369, 624
- York County, Pa., Committee, 599
- Young, Capt., 82
- Young, Thomas: identified, 206; letter to, 205; mentioned, 416, 535, 603

- Zeichner, Oscar, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy*, 330
- Zubly, John: elected delegate to Congress, 664; mentioned, 322



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A vintage book cover with a detailed illustration of a harbor scene. In the foreground, a large sailing ship with multiple masts and sails is on the water. To its right, a smaller boat is visible. In the background, a city skyline with several tall buildings and a church spire is visible. The sky is filled with clouds. A large white label is pasted over the top half of the cover. The label has a grid pattern. At the top of the grid, the words "DATE DUE" are printed. At the bottom left of the grid, the word "GAYLORD" is printed. At the bottom right of the grid, the words "PRINTED IN U.S.A." are printed. The label also has some faint, illegible text at the top left.

The image shows a vintage book cover with a detailed illustration of a harbor scene. In the foreground, a large sailing ship with multiple masts is on the right, and a smaller sailboat is on the left. In the background, a city skyline with a prominent church spire is visible. A large white label is pasted over the top half of the cover. The label has a grid for tracking due dates, with the text 'DATE DUE' at the top. At the bottom of the label, it says 'GAYLORD' on the left and 'PRINTED IN U.S.A.' on the right. The label also has a small number '2' in the top left corner and a small number '3' in the top right corner.

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